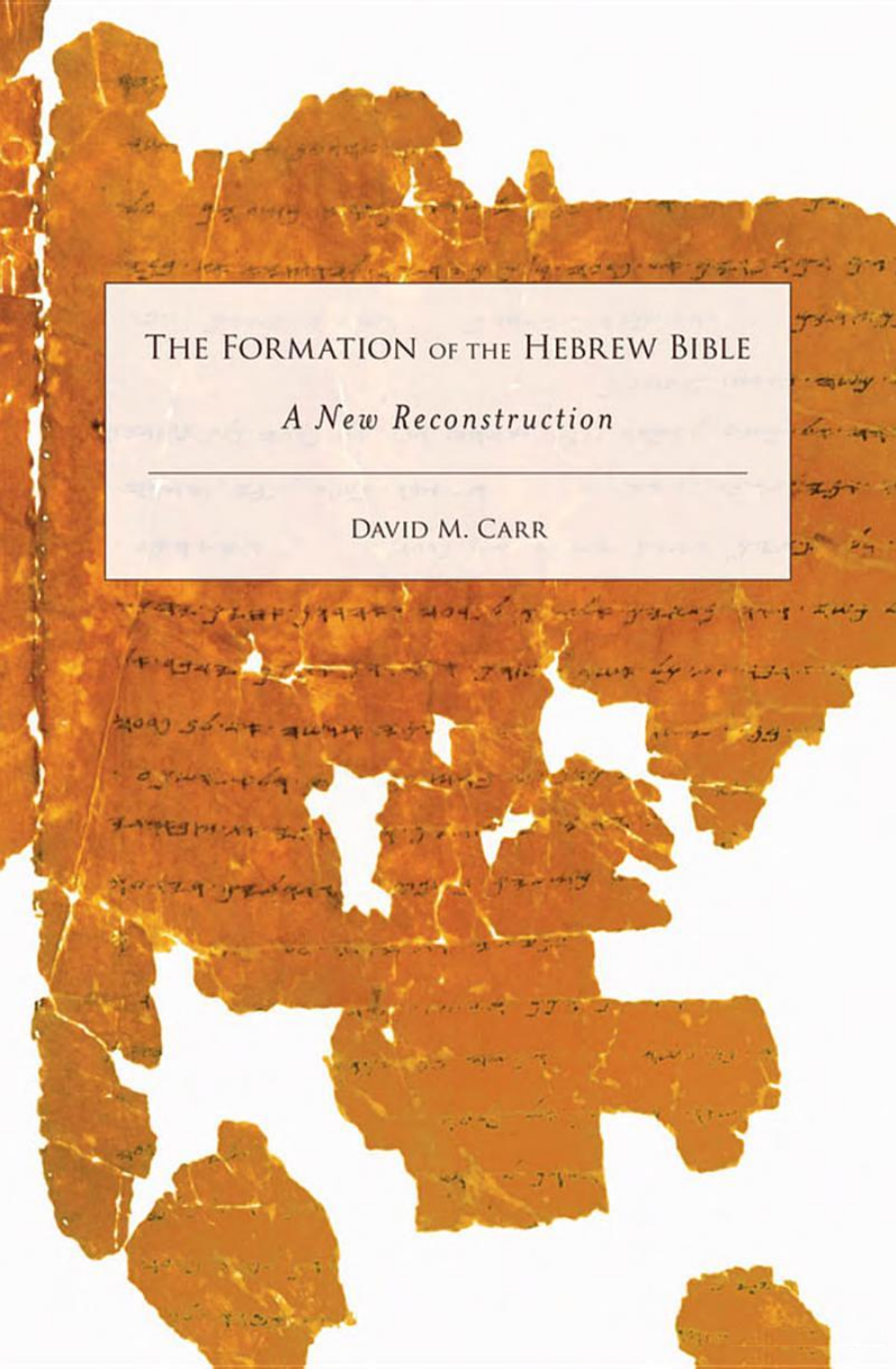

The Formation of the Hebrew Bible

A New Reconstruction

David M. Carr

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To my Doktorvater with gratitude, James A. Sanders

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This book contains fragments of several prior (or concurrent) publications where I explored various topics relevant to it: "Empirische Perspektiven auf das Deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk," in *Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur 'Deuteronomismus'-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*, ed. Markus Witte, et al., BZAW 365 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 1–17; "The Rise of the Torah," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 39–56; "A Response [to Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity*]," *JHS* 8 (2008): 11–20, http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article_73.pdf; "The Tel Zayit Abecedary in (Social) Context," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. Ron Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 113–29; "Torah on the Heart: Literary Jewish Textuality within Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," *Oral Tradition* 25 (2010); "Scribal Processes of Coordination/Harmonization and the Formation of the First Hexateuch(s)," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas Dozeman, Baruch Schwartz, and Konrad Schmid, FAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 63–83; "Refractions of Trauma in Biblical Prophecy," in *Interpreting Exile: Interdisciplinary Studies of Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts*, ed. Frank Ames, SBL Ancient Israel and Its Literature (Atlanta: SBL, 2011); " 'Empirical' Comparison and the Analysis of the Relationship of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets," in *Pentatuech, Hexateuch or Enneateuch: Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings*, ed. Konrad Schmid and Thomas Dozeman (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011); "Changes in Pentateuchal Criticism," in *The Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation—The Modern Period: Twentieth Century*, ed. Magne Saebo (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); and "The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Old Testament Studies: Actual and Potential," in *Helsinki IOSOT Congress Volume*, ed. Martti Nissinen (VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 519–49. Despite significant overlap in some cases (providing ample data for any future source critic of this work), this book represents a final redaction and synthesis of the material in those studies (used with prior permission). In addition, while working on this book, I wrote *Introduction to the Old Testament: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010; also included [in briefer form] in *An Introduction to the Bible* with Colleen Conway and the same publisher), which only rarely reflects the newer ideas introduced in this book, since I did not judge an introductory textbook the best place to discuss theses untested in scholarly discussion.

Finally, I wish to specifically thank some of the many people whose support and critiques have contributed to the completion of this book. In addition to

numerous colleagues who have discussed and critiqued ideas in this book as I have presented them at various conferences, lectures, and symposia over the past five years, I want to offer special thanks to those who read and critiqued earlier drafts of chapters actually published in this book and to the colleagues more numerous than I can recall (e.g., William Morrow, William Toonan, Baruch Schwartz) who shared work in progress with me. I particularly benefited from a mini-seminar on the Song of Songs on December 18, 2008, where several colleagues (including Gary Rendsburg, Martti Nissinen, Chip Dobbs-Allsopp, and Yair Zakovitch, among others) circulated materials we had written on the Song of Songs and critiqued each others' work. The spirited discussion at that session was crucial in leading me to reconceptualize my book and rearrange the projected order of chapters into the form in which they now stand. Another major turning point for the composition of my book came in January 2010, with a major conference on the formation of the Pentateuch in Zurich (organized by Konrad Schmid with Baruch Schwartz and Thomas Dozeman) and then a smaller day-long discussion of my draft chapter on the formation of the Hexateuch hosted in Tübingen by Erhard Blum and including Konrad Schmid and Jan Gertz. Finally, toward the end of my writing process, I invited a number of additional colleagues to read one or more chapters of my draft book, many of whom I knew would disagree in informative ways with my conclusions. A number of them generously offered to read and critique my materials. They include Michael Fox, Edward Greenstein, Sara Milstein, Christophe Nihan, Kent Reynolds, Konrad Schmid, Benjamin Sommer, Jeffrey Stackert, Marvin Sweeney, and Jacob Wright. At a late stage two doctoral students of mine, Todd Kennedy and Aron Freidenreich, stepped in to offer excellent copyediting assistance on some troublesome chapters. As always, none of these fine scholars should be held responsible for shortcomings in the book as it stands now. It is better than it was thanks to their gracious gift of expertise amidst their own busy schedules. More broadly, I remain grateful for the support offered by my institution, Union Theological Seminary in New York, for my ongoing research, both in the form of sabbaticals and the provision of significant research time during the teaching term itself. The Burke Library of Union and associated libraries of the Columbia University system have remained a terrific research resource throughout this process. In addition, I have benefited in many direct and indirect ways from the intellectual stimulation of the excellent community of scholars of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament in the New York area at NYU, JTS, UTS, Fordham, Princeton, Yale, and other local institutions. Even when we are not discussing issues together at the Columbia Hebrew Bible Seminar or over drinks and/or dinner, I find myself challenged to offer observations worthy of their consideration as I work alone on my computer, and their insights have been far more influential on me (by direct oral means) than is evident sometimes in the breadth of my citation of their written work. I remain deeply grateful to these colleagues and to my wife and fellow biblical scholar, Colleen Conway (Professor of New Testament, Seton Hall University), for supporting and calling forth the best in me. Finally, I dedicate this book in gratitude to my Doktorvater,

James A. Sanders, with whom I share a love for both investigation of the overall growth of the Hebrew Bible and study of primary texts, even if I often do not express that love in the same way that he has in his distinguished career.

—David M. Carr
August 31, 2010

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CONTENTS

Introduction: The Oral-Written Model and the Formation of the Hebrew Bible 3

PART ONE ■ Methodological Prologue: Textual Transmission in the Ancient World and How to Reconstruct It

1 Variants and Evidence of Oral-Written Transmission of Israelite Literature 13

2 Documented Cases of Transmission History, Part 1: Two Cases 37

3 Documented Cases of Transmission History, Part 2: Broader Trends 57

4 From Documented Growth to Method in Reconstruction of Growth 102

PART TWO ■ Excavating the History of the Formation of the Hebrew Bible

5 The Hasmonean Period: Finalization of Scripture in an Increasingly Greek World 153

6 The Hellenistic Period up to the Hasmonean Monarchy: Priestly and Diaspora Textuality 180

7 The Persian Period: Textuality of Persian-Sponsored Returnees 204

8 The Babylonian Exile: Trauma, Diaspora, and the Transition to Post-Monarchal Textuality 225

9 Bible for Exiles: The Reshaping of Stories About Israel's Earliest History 252

10 Textuality Under Empire: Reflexes of Neo-Assyrian Domination 304

11 From the Neo-Assyrian to Hasmonean Periods: Preliminary Conclusions and Outlook 339

PART THREE ■ The Shape of Literary Textuality in the Early Pre-Exilic Period

12 Early Highland States and Evidence for Literary Textuality in Them 355

13 Royal Psalms: Locating Judah and Israel's Early Pro-Royal Literature 386

14 Proverbs and Israel's Early Oral-Written Curriculum 403

15 Other Supposedly Solomonic Books: Song of Songs and Qohelet 432

16 Other Biblical Texts Potentially from the Early Monarchal Period 456

17 Toward a New Picture of Early Monarchal Texts in the Hebrew Bible 487

Afterword *491*
Select Bibliography *493*
Selective Index of Scripture Citations *503*
Subject Index *519*

■ The Formation of the Hebrew Bible

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Introduction

The Oral-Written Model and the Formation of the Hebrew Bible

This book attempts to offer new orientation points for the history of the development of the Hebrew Bible. Some of these orientation points are methodological, answering the following question: How can scholars achieve methodological control and repeatable results in reconstruction of the prehistory of the Hebrew Bible? Most orientation points in this book are chronological, answering the question: What were the major phases in the development of the Hebrew Bible and which texts now in that Bible can be linked with those phases?

The mid- to late-twentieth-century consensus that formerly held about the history of the development of the Hebrew Bible—for example, various tradition-centers and institutional contexts for the formation of early traditions, early J and E source documents for the Pentateuch, an exilic context for the formation of Deuteronomistic history, the assignment of the bulk of early prophetic writings to the prophets themselves (e.g., Amos, Hosea), etc.—no longer holds. Where once there were debates between Albrightian and European-Continental positions on the historicity of texts in the Hebrew Bible, there now are equally large chasms between basic understandings of the setting and purpose of those texts themselves. Some continue to defend more traditional theories about sources, dating, etc.[1] Others have argued for dating an ever increasing amount of the Hebrew Bible to the Persian or even Hellenistic periods.[2] Meanwhile, a significant block of studies identify the late pre-exilic, Neo-Assyrian period as a crucial, if not the most crucial, period in the basic shaping of Hebrew biblical traditions.[3] Few offer a comprehensive look at how new perspectives on archaeology, Near Eastern

1. A popular example with a comprehensive picture is Richard E. Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York: Summit, 1987). Within continental scholarship, Werner H. Schmidt has been among the more prominent defenders of a more conventional picture of the development of the Hebrew Bible. See his *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, 5th expanded ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

2. For the Persian period, see, for example, Philip R. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel,"* JSOTSup 148 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 92: "Cumulatively, an impressive case can be made for the fifth century BCE as the time and [Persian period] Yehud as the place for formation of what biblical scholars call the 'biblical tradition', and what can more simply and accurately be called the biblical literature." For a Hasmonean dating, see Thomas L. Thompson, *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 199: "It was in this context of 'Talibanism', reflected in the formation of the traditions in the Books of Maccabees, that the major collections of the Hebrew Bible took their definitive shape." This trend is manifest in European scholarship as well, though mostly with widespread dating of individual biblical texts to the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

3. One example is Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silverman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York and London: Free Press, 2001), 14: "Archaeology has provided enough evidence to support a new contention that the historical core of the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History was substantially shaped in the seventh

literature, and dating of biblical traditions might lead to a new picture of the whole. This book is an initial attempt at that kind of comprehensive picture.

A central goal in this otherwise ambitious project is aiming for more methodological modesty than has characterized many prior reconstructions of the development of texts in the Hebrew Bible. All too often, biblical studies have attempted to trace in detail every step in the growth of a biblical text to its present form. Some have found evidence of eight to fifteen (or more) layers of sources and redactional expansions in a single chapter or set of verses. Yet I suggest that these more complicated reconstructions of textual prehistory have not stood and will not stand the test of time. Certain theories achieve a small, temporary consensus within a mutually reinforcing school of scholarship (often attached to a particular mentor or PhD-producing university department), but only a few basic schemes—such as the distinction between Priestly and non-Priestly portions of the Tetrateuch (among others)—have achieved acceptance beyond the narrow circles that originated them.

In the face of these problems, this book begins with methodological reflections aimed at producing more cautious, less detailed results that may be more useful to colleagues outside a particular school of thought or context. *That* these texts underwent an often complicated prehistory often is evident. Since that prehistory generally is not documented, however, we often cannot know precisely *how* these texts grew to their present form. There is a gap here between ontology and epistemology that must be kept in mind. Biblical scholars are often tempted to try to answer every possible question about the development of biblical texts. Yet I will provide evidence from documented cases of transmission history to show that texts that are the result of textual growth do not consistently preserve enough traces of that growth in their final form for scholars to reconstruct each and every stage of that growth.

One reason that ancient texts like the Bible do not preserve many traces of growth is that their authors often worked from memory in incorporating earlier texts. As I argued in a prior book, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*, the texts of the Hebrew Bible, like those of many better-documented cultures surrounding it, were formed in an oral-written context where the masters of literary tradition used texts to memorize certain traditions seen as particularly ancient, holy, and divinely inspired.[4] Ancient Mesopotamian

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century BCE." Another is William Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 191: "This ideology of one kingdom of the twelve tribes of Israel was embodied in literature of the late eighth century. This literature both preserved and created the golden age of David and Solomon. This great literary flourishing, albeit short-lived, was the beginning of biblical literature as we know it. . . . The second major phase in the literary formation of the Bible came in the days of King Josiah in the late seventh century B.C.E." Both quotes come in the context of broader pictures of the development of Hebrew literature.

4. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). In the meantime, one study of particular note that adduces considerable additional evidence for the role of memory in transmission of literary traditions is Paul Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad," PhD diss. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), especially pp. 105–106 and 145.

scholars used musical notations and text to learn to sing the Atrahasis creation and flood epic. Egyptian scribes prided themselves on being able to recite the sayings of much earlier sages. Well-educated Greeks prepared to perform classical texts at a symposium meal. So also, Israelite sages urged their students to "write this Torah/commandment on the tablet of your heart." This writing-supported process of memorization was how ancient cultures passed on to the next generation their most treasured written traditions, what might be termed "long-duration" or "literary" (in a broad sense of that word) texts.

The argument of *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* was primarily comparative, using the better-documented literary cultures of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece to provide new models of authorship and reception that might illuminate data in the Hebrew Bible itself. In addition, that book focused particularly on ancient education as a primary locus for the use of literary texts and their development. This book likewise will include some focus on education, but its emphasis lies less on textual reception and more on textual production. In particular, I will gather clues, found within the documented growth and revision of ancient long-duration/literary texts, that these texts were written by authors who typically accessed precursor texts by means of memory.

This stress on the role of *memory* in the formation of *written* texts involves overcoming a dichotomy, all too common in studies of the ancient world, between orality/memorization and writing/literacy. Though scholars decades ago deconstructed the idea that there was a "great divide" between orality and literacy, a remarkable number of high-quality publications still work with a strong distinction between the two, or at least a "continuum" with orality at one end—often connected with memorization—and literacy and writing at the other. As soon as "memorization" is discussed, many presuppose that one is in the realm of "orality," or "performance" often seems to exclude a focus on writing and textuality. Scholars of antiquity are just at the beginning of exploring the interface between writing, performance, memorization, and the aural dimension of literary texts.

Such insights are important for the conceptualization of the development of the sorts of texts now found in the Hebrew Bible. For many years, biblical scholars worked with a paradigm of writing, book circulation, and silent reading that was modeled on contemporary print cultures. More recent studies have suggested that ancient literary cultures, despite their substantial differences from one another, were similarly distant from this paradigm. Students in a culture such as Israel's learned the *written* tradition in an *oral-performative* and *communal* context. Whether this took the form of a beginning student singing the alphabet or a scribal master orally presenting the written Torah to a broader audience, the writing-reading process for literary texts was supported by and oriented toward a process of memorization of tradition by the individual and performance of the tradition and adaptation of it for a community or sub-community.

These literary texts in turn, were memorized and performed not because they appealed to consumers, but because those in the community or sub-community judged such texts—often on the basis of the judgments of leaders in that community—to preserve divinely inspired, often obscure words from a distant time. Most of the learned tradition in Mesopotamia was preserved in Sumerian

and Old Babylonian Akkadian and eventually attributed to semi-divine sages, the Apkallus. The most central long-duration texts in New Kingdom Egypt were written in Middle Egyptian and attributed to sages from the Middle Kingdom period or earlier. Hellenistic-period Greek education focused on pre-Hellenistic classic or earlier texts, again attributing divine inspiration to them. In each case, those who learned such literary texts in these cultures struggled with their archaic language, and student exercises often show a lack of understanding of the texts being copied. Yet the archaic dialect/language and themes of such texts also marked them as special, worth the special effort to learn and preserve them.

Another insight that has emerged from the study of literary cultures in Israel and elsewhere is the idea that not all ancient authors were created equal. Not only were certain scribal scholars more able to write elegantly, but they also enjoyed a distinctive prestige that allowed them to promote new texts and new versions of older texts. Such ancient cultures did not have a book circulation culture like ours where any author with enough talent and the right agent might succeed in gaining buyers for his or her book. Instead, literary texts circulated and were reproduced in traditional contexts organized by hierarchies of authority. Those scribes/priests/scholars who stood at the top of a given social group had the power to dictate which texts were worthwhile to teach, copy, and revise within that group. To be sure, there was not just one such pyramid of learning in each culture. We have documentation of diversity in the sorts of texts that were taught and performed in Mesopotamia and Egypt, depending on the learning and preferences of the local scribes. Moreover, there is a significant distinction between literary complexes that spanned a broader culture—for example, the cultivation of learning and performing Homeric Epic in ancient Greece—and complexes specific to a local subgroup (such as the teachings collected by the local sage Amennacht in Deir El-Medina Egypt). Nevertheless, in ancient cultures like Israel, there were certain individuals who were recognized—at least in their subgroup—as qualified purveyors of the sacred written tradition, while the majority of people were either illiterate or passive copyist/performers of the literary tradition.[5]

These sorts of reflections on memory and the social structures of textual (re)production are important for conceptualization of the growth of the Hebrew Bible. For example, the clearer it becomes that scribes referred to and adapted earlier written traditions *in memorized form*, the more qualified our claims must become for being able to reconstruct the precise contours of the written texts on which they depended. Furthermore, in so far as master scribes were the primary teachers and guardians of the memorized literary tradition in ancient cultures, they possessed the power—at least at certain junctures—to adapt or revise the tradition for the broader community as well as to conserve it. A key goal to be pursued in this book is ascertaining how, when, and why scribes in ancient Israel innovated in their written performance of the sacred tradition for their communities, and when and why they moved toward more strict conservation. For the

5. The comments in this and the preceding paragraphs are, in large part, a synthesis of major points argued for in my *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*.

impetus to adapt an older text or add a new one to the sacred corpus often stood at odds with the impetus toward preservation of the integrity of the received corpus: "not to add anything . . . or to take away . . ." (Deut 4:2; with parallels).

This book has three parts, starting with several methodological essays that elaborate and provide additional support for points made above about the role of memory in transmission of written texts and the methodology for reconstructing textual prehistory. The first essay is an overview of scholarship outside biblical studies that can inform our search for indicators of the transmission of ancient biblical texts—at least in part—by means of memory. In it I show how indicators of memory variation can be found in the divergences between parallel proverbs, both in the MT text and in various manuscript versions. The second and third essays then look at a broader array of dynamics in documented cases of transmission history, first in two well-studied cases (Gilgamesh and the Temple Scroll in Chapter 2) and then more broadly in a number of other cases (Chapter 3). Together, these essays document the fact that ancient scribes significantly revised the texts they transmitted and the reality that this process of revision—often by way of memory—often was too fluid to reconstruct in detail. The methodological implications of these three essays are developed in the final chapter (Chapter 5) of this first section, engaging with several recent trends in the study of the formation of the Hebrew Bible, especially the study of the Pentateuch.

The second survey part of the book builds on these insights, moving backward through the history of formation of the Hebrew Bible in search of markers of dating for texts from the Hasmonean through Neo-Assyrian periods. One characteristic of recent scholarship has been increased claims to be able to identify *late* texts, often through evidence of their dependence on other (supposedly) late texts and/or evidence that such texts reflect late developments in Israelite religion. And indeed, one absolute datum on which most scholars are agreed is that the Hebrew Bible as we have it, even just the consonantal text, is—at the earliest—a product of the Hellenistic (and Roman) periods. Thus we start with what is, quite obviously, a set of Hellenistic (at the earliest) copies of texts and must seek data within them to reconstruct earlier pre-stages to them. Moreover, the clearer we become on the fluid character of the transmission of many ancient texts (a topic for the methodological portion of this book), the more difficult it becomes to insist on an early date of biblical texts—centuries before the Hellenistic period—at least in something like their present form. In many cases, the most we can do is try to detect the traces of Judah and Israel's earliest literature behind wave upon wave of transformations of that literature by later tradents.

These chapters discuss what sorts of features characterized texts written in successive periods of Israel's history, starting with those closest to our existing manuscripts and moving earlier. Each period requires the use of different strategies: from the use of manuscript evidence to attempt recovery of Hasmonean-period changes that led to the proto-MT, to the use of trauma studies to help in the identification of texts written in the wake of Jerusalem's destruction and Judean exile, to the focus on inversion of Neo-Assyrian motifs in the chapter on late pre-exilic texts. In addition, by the end of this survey in reverse, I uncover some broader trends toward different sorts of scribal operations characteristic of later

stages in the growth of the Hebrew Bible, as opposed to the sorts of scribal activity characteristic of earlier ones. The aim throughout is *not* to provide a comprehensive dating of most texts in the Hebrew Bible (there are major gaps), but to develop profiles for these different periods and give illustrative examples of how they could be used to date *some* texts in the Hebrew Bible that otherwise might be more difficult to date (e.g., in the Hexateuch).

This move backward in time takes us to the most controversial period for the history of the formation of the Hebrew Bible, the time before Neo-Assyrian domination of Judah and Israel. Scholars now disagree about whether there were the necessary preconditions in this period—such as state structures—to sustain the development of the sorts of texts found in the Bible, and many texts once believed to date from this time are now thought to be later creations. The third part of this book starts by reviewing the data for tenth- and ninth-century states in Palestine, along with addressing the question of the extent to which such state structures are a prerequisite for the development of literary textuality. I then review several sets of biblical texts, from royal psalms to laws and love poetry, which may reflect—in some distant form—early-tenth- or ninth-century precursors. An overall distinctive element of this last section is the extent to which many of the books in the Hebrew Bible that I believe show the most potential for containing early pre-exilic material are now placed in the relative margins (the "Writings portion") of the Torah- and Prophets-centered Tanach corpus: for example, Proverbs (indeed, much more of Proverbs than commonly supposed), Song of Songs (difficult to know how much), and Psalms (select royal psalms and probably some other undatable psalms as well). The placement of these potentially early texts in the relatively marginal "Writings" portion of the Tanach reflects, I propose, developments in the Neo-Assyrian and later periods, particularly toward increased focus on prophets and Hexateuch/Pentateuch in Judah and Judaism, developments which are discussed in the second part of this book.

It is important to note at this point that readers should not deduce too much about my authorial intentions from the extra attention devoted to potentially early biblical material in these final chapters. Astute biblical exegetes could easily conclude that both the volume of pages and final focus on these materials indicate a primary aim on my part to assign a greater bulk of biblical materials to an earlier period than many previous studies have done. In truth, at least on a conscious level, I have very little invested in proving that any biblical writing is early. Moreover, I am not working under the (mis)impression that earlier biblical materials are somehow better or more inspired (a problematic assumption that has characterized much biblical scholarship). The reason I spend so much time on such a discussion in this book is precisely because I think it so difficult to reconstruct such early pre-exilic materials in the Hellenistic-period (and later) Hebrew Bible recensions at our disposal, especially given significant questions that have been raised about the existence of any sophisticated scribal operation in tenth- and ninth-century BCE Judah and Israel. These difficulties become abundantly clear in my discussions themselves, especially at loci where I myself probably transgress the dictates of methodological modesty for which I argued in the first part of this book. That said, I still find it interesting to explore if and where we

might discern at least the faint outlines of early pre-exilic material in the (much later) Hebrew Bible and what sorts of guidelines might help us do so. Whether this last section on early materials ends up being useful, even with my extra attention and various cautionary measures, can be the judgment of my readers.

The result of these three major sections (which are cumulative) will not and cannot be a precise history of how the present Hebrew Bible was formed, however tempting it is to seek ever greater precision in scholarship such as this. Instead, I offer a set of guidelines and orientation points for a methodologically modest reconstruction of the literary prehistory of the Hebrew Bible we now have. Certainty cannot be achieved in any such reconstruction. This book, though rather long, makes no pretenses to erect a definitive historical structure that requires tearing down by others. It does not offer anything like a final "history of the formation of the Hebrew Bible." Instead, it is titled *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* because of its focus on providing a number of proposals that might prove helpful in such study, a sketch of potential directions with no pretense of comprehensive engagement of texts or secondary perspectives on them. My hope is that at least some of these reflections and discussions may point the way toward progress on central questions around which much of the academic study of the Bible revolves.

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PART ONE

Methodological Prologue: Textual Transmission in the Ancient World and How to Reconstruct It

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1 Variants and Evidence of Oral-Written Transmission of Israelite Literature

In a seminal article published in 1930, Milman Parry touched on an often overlooked kind of data that can provide confirmation that many ancient texts were transmitted, at least in part, through memorization: the sorts of variants found in many early manuscripts. He was responding to those in classics who believed that the Homeric epics had been created and transmitted through a purely literary process of writing and copying texts. One central aim of prior classics scholarship was reconstruction of the earliest written text of Homer and the elimination of various errors that occurred through careless copying by ancient scribes. In response, Parry objected:

> How have they explained the unique number of *good* variant readings in our text of Homer, and the need for laborious editions of Aristarchus and of the other grammarians, and the extra lines, which grow in number as new papyri are found?[1]

Here in brief, Parry articulated a principle that is elaborated in studies to be discussed in this chapter: the idea that traditions transmitted via memorization manifest a different sort of variation from traditions transmitted in a purely literary context. The latter sort of traditions will show variations that are often the result of visual errors of the copyist—graphic variants: a skipped line, misinterpreted letters, etc. The lists of such errors are prominent in any text-critical handbook.[2] Typically, the result of such a copying error is a text that is garbled, where at least one or the other variant does not make sense. But Parry noticed that the earliest manuscripts of Homer are characterized by another sort of variation, one where both variants make sense: *good* variants. Moreover, he noted how dynamic the tradition was, again pointing to a process of free updating and adaptation rather than copying. These indicators—preserved in the *written* records of Homeric verse—pointed to an earlier or concomitant process of memorization and recitation.

1. Emphasis is in Parry's original: Milman Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I. Homer and Homeric Style," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 41 (1930): 75–76; reprinted on p. 268 of Milman Parry and Adam Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). See also his discussion of some such variants on pp. 112–14 (297–98 of the reprint) of the essay and his comments on pp. 46–47 of his "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 43 (1932): 46–47 (p. 361 of the collected papers).

2. See, for example, the discussion in Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 236–55.

■ SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF MEMORIZATION OF TEXTS

Parry's comments were preliminary. He was working from hunches about what might constitute markers of orally transmitted texts. Yet his suggestions coincide in a remarkable way with an equally seminal study in another discipline published just two years after his article (based on studies done years prior): Frederic Bartlett's experimental psychological study *Remembering*.[3] This book proved to be one of the most influential early scientific studies of memory. Though others (e.g., Ebbinghaus, 1885) had used various methods to attempt to quantify memory, Bartlett's approach was distinguished by its attempt to reproduce and measure the sorts of processes involved in real-life recall. In the process of observing his subjects' results in reproducing texts, Bartlett observed some of the sorts of variation that Parry intuitively saw as characteristic of orally transmitted traditions.

One set of Bartlett's experiments focused on changes introduced by a single individual as he or she attempted repeated recall of a text over ever greater periods of time. Bartlett gave his subjects a text to read and then asked them to write out a "reproduction" of it after fifteen minutes. He then asked them to produce another reproduction days or even years later and compared the multiple versions with each other. For example, in the main example presented in the book, he has his students read and reproduce a story called "The War of the Ghosts," a North American folktale. His students' reproductions of this story showed consistent trends: abbreviation, replacement of less familiar terms by more familiar ones, and rationalization of supernatural and other unfamiliar parts of the story. In general, proper names and numbers were the first things to be lost in such reproductions, while the general outline and those themes of the text which appeared most important to his students were the most clearly remembered. Though the variation was greater than in the Homeric manuscripts studied by Bartlett, one thing was in common: Bartlett's students produced variant versions of the tradition that *made sense* to them. As they tried to reproduce the story from fragments that they remembered, they reconfigured those fragments into some kind of meaningful whole. Rather than just reproducing their bits of memory as such, they created a new story out of remembered elements. Bartlett termed this reprocessing of tradition in memorization the "effort after meaning."[4] Such "effort after meaning" was particularly prominent in the case of the "War of the Ghosts" story because this story was foreign and unfamiliar to Bartlett's students, thus requiring radical processing in order to be reproduced.

In another series of experiments, Bartlett studied "serial reproduction," that is, reproduction of a variety of sorts of texts down a chain of different persons. Here,

3. Frederic C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1932 original [1995 reprint]).

4. Bartlett, *Remembering*, 63–94 Notably, in one section characterized by somewhat patronizing comments about non-English cultures and classes (pp. 138–46), Bartlett tried to test his results cross-culturally (he termed it "cross-racially") by comparing reproductions of the story by Indian students with those of his English students. He found that the Indian students more readily elaborated new elements out of partially recalled parts of the story, thus balancing the tendency toward abbreviation with the addition of new material.

one person would read the story and produce his best recalled production of it, the next person would read that recalled version and then produce her reproduction, and so on. In some ways, the changes were similar to those seen in repeated reproduction of a text by the same individual: abbreviation, loss of specific names and numbers, rationalization. Nevertheless, depending on their genre, many such texts underwent massive transformations, at least initially in the process. They were radically abbreviated and sometimes completely reversed. Certain kinds of texts or parts of texts often survived. For example, one story featured the striking statement: "Lawn tennis has often been described as a mutual cocktail." This statement often found its way into student reproductions of the text that otherwise varied widely from one another. Often, a pair of proper names or striking series of nouns would survive in later versions. In one experiment, the textual form of a joke story was preserved fairly well until one subject did not understand the joke element. From his reproduction onward the story was radically abbreviated and transformed. Meanwhile, other texts or parts of texts did not fare well in this process. Lengthy non-fiction reports tended to be truncated and transformed. The substance of textual arguments was lost, and the major points even reversed.

Building on these experiments, Bartlett argued for the essentially reconstructive character of memory. The recall seen in Bartlett's subjects was not a sort of blurry reflection of an exact image of a text. It was not as if each person remembered 10–100% of the exact words of a given text. Rather, the sort of variation seen in both repeated and serial reproduction reflected how each person built his or her recalled version of a text out of what that person *understood* of a text. The result of this "effort after meaning," especially when multiple people engaged in this sense-making process, was radical transformation. Yet Bartlett also found that this transformation process had limits, limits often reached within three or four reproductions of a given story by different subjects. Once a story had reached a certain form among the tradents, it often did not change much. For example, a fifteen-line paragraph presenting an argument about the modification of the species is abbreviated by the third stage to nine successive versions quite close to the following two-line summary: "Mr. Garlick says isolation is the cause of modification. This is the reason that snakes and reptiles are not found in Ireland." It was as if the readers had adapted this and other texts to their expectations and memory structures so that they reached a relatively fixed form.[5]

Though Bartlett's experiments produced higher variation than that seen in the early Homeric manuscripts mentioned by Parry, subsequent memory research has discovered a number of real-life strategies that social groups use to preserve oral tradition with less variation. For example, the poetic form of Homer and of many other traditions assist recall, because someone reciting a poem knows that the correct text must follow a certain rhyme, meter, and/or other poetic device. Along these lines, many societies undergird the memorization of texts by linking them to music, so that a performer can match the correct text (perhaps in poetic form) with the given music. In addition, oral tradents in many cultures transmit texts of

5. Bartlett, *Remembering*, 121–85.

highly familiar genres, made up of familiar formulae and/or other literary elements. Where Bartlett had his students memorize a Native American story completely outside their tradition and frame of reference, a Homeric rhapsode or his contemporary equivalent can guide his reproduction of a given tradition by following the generic and other constraints that he knows through acquaintance with the tradition.[6]

Indeed, Parry was one of the earliest and most influential scholars to identify the importance of these kinds of elements in oral transmission. His study of both Homeric epic and Yugoslavian reproduction argued that oral tradents reconstructed their traditions by building on an extensive repertoire of rhythmic formulae and other poetic structures. Furthermore, Parry, Lord, and others argued that the "accuracy" of their recall was redefined in such situations. Such reciters do not have electronic means to verify whether or not a given performance matches another one word-for-word. Most performers do not aim for such reproduction anyway. Their virtuosity was measured by their mastery of formulae, tropes, and outlines of the epics, along with an ability to produce a masterful whole out of them.

Thus, even though they can produce texts with less variation than Bartlett's students, performers in real-life oral situations cannot and do not aim for absolute verbatim accuracy. Rather, they and their audiences know when a given performance varies excessively from what they consider the key formulaic, generic, and other constraints of the tradition. In this way Bartlett's experiments in serial reproduction failed to reflect the communal dimension of real-life situations of serial transmission of oral tradition. In Bartlett's single-line series of student reproductions, there was no way for multiple knowers/hearers of a tradition to correct mistakes made at a given stage. Once a crucial part of a given story was lost by one student, that part could not be reconstructed by others later in the chain. But in actual oral transmission, a given performance is heard by others who share knowledge of the tradition. Performers can correct each other, and an audience can respond negatively if a part deemed essential is left out. This network of reinforcing processes is not and cannot be focused on verbatim accuracy. Nevertheless, it can prevent some of the more radical shifts seen in Bartlett's examples.

Even so, the early manuscript tradition of Homer shows a level of agreement that surpasses anything that would be achievable through purely oral transmission—even a process reinforced by poetry, music, and other oral tactics. Empirical studies of recall—both of supposed examples of "photographic"/eidetic memory and of societies claiming total recall of their oral traditions—have not been able to document the human ability to recall extensive tracts of text without the reference aid of written texts.[7] In a series of studies done in the 1980s, Ian Hunter argued that the human brain does not retain the capacity to memorize more than fifty words

6. For an excellent summary of a range of psychological and anthropological studies bearing on textual recall, see David Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-Out Rhymes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

7. David Rubin provides a broad synthesis of study on this topic in *Memory in Old Traditions*, especially pp. 3–8.

without the aid of written or other memory aids.[8] And though anthropologists have discovered some cases of virtual verbatim recall of ritual and/or musically accompanied texts, these cases are isolated and feature the memorization of relatively brief extracts.[9] The main example of possible verbatim recall of more extensive tradition is the Hindu Vedic tradition, but unfortunately its early, exclusively oral transmission is not documented.

This has implications in interpreting the data seen in early Homeric manuscripts. Though Parry and others documented numerous examples of variation in lines or words of the Homeric corpus, the bulk of the lines parallel each other closely in a way that resembles transmission that must be undergirded in some way by writing. Thus, the variants reflect a probable ongoing process of reproducing the tradition in memorized (or partially memorized) form, but the process of memorization is supported by writing-supported training and/or correction. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the corpus is far larger than that which can be transmitted verbatim in exclusively oral form. The few documented examples of verbatim transmission in exclusively oral contexts focus on short texts, but the Homeric corpus comprises thousands of lines. Huge swathes of text in that corpus are verbally parallel, while the areas of variation are limited. Especially in a corpus this size, such a pattern of limited variation—albeit oral-cognitive in character—is not the sort of profile seen in the multiple performances by Parry and Lord's Slavic bards. Instead, it is the kind of phenomenon seen in a corpus that is memorized and performed, but memorized through a process that involves some use of written records.

Thus, in the case of ancient textual materials such as Homeric epic or the Bible, we must contend with a mix of oral and written dynamics. To the extent that they were copied, they will manifest the sorts of verbal agreement and graphic variation seen in literary transmission. Yet to the extent that exemplars of the tradition or parts of the tradition were reproduced from memory, we will also see the sorts of variation typical of memory-reconstructive processes: substitution of synonymous terms, radical adaptation of the tradition, etc. In what follows, these phenomena will be referred to as "memory variants." These are not the sorts of "aural variants" specifically connected with the voicing and hearing of performed or dictated texts (when someone, say, hears "break" when someone says "take"). Nor are they the kinds of "graphic variants" that occur when a scribe copying a text misreads a letter (e.g., confusing yodh [י] with vav [ו] in late Second Temple Hebrew manuscripts) or skips a line while visually copying a manuscript. Instead, they are the sorts of variants that happen when a tradent modifies elements of text in the process of citing or otherwise reproducing it from memory, altering elements of the text, yet producing a meaningful whole ("good variants") amidst that complex

8. See Ian M. L. Hunter, "Lengthy Verbatim Recall (LVR) and the Myth and Gift of Tape-Recorder Memory," in *Psychology in the 1990's*, ed. P. Niemi (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Co., 1984), 425–40; idem., "Lengthy Verbatim Recall: The Role of Text," in *Psychology of Language*, ed. A. Ellis, Vol. 1 (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1985), 207–35.

9. Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982), 64–65.

process that Bartlett termed the "effort after meaning." This tripartite terminology—"memory variants," "aural variants," and "graphic variants"—can enable us to avoid exclusively associating these memory variants with "oral tradition." To be sure, such substitutions of similar words, shifts in order, etc. are typical of many orally transmitted texts, because of the prominent role that memory plays in much oral tradition. This has led many scholars to term them "oral variants." Nevertheless, as Parry observed, these variants are found in much written tradition as well.

■ UNCOVERING SIGNS OF ORAL-WRITTEN TRANSMISSION IN LITERARY TEXTS

Parry's brief observations of signs of oral-written transmission in early Homeric tradition were followed by other, more extensive investigations in classics, medieval studies, and other areas. Others, such as John Miles Foley, have reviewed the broader history of approaches to texts highlighting their oral background, so a comprehensive review will not be attempted here. Instead, I will give a sampling of some examples of such research, giving a sense of both the range of documentation of such dynamics and of additional markers of oral-written transmission beyond those mentioned above.

Classics

Parry's studies were followed by the yet more influential work by his protégé Albert Lord, particularly his *Singer of Tales* (1949 dissertation; published in 1960), but Lord's work focused more on formulae and ethnographic documentation rather than developing Parry's preliminary observations of manuscript variation as a sign of oral transmission. Nevertheless, several scholars working on early Homeric manuscripts confirmed Parry's hunches regarding the character of their variation. Two examples will be mentioned here. First, in the introduction to her edition of Ptolemaic Homeric papyri, Stephanie West observed, like Parry, the remarkably high amount of variation among these texts. In particular, she observed an additional phenomenon characteristic of oral-written transmission: "concordance interpolation." By this she meant the phenomenon of a tradent expanding a given Homeric scene through interpolating into it lines borrowed from a similar scene elsewhere in the Homeric or classical corpus. West found that the proportion of variation often correlated to whether or not a given passage had such parallels:

> Concordance interpolation exercised a powerful attraction: thus a line or group of lines which follow a particular formula in one place are inserted after it in another passage where they may be rather less suitable (pp. 12–13). Many of these plus-verses have been transferred *verbatim* from other parts of the Homeric poems, or have been created by the combination of two common formulae; in two cases the source is the Homeric hymns, in one the Hesiodic *Scutum*.[10]

10. Stephanie West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1967), 12–13.

This phenomenon was a form of conflation by tradents who knew the whole corpus by heart. When they reached a scene with parallels elsewhere in Homer, they were able to enrich their reconstruction of it by importing materials from the parallel scene. We will see this phenomenon in other materials to be discussed in the next two chapters.

Meanwhile, we see much more extensive discussion of manuscript variants and their oral background in Apthorp's 1980 study, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*. He goes back to Parry's original formulations, confirms West's observation of the prominence of plus-verses in eccentric Ptolemaic papyri, and discusses both micro-variants and examples of apparent additions of larger episodes to the early Homeric tradition. Perhaps most interesting, he speculates on the possible processes that would have led to the inclusion of certain oral-written innovations in the full range of later Homeric manuscripts. Though some of these dynamics might have been produced by the limitation of authoritative recitation to a few occasions or a small circle of reciters and their students, he concludes that one of the most likely hypotheses is that a pan-Athenian written version gained such prestige that it governed the production of other versions, even as some rhapsodes continued to produce their own eccentric versions from memory. This would be another example of the interaction of writing with oral transmission in producing a mix of stabilization and forms of variation typical of texts transmitted through memory.[11]

Medieval Studies

From a fairly early point, studies of Old English and other medieval literatures were influenced by the approach inaugurated by Parry and Lord. Initially, such approaches were heavily influenced by the emphases of Lord's work and focused on formulae and other possible internal signs of oral-traditional composition. Nevertheless, already in 1953, Kenneth Sisam published an article "The Authority of Old English Poetical Manuscripts" that anticipated later developments in the study of the oral dimension of manuscript transmission of medieval traditions. In this article, Sisam put variant versions of several poetic sections in parallel. The extracts paralleled each other line for line, yet they included or omitted minor words, varied in use of prepositions, substituted synonyms of words for each other, inflected words differently, varied in spelling of words in common, and occasionally featured minor or more significant variation in word order or larger sections. Sisam concluded—as Parry did earlier for Homeric manuscript variation—that the sort of variation seen here was not easily explained by graphic means:

> In sum, the number of variants is very large. Though they are of a pedestrian kind, many of them cannot be accounted for by simple errors of a scribe's eye or ear. More often than not they make metre and some sense. . . . But as compared with the variants

11. Michael J. Apthorp, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1980).

> in classical texts, they show a laxity in reproduction and an aimlessness in variation which are more in keeping with the oral transmission of verse.[12]

Sisam does not appear to have had studies of memory at his disposal, so he does not nuance his suggestions further. For him transmission appears to be either literary or oral. Thus, writing-supported transmission through memory does not appear to be an option for Sisam. Nevertheless, his work provides an early catalogue of additional sorts of variation characteristic of memorized texts.

Starting in the 1950s, Albert Baugh wrote a series of articles on Middle English romances that offered a more reflected oral-written approach to texts, one informed by Lord's recent dissertation. A 1957 article "Improvisation in Middle English Romance" resembled Sisam's work in discussing extensive, nongraphic variation, this time in the transmission of Middle English romances. Once again, the sorts of variation—substitutions of synonyms, small shifts in word order, etc.—were not easily explained as graphic transcriptional errors. Then, in 1967, Baugh published a much more extensive and explicit discussion of the "creation, presentation, and preservation" of Middle English Romances. Contra Lord's emergent approach, he argued that the Middle English romances were composed in writing. They were not oral-formulaic in character.[13] Nevertheless, he argued that the sorts of variation seen in Middle English manuscripts show that these texts were transmitted orally, at least in part. As he notes, past scholars tended to explain such variation as the result of conscious alteration of the poetic tradition by later scribes. Yet he observes that such changes:

> involve not just the substitution of a better word, but the rephrasing of a line or several lines and often the substitution of new rime words. The scribe is no longer a copyist; he has become a poet.

Baugh traces older testimony that these poetic romances were sung by minstrels, often in ostensibly educational contexts. Though there are a few references to "reading from a book," he argues that most such performances were done from memory. Furthermore, he suggests that the variation is greatest for the most popular romances. The more loved the tradition, the greater the variation in its transmission! Baugh speculates that the romances were written down for a variety of reasons: as an aid to recitation, insurance against forgetfulness, for reading aloud in certain circumstances, sharing of the tradition with other minstrels, or as a gift to a patron.[14]

In a 1976 article, "'The Role of Formulas in the Dissemination of a Middle English Alliterative Romance," Hoyt Duggan built on and beyond Baugh's work on Middle English Romances, documenting the sorts of variation characteristic of transmission of textual tradition transmitted through oral and/or memory means. He argued that the bulk of variants in such Middle English Romances could not be explained as the result of graphic miscopying or conscious alteration. Similar to

12. Kenneth Sisam, "Notes on Old English Poetry: The Authority of Old English Poetical Manuscripts," *Review of English Studies* 257–68 (1953): 261.

13. Albert C. Baugh, "The Middle English Romance: Some Questions of Creation, Presentation, and Preservation," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 2–3.

14. Baugh, "Middle English Romance," 31.

Sisam, Duggan lists numerous examples of other sorts of change: where a verb is in the present tense in one manuscript and preterite in another, verbs vary between active and passive voice in the same location, there are shifts in mood and number, different (but synonymous) words appear, etc. Though some such variants can be explained as the result of dialectal or other shifts, Duggan suggests that many other variations are the result of unconscious substitution. In either case, in these manuscripts we see a predominance of "good variants" in Parry's sense—with the variant versions all making sense.[15]

Other medieval scholars have explored these and similar themes. In a 1984 study, Alexandra Olsen wrote a monograph on Middle English romances that built particularly on Baugh's work, including an additional survey of the phenomenon of lexical variants.[16] Also in 1984, Rosamund Allen published an edition of *King Horn* that included lists of variants that may have been produced through unconscious variation in memorized texts: insignificant substitution of formulaic equivalents, shifts in word order, omission of small words, confusion over homonyms, etc.[17] In a series of studies, Alger Doane has stressed the oral-written character of Old English literature, surveying what he calls "indifferent variation" and developing a concept of "the scribe as performer" to account for such variation.[18] Meanwhile, in 1972, a musicologist, Hendrik van der Werf, summarized the results of his earlier research on *chansons*, arguing that the manuscript tradition for these *chansons* features the sorts of variation characteristic of oral transmission: substitution of equivalent wording, omission of words, lines and stanzas, variation in spelling, word order, and even stanza order.[19] Since van der Werf's work focused on the transmission of musical traditions, it had the advantage of tracing such variations in a form of text that had a crystal-clear oral-aural component.

Some other medieval studies touched on the issue of oral-written transmission more briefly. In 1972, Duggan briefly noted the prominence of oral sorts of variation in the medieval romance manuscript corpus which he was surveying. The same year Zumthor argued against the usefulness of manuscript stemmata for medieval poetry because they are so characterized by orally based *mouvance*.[20] Richard Payne posited a combined oral-written process for the transmission of Old English literature in a 1977 article.[21]

15. Hoyt N. Duggan, "The Role of Formulas in the Dissemination of a Middle English Alliterative Romance," *Studies in Bibliography. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 29 (1976): 265–88.

16. See Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, *Speech, Song, and Poetic Craft: The Artistry of the Cynewulf Canon* (New York: P. Lang, 1984), especially pp. 31–37.

17. See Rosamund Allen, *King Horn: An Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Ms. Gg. 4.27(2)*, in Garland Medieval Texts 7 (New York: Garland, 1984), especially pp. 68–71.

18. See, for examples, Alger N. Doane, "Oral Texts, Intertexts, and Intratexts: Editing Old English," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. J. Clayton and E. Rothstein (Madison,: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 75–113 and idem., "The Ethnography of Scribal Writing and Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Scribe as Performer," *Oral Tradition* 9 (1994): 420–39.

19. Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1972), 26–31.

20. Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), particularly pp. 70–74.

21. Richard C. Payne, "Formulaic Poetry in Old English and Its Backgrounds," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 11 (1977): 41–49.

The above represents a necessarily limited survey. Nevertheless, certain patterns recur. The above studies have confirmed and expanded the sorts of variants that are *not* best explained as the result of transcriptional error or conscious alteration. Moreover, they have developed models for the interaction of memory and written text. Largely because the oral-traditional approach of Parry and Lord has been most influential in the study of Old and Middle English literature, most of the studies touched on here focus on that area. Nevertheless, the important studies of Zumthor are but one indicator that such an approach can be productive in a survey of other medieval traditions. I turn now, however, to conclude this survey of text-critically oriented studies of oral-written transmission by noting a few examples of such study of pre-medieval, Semitic traditions.

Studies of Oral-Written Transmission of Ancient Near Eastern Traditions

Another area of humanities that has been particularly influenced by studies of orality is scholarship on the written traditions of the Ancient Near East. Given this chapter's focus on issues of memory and manuscript transmission, I will not attempt a complete review of oral-traditional studies of the Ancient Near East or of the Bible in particular. Some such reviews have been done in the past, and another one here would not take us further.[22] Nevertheless, I will discuss a scattering of studies of the Ancient Near East that have attended to signs of orality and memorization in biblical narrative, whether studies building primarily on the sorts of text-critical research inaugurated by Parry or studies building in some way on the memory research summarized earlier.

One thing that emerges in any such survey is how isolated the different studies are. There is not much of a connected history of research, with later studies building on and citing earlier ones. Discussion is usually confined to a given subdiscipline. For example, already in 1937, Axel Volten published a study of the Instruction of Anii that surveyed a series of errors typical of transmission of memorized texts, for example, synonyms, unexplained loss of suffixes, and substitution of similar sentences. Though he does not appear aware of Parry's early article on the transmission of Homeric epic, Volten argued that a process of memorization would explain both these errors and some rearrangements of sections that happen in the textual tradition.[23] Forty years later Günter Burkhard published a book that was, in some ways, a response to Volten's work, but no more conscious of the broader range of research on forms of transmission over previous decades in classics and literary studies. Burkhard argued that memory errors were more characteristic of the earliest stage of tradition, such as in the early Instruction of

22. For studies up through the early 1980s, see Robert Culley, "Oral Tradition and Biblical Studies," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986): 30–65. More recently, see in particular Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996).

23. Aksel Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1937).

Ptah-hotep, rather than being predominant in later instructions, such as Anii. Still, he found many short-term memory errors in the later transmission of Old and Middle Kingdom instructions, many of which manifested New Kingdom students attempting the sort of "effort after meaning" in older texts that was seen in Bartlett's experiments. Most significantly, Burkhard was not arguing against the role of memory in transmission of traditions, but against an exclusively oral model. According to Burkhard, students used written exemplars to memorize the texts, but sometimes produced copies or portions of copies from memory. This oral-written model, so Burkhard, would explain the mix of graphic and memory errors in the manuscripts he studied.[24]

Assyriology does not have, as far as I know, extensive studies of oral-written variants. Nevertheless, particularly because the transmission history of many texts is unusually well documented because tablets preserved well, the phenomenon is well known. Many authors have commented in passing on manuscript variants that probably result from oral transmission, by which they often mean transmission of texts through memory. For example, in dialogue with Scandinavian school scholars who posited an exclusively oral transmission history of biblical texts up to the post-exilic period, Widengren noted in a 1959 article how Mesopotamian suila prayers preserved variants that indicated interaction between orality and textuality.[25] Louis Levine notes in passing some synonymous and other variants that show Assyrian scribes treating inscriptions with striking freedom.[26] Bendt Alster briefly comments on how variants of the Lugalbanda tradition reflect an oral background.[27] Niek Veldhuis drew directly on Rubin's and others' work on memory to theorize about cognitive dynamics surrounding the early transmission of early Mesopotamian lexical lists.[28] And a recent University of Pennsylvania dissertation by Paul Delnero found extensive evidence of memory variants among the witnesses for Sumerian literary compositions.[29]

The above is just a sampling of observations of a much broader phenomenon. The Mesopotamian tradition contains a number of examples of multiply transmitted traditions. Virtually any time one compares parallel versions of cuneiform texts, as in—for example—Tigay's parallel comparisons of verbally parallel portions of the Gilgamesh epic, one finds plentiful examples of the sorts of memory

24. Günter Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des alten und mittleren Reiches*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977).

25. Geo Widengren, "Oral Tradition and Written Literature among the Hebrews in the Light of Arabic Evidence, with Special Regard to Prose Narratives," *Acta Orientalia* 23 (1959): 219. Note also his discussion of Volten's study (mentioned above) and Ringgren's study (discussed below) on pp. 213–14.

26. Louis D. Levine, "Inscriptions of Sennacherib," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Languages*, ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983), 72.

27. Bendt Alster, "Lugalbanda and the Early Epic Tradition in Mesopotamia," in *Lingering over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, ed. Tzvi Abusch, et al. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 63–64.

28. Niek Veldhuis, *Elementary Education at Nippur: The Lists of Trees and Wooden Objects* (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 131–41.

29. Paul Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad," PhD diss. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006); see especially pp. 606–52.

variants discussed above: word order shifts, substitutions of lexical equivalents, minor shifts in grammar or prepositions, rearrangement of lines, etc.[30] Also, in *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, I myself surveyed and discussed a set of such variants in the Descent of Ishtar tradition.[31]

Ancient Israel did not have as extensive a scribal apparatus as either Egypt or the Mesopotamian kingdoms, and aside from the Bible, little literature from Israel or surrounding areas has survived. Scribes wrote on more perishable materials than their Mesopotamian counterparts, and the climate of Israel meant that extremely few papyri from the ancient Israelite period survived (cf. Egypt). Nevertheless, as we will see, there is some data with which one can work, and this has been explored by a few scholars. A key early example is Helmer Ringgren's classic 1949 study of parallel versions of biblical poems. In this study he compared the parallel versions of several psalms and prophetic poems, classifying the variants by whether they were likely graphic errors, conscious alterations or updating, dictation, or other errors.[32] Another example, this time focusing on later Jewish materials, is Ed Greenstein's 1992 article, "Misquotation of Scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls," which found several examples of memory variants in Qumran literature and set these within a broader phenomenon of (occasional) misquotation of Scripture from memory that is documented in Judaism and Christianity.[33] Still another, more recent example would be Raymond Person's 1998 article, "The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer," where he examined several examples of synonymous variants in the various versions of the Isaiah-Hezekiah narrative and built on Doane's work on the "scribe as performer" (see above) to argue that such variants show the "oral mindset" of ancient Israelite scribes. He also suggested that the sort of variation seen in the Qumran 1QIsa[a] scroll may reflect the same sort of oral mindset.[34] Ringgren's, Greenstein's, and Person's works are predecessors to the sort of work with biblical texts that will be done in the following chapters of this book.

Meanwhile, a handful of scholars have attempted to use the insights of Bartlett and his heirs to identify the remains of cognitive transmission of New Testament gospel texts. Already in 1959, V. Taylor used Bartlett's already famous study to inform his own study of variation in the synoptic tradition, and he has been followed in this by Dominic Crossan's much more recent (1998) study of early Christian traditions. In 1971, Ernest Abel drew on both Bartlett and a more recent

30. Jeffrey Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 58–68 and 218–22.

31. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 42–45.

32. Helmer Ringgren, "Oral and Written Transmission in the Old Testament: Some Observations," *Studia Theologica* 3 (1949): 34–59.

33. "Misquotation of Scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Frank Talmage Memorial Volume*, ed. Barry Walfish (Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1993), 71–83.

34. See Raymond F. Person, "The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer," *JBL* 117 (1998): 603–608; republished in revised form in idem., *The Deuteronomic School: History, Social Setting, and Literature*, Studies in Biblical Literature (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 89–95.

article on rumor theory to analyze the transmission of early Christian traditions. Based on these studies, he concluded that oral transmission is characterized by abbreviation, while written transmission is characterized by elaboration, and he critiqued the standard two-document approach to the synoptic problem from this perspective. Finally, in 2002 McIver and Carroll did a series of Bartlett style of experiments themselves, comparing their students' ability to reproduce a text exactly with a text in front of them, with the text removed, and with the text returned to them. These experiments suggested to McIver and Carroll that oral texts were characterized by the following phenomena: "The common vocabulary is found in short sequences of words; there are changes of mood, tense, and grammatical construction; synonyms are common; and the passages are of different length."[35] Meanwhile, the passages transmitted through graphic copying showed a level of verbatim agreement that surpassed all but a handful of synoptic traditions. This led them, like Abel, to question the traditional documentary approaches to the synoptic problem.

Notably, most studies that have applied cognitive psychology to analyzing the transmission of biblical texts have not taken account of David Rubin's and others' recent work on how social groups reinforce the memory of oral traditions through use of music, movement, poetic structures, and (especially) written texts. As a result, McIver and Carroll's experiments have a faint other-worldly quality that resembles Bartlett's similarly artificial exercises. They work with student subjects untrained in the use of text or other methods to facilitate memorization, and neither the context nor the mode of presentation of the material (graphic sectioning, musical or rhythmic setting, etc.) lends itself to accurate recall. Consequently, the results of such studies are only partially relevant to a study of highly developed forms of oral-written transmission in the ancient Near East, Mediterranean, and elsewhere. They are useful in documenting overall contrasts between the shape of exclusively oral transmission (fluid, tendency toward streamlining) and writing-supported textual transmission (stable with cognitive variants, tendency toward expansion). They are not so useful, however, in adding precision to the dynamics of each form of transmission in societies where such capabilities are cultivated.

■ PROVERBS AS A POTENTIAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE DYNAMICS OF WRITING-SUPPORTED TRANSMISSION OF TRADITION

Proverbs stands as a promising initial locus to illustrate in the Bible the way written materials can show the sorts of memory variation discussed above in other literary corpora. The book itself is written, but it thematizes the importance of transmission through memory (Prov 3:1, 3; 7:1, 3; 22:18). Moreover, it contains a wide range of materials that almost certainly were transmitted through a combination of oral and written means in the context of some form of ancient Israelite/Judean education. The extent to which writing played a role in the early transmission of any of these individual cases is not material to the discussion,

35. McIver and Caroll, *JBL* 121 (2002): 687.

only the extent to which our present written text (containing parallel proverbs) contains materials that show evidence of memorization of textual material. In particular, I will focus here on cases of transmission of proverbs that are both parallel to each other and yet different in ways that might suggest some sort of memory variation, albeit in either direction.[36]

Consider, to start, the one case in Proverbs where two couplets in one locus (Prov 6:10–11) are parallel to two couplets in another (Prov 24:33–34; notable variations are underlined in the Hebrew). Here and in other cases, I begin by focusing on differences in the MT version of both sayings (though textual variants are discussed, as relevant, in some other instances):

Prov 6:10–11		Prov 24:33–34
מעט שנות מעט תנומות	=	מעט שנות מעט תנומות
a little sleeping, a little slumber		a little sleeping, a little slumber
מעט חבק ידים לשכב	=	מעט חבק ידים לשכב
a little folding of hands to lie down		a little folding of hands to lie down
ובא־כמהלך ראשך		ובא־מתהלך רישך
and your poverty will come like a vagabond		and your poverty will come, a vagabond
ומחסרך כאיש מגן		ומחסריך כאיש מגן
and your need like an armed man		and your needs like an armed man

This pair of couplets is unusual, both because it is the only case (in Proverbs) where parallels extend across two couplets together and because these parallels occur in a section, Prov 6:1–19, which is unusually characterized by parallels to other parts of Proverbs. Nevertheless, this unusual case provides a useful illustration of three more broadly attested features of transmission of written texts by way of memory. First, the closeness of verbatim parallel found across these couplets is not typical of exclusively oral transmission. Though Bartlett's early study already found that pithy sayings such as these are more easily remembered than prose extracts, exclusively oral transmission of such sayings is not characterized by the sort of extended verbatim parallel seen here. Second, Rubin's work on memorized extracts of classic works showed that verbatim memory usually is most accurate in recalling the outset of a given text. For example, people often recall the outset of Lincoln's Gettysburg address ("Four score and seven years ago"), but far less often the end.[37] Given this, it is striking that this one case of a two-couplet parallel in Proverbs is identical in the first couplet, while diverging

36. In this respect, Daniel C. Snell, *Twice-Told Proverbs and the Composition of the Book of Proverbs* (Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns, 1993) has proven an invaluable resource for collection of the initial database of parallel proverbs. I intend to publish a fuller analysis of this data in another context, but it proved too unwieldy and digressive for the present work. On this, cf. Michael Fox's discussion of Snell's work under the heading of Proverb "templates" (*Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009], 487–89). With Fox, I have no investment here in establishing the chronological priority of certain versions of these sayings over others, only in investigating the *sort of* variation characteristic between them.

37. Rubin, *Memory in Old Traditions*, 179–83.

slightly in the second. Third, when we look at the variation in the second couplet, it is of the sort seen in transmission of memorized texts: presence/absence of an optional preposition (כ in 6:10), use of different stems to describe the "vagabond" (piel מהלך 6:11 versus hithpael מתהלך 24:34), different renderings of "your poverty" (רישך//6:11 ראשך 24:34), and a meaningless variation between the singular and plural forms of "your need" (מחסרך 6:11; מחסריך 24:34).

As suggested above, we cannot be sure about the reasons for such variation in each individual case. It may be that some of these changes, for example, an addition of the preposition כ ("like") in 6:11, may be the result of a tradent in 6:10–11 clarifying obscure elements of his source in 24:33–34.[38] Yet even if we were to decide that this model was the most plausible one, it is still not clear on what level such modifications occurred. Was this writer of 6:10–11 actually reading and copying the material in Prov 24:33–34, intentionally altering his original at the above-indicated points? Or had he memorized that saying, probably through the help of a written text, and (in the case of Prov 6:11) made the sort of slight, usually unconscious adjustments seen when people *reconstruct* memorized texts in the process of reproducing them? The latter model—reconstruction of a memorized text—would explain both the clarifications of the saying in 6:11a, *and* the less clearly meaningful orthographic variation of ראש/ריש along with the singular/plural variation for מחסר.

These memory variants are attested in several other examples of parallel proverbs, as well, often more concentrated in the second line than the first. As one can see from the following comparison, the first lines of proverbs in Prov 16:2; 21:2, and 12:15 are virtually identical, except for the slight variation in number (דרכי Prov 16:2//דרך 21:2; 12:15) and word for goodness (זך Prov 16:2//ישר 21:2; 12:15) typical of transmission through memory. The most substantial deviation is between the focus of Prov 12:15 on the way of the *fool* (אויל) versus the focus of the other two proverbs on the way(s) of a *man* (איש):

Prov 16:2a	כל־דרכי־איש זַך בעיניו	all the ways of a man are pure in his eyes
Prov 21:2a	כל־דרך איש יָשָׁר בעיניו	every way of a man is right in his eyes
Prov 12:15a	דרך אויל יָשָׁר בעיניו	the way of the fool is right in his eyes

Notably, the second lines of Prov 16:2 and 21:2 are likewise parallel (12:15 diverges), varying only in whether they see Yhwh as weighing spirits (רוחות; 16:2b) or hearts (לבות; 21:2b):

Prov 16:2b	ותכן רוחות יהוה	but Yhwh weighs spirits
Prov 21:2b	ותכן לבות יהוה	but Yhwh weighs hearts

Though one might argue in this last case for conscious alteration on a given point—for example, רוחות/לבות—most of these changes involve quite slight shifts

38. For argumentation on this point, see Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 225–27 and (with reference to 6:11), 217.

in meaning. They are as likely or more likely to be the results of shifts in memory as the product of conscious alteration.

We see several other examples of such slight changes in repetitions across Proverbs. For example, Prov 12:11 and 28:19 are identical in their first halves (עבד אדמתו ישבע לחם; "the one who works the land will be satisfied with food"), and the second halves of both focus on the lack that comes from "chasing empty things" (מרדף ריקים), but diverge regarding how they specify that lack:

Prov 12:11b	ומרדף ריקים חסר־לב	one who chases frivolity is lacking in heart
Prov 28:19b	ומרדף ריקים ישבע־ריש	one who chases frivolity will be sated with poverty

Similarly, Prov 19:24 and 26:15 are identical in their first halves (טמן עצל ידו בצלחת; "the sluggard slips his hand into the dish"), but their latter halves diverge with regard to how they describe the inability of a lazy person to return a hand to his mouth:

Prov 19:24b	גם־אל־פיהו לא ישיבנה	Also to his mouth he does not return it
Prov 26:15b	נלאה להשיבה אל־פיו	He is unable to return it to his mouth

Sometimes variation occurs in couplets quite close to each other, as in the case of Prov 19:5//19:9. As in the previous two examples, the first halves of these couplets are identical to each other (עד שקרים לא ינקה; "a false witness will not go unpunished"), but their latter portions diverge in the words used to describe the destruction of lying witnesses:

Prov 19:5	ויפיח כזבים לא ימלט	and one who testifies lies will not escape
Prov 19:9	ויפיח כזבים יאבד	and one who testifies lies will perish

The divergent word found in Prov 19:9 ("will perish"; יאבד), agrees in its formulation with another description of the destruction of a lying witness in Prov 21:28a (עד־כזבים יאבד; cf. also יפיח כזבים עד שקר in 6:19a//14:5b). One might argue that an author or collector of Prov 19:5 and/or 19:9 introduced such a variation for literary or other reasons, but the semantic impact of the variation is so slight that it is likely the result of memory shifts. Such shifts would have produced slightly variant versions of the same saying that were later collected almost alongside each other in 19:5 and 9.

Proverbs 1-9 provides a number of distinctive cases of parallel proverbs, this time possibly illustrating the sorts of memory dynamics characteristic of a single author repeating material across different parts of a composition. Notably several of the examples that fall under this category (Prov 1:8//6:20; 2:1//7:1; 2:3//8:1; 3:15//8:11; cf. 2:2//4:20//5:1; 2:15//6:24//7:5; 5:7//7:24; 9:4//9:16) have an equal number of divergences in the first half of the saying to the divergences displayed in the second half. All display the sorts of variation typical of memory, but these may reflect some slightly different memory dynamics from the previously discussed parallel proverbs. Whereas tradents memorizing the proverbs *of others* often seem

to have had a more precise sense of their beginnings than their endings, the author of the bulk of Proverbs 1-9 seems to have recalled both halves of his sayings to a more equal extent.

This provides an initial sampling of cases conveying a range of non-graphic memory variants in the transmission of biblical proverbs that are parallel across both of their halves. We see similar semantic exchanges, shifts in order, and other memory variants in thirteen other cases where the Proverbs are similar, but not as closely parallel as those surveyed above: Prov 3:31//24:1; 10:1// 15:20; 10:2//11:4; 11:2//13:10; 11:14//15:22//24:6; 15:13//17:22; 16:18//18:12 (also cf. 16:18a//18:12a); 19:1//19:22//28:6; 22:2//29:13; 22:13//26:13; 23:3//23:6; 23:18//24:14; 3:3//6:21//7:3. And then there are a number of more instances where proverbs are particularly parallel in one line. In eleven cases, the lines are identical or virtually identical:10:16b//10:11b; 10:8b//10:10b; 6:15b//29:1b; 6:19a//14:5b; 10:15a//18:11a; 10:29a//21:15b; 13:9b//24:20b; 16:12b//25:5b//29:14b (cf. 20:28b); 17:3a//27:21a; 17:15b//20:10b. But in some twenty-six other cases, we see subtle variation across single lines: Prov 1:7a//9:10a//Ps 111:10a; 3:7b//16:6b; 3:21a//4:21a; 6:8a//30:25b; 6:15a//24:22a; 9:1a//14:1a//24:3a; 10:13a//19:29b//26:3b; 11:6a// 12:6b; 11:13a//20:19a; 11:21a//16:5b; 12:14a//13:2a//18:20a; 13:2a//18:20a; 13:1b// 13:8b; 14:17a//14:29b; 15:8a//21:27a; 15:14a//18:15a; 15:18a//29:22a; 17:15aα// 24:24a; 18:4a//20:5a; 18:9b//28:24b; 19:12a//20:2a; 20:11b//21:8b; 22:14a//23:27a; 24:12b//24:29b; 24:23b//28:21a; 28:12b//28:28a. This range of instances of proverbs with parallels concentrated in one line may testify to how the tissue of proverbial sayings were not just transmitted as wholes, but that their parts almost served like lexemes in an internalized wisdom vocabulary, one composed of sayings, lines and phrases—along with words particularly attached to learning. Those who had memorized this vocabulary could recombine elements from it in the process of forming new sayings.

This approach is reinforced in several cases by another sort of evidence for memorization of written texts: *manuscript evidence* of the harmonization of variant versions of similar sayings or episodes to one another. Several studies surveyed above saw such leveling of texts—for example, interpolation variants—as a characteristic of oral and oral-written transmission. Tradents of such texts often reconstructed a memorized episode or stanza in ways that assimilate it with a parallel one. In the case of Proverbs, the written (ketib) form of several sayings diverges in ways characteristic of memorized texts, while the orally read (qere) form of the tradition often appears to harmonize one saying to the other. Thus, we move from one reflection of memorized tradition—memory variants between the ketib-written forms of the proverbs—to another reflection of memorized tradition—harmonization—in the qere-performed form of the text. For example, Prov 20:16b is virtually identical to Prov 27:13b.[39] Nevertheless, the written form (ketib) of 20:16 mentions "foreigners" (נכרים), while Prov 27:13 (both written and read) reads "foreign woman" (נכריה). Significantly, the oral form (qere) of 20:16 resolves this difference and reads "foreign woman" in agreement with its parallel in Prov

39. The first cola of each couplet, 20:16a//27:13a, is identical, except for a typical oral-cognitive variation in the formulation of the qal imperative: לקח 20:16//קח 27:13; "take."

27:13. Similarly, Prov 22:3 and 27:12 are almost the same, with the exception of the presence of two conjunctions in 22:3 and a divergence in how each describes the "hiding" that a smart person does upon seeing evil: ויסתר (22:3 ketib)//נסתר (27:12 ketib and qere). Again, the oral form (qere) of Prov 22:3 resolves this difference and has נסתר in agreement with the parallel in 27:12. A slightly more complex case is found in the latter half of sayings found in Prov 21:9//21:19//25:24.[40] The written form of Prov 21:19; 25:24 spells "contention" in "woman of contention" מדונים in contrast to מדינים in both oral and written forms of Prov 21:9. The oral form of Prov 21:19; 25:24, however, resolves this difference and agrees with 21:9 in spelling this word מדינים.

Of course, one could argue that the qere-performed form of the above-discussed verses is earlier, while the written forms represent later divergences from the parallels. One possible example of this is an orthographic divergence found in a parallel listed above: Prov 3:15a//8:11a. The written form of Prov 3:15a has מפניים, a reading that is probably a graphic error for the qere reading in 3:15a of מפנינים ("than rubies").[41] This qere reading, in turn, could be a later harmonization of the difficult (ketib) orthography of 3:15a to that found in 8:11a, but it also could reflect an earlier reading for this verse before the ketib of 3:15a was corrupted.

In general, given the well-documented propensity of tradents to harmonize verses with each other, the presence of potential harmonizing readings in the oral versions of Prov 20:16; 22:3; 21:19; and 25:24 may reflect the differing impact of memory on oral versus written textual transmission. To be sure, there is much evidence for the impact of memory variation in written texts, but the relative fluidity of oral transmission allows for memory dynamics to play a bigger role in producing harmonized and otherwise modified versions of texts. Furthermore, this harmonization appears to have been characteristic of the oral transmission of unusually close parallels, showing a tendency of the oral tradents of Proverbs to make almost identical couplets more similar. The three best cases of harmonization discussed above (20:16; 22:3; and 21:19 with 25:24) also happen to be half the members of a group of six pairs of sayings in Proverbs that Snell, in his comprehensive survey of parallel proverbs, collects in his grouping: (3.1) "whole verses repeated with spelling variations."[42] Aside from the two pairs of proverbs that are identical, these verses are the most parallel of any found in Proverbs.

The ancient *versions* of Proverbs can provide additional data regarding the transmission of sayings in Proverbs, data that show similar harmonizing tendencies to those seen in the above-discussed examples of ketib-qere differences.[43]

40. All three sayings begin with a quite similar description of how "it is better to sit on a corner of a roof," only diverging in whether a preposition is used before the infinitive for sit (לשבת; 21:9a; 25:24a) or not (שבת; 21:19a).

41. See Crawford H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, ICC (New York: Scribner's, 1899), 72.

42. Snell, *Twice-Told Proverbs*, 35. Notably, Snell does not discuss the ketib-qere issue in these cases, but they are noted in Abba Bendavid, *מקבילות במקרא [Parallels in the Bible]* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), 215 (though with 21:9 mis-cited as 20:9).

43. Qumran fragments of the book of Proverbs (as published in Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Peter Flint, *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000],

For example, the MT of Prov 4:20b tells the son to incline his ears to his father's "words" (אמרי), while the MT of Prov 5:1b tells him to incline his ears to his father's "wisdom" (חכמה). The LXX rendering of Prov 5:1b, however, has the son inclining his ears to his father's "words" as in 4:20b (both MT and LXX), and most Syriac versions of 5:1b have "word" at the same locus. Whether these versional readings for 5:1b reflect harmonization (to 4:20b) in the Hebrew traditions used by these versions or harmonization by the Greek translator is difficult to know, since the Syriac appears dependent in some cases on the Greek and thus may not represent independent testimony in this case to a Hebrew reading of 5:1 as "word" or "words."[44] Another example may be found in Prov 2:3//8:1, where the MT of 2:3a has the student calling for "comprehension" (בינה) and the MT of 8:1a speaks of "wisdom" (חכמה) calling to the student. In this case, the LXX of 2:3a agrees with 8:1a (MT and LXX) in speaking of σοφία ("wisdom"), conforming somewhat to the latter text.[45] One more example of possible versional witness to harmonization is found in Prov 3:15//8:11. The MT of Prov 3:15b reads "your desires" versus just "desirable things" in (the MT of) 8:11b, but the Hexaplaric Greek tradition and Peshitta have readings that appear to independently attest חפצים in 3:15b, a reading which conforms to that seen in 8:11b.[46] One might maintain that the reading "desirable things" in 3:15b reflected in the Hexapla and Peshitta is original. Fox suggests that the reading reflected in the Greek and Syriac traditions "has the advantage of not introducing a lone second sg. address into a unit otherwise lacking it."[47] Yet, given above-discussed tendencies, I think it more likely that the tradents of 3:15b themselves eliminated such an anomaly from the poem, probably helped by the influence of the parallel of חפצים in 8:11b.

Of course, the versions do not always witness to harmonization. Instead, they are part of a broader mix of witnesses to various phenomena surrounding sayings that appear multiple times in one or more textual traditions. For example, the LXX of Prov 19:9b concludes with ὑπ' αὐτῆς ([perish] "by it"), which might reflect a tradition for 19:9b that diverges yet more from its parallel in 19:5b than the one seen in the MT. In this case, the divergent rendering of 19:9b seen in the LXX appears to be a clarification of the reading seen in the MT. Therefore, it is not likely that this is a case of the LXX reflecting an earlier divergent reading for 19:9b that was harmonized in the MT version with its parallel in 19:5b.

181–86) do not preserve many clear variants. Prov[a] is dated to the 1st century BCE or early 1st century CE and has one possible graphic variant in 1:32 (see DJD, 181 and 182). Prov[b] is dated to the same time and has an orthographic variant in 15:19 סולֹלה for MT סלֹלה, a probably correct reading of וחסר in 14:34 for MT וחסד, and one error in 15:28: absence of יהגה of MT and presence of לענות.

44. For a discussion of tendencies in the Syriac, see Fox, Prov 1–9, 365. Here and throughout this discussion of versions, I have benefited greatly from the detailed presentation and discussion of textual evidence provided in Michael Fox's commentary.

45. For a discussion of the usual LXX equivalents of בינה, see Fox, Prov 1–9, 373.

46. See Fox, Prov 1–9, 379–80 for a discussion of the variants and the substantially different rendering of 3:15 in the LXX.

47. Fox, Prov 1–9, 157.

So far I have not considered explanations for variation nor argued for the priority of one version of a saying over another. Nevertheless, there are some cases where such explanation is more likely than others. Take, for example, the following case of a parallel couplet, whose second line is identical (לסור ממקשי מות; "in order to turn away from the traps of death"), but where the first line of Prov 14:27 is often taken to be a pious modification of the line seen in Prov 13:14:[48]

Prov 13:14a	תורת חכם מקור חיים	the teaching of the wise is a well of life
Prov 14:27a	יראת יהוה מקור חיים	the fear of Yhwh is a well of life

Interestingly, the LXX of Prov 14:27a mentions πρόσταγμα ("commandment"), where the MT has יראת ("fear") possibly assimilating to the תורה ("teaching") in Prov 13:14a. In either case, one could debate the extent to which the author of Prov 14:27a was consciously modifying the version seen in Prov 13:14a to create a focus on Yhwh or whether he unconsciously made such a substitution. In the latter case, even if it was a memory variant, it was one shaped by the author's semantic associations that made the תורת חכם ("teaching of the wise") semantically equivalent to יראת יהוה ("fear of Yhwh").

Another probable example of modification is one where Prov 8:35 appears to apply to wisdom a saying seen in Prov 18:22 about how a good woman brings life and desire from Yhwh. Both sayings conclude identically with a line ויפק רצון מיהוה ("he obtains favor from Yhwh"), a line that in turn varies in only minor ways from the first line of Prov 12:2: טוב יפיק רצון מיהוה ("a good one obtains favor from Yhwh"). The key change is seen in the first line of both sayings:

Prov 8:35	כי מצאי מצאי חיים	for the one who has found me [wisdom] has found life
Prov 18:22	מצא אשה מצא טוב	for he has found a woman; he has found good

In this case, wisdom speaking in the first person in Prov 8:35 claims for herself some of the goods that are attributed to a good wife in Prov 18:22. This could be a later adaptation.

The above examples point to the likelihood that these sorts of sayings in Proverbs were produced in a tight web of intertextual connections and revisions. Though many of the variations surveyed here probably were accidental, others were part of a process of revision and debate. Ancient intellectuals were not just interested in exact reproduction of the tradition, but intervened in it and offered points and counterpoints. This is illustrated by a parallel between Prov 26:5 (mentioned above) and the immediately contiguous, verbally parallel, and yet contradictory version of the saying in Prov 26:4:

48. Cf., however, Raymond Van Leuwen's rejection of this idea, "Proverbs," in *NIB* 5 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1997), 143.

Prov 26:4	אל־תען כסיל כאולתו	don't answer a fool according to his foolishness,	פן־תשוה־לו גם אתה	lest you be equal to him also you
Prov 26:5	ענה כסיל כאולתו	answer a fool according to his foolishness,	פן־יהיה חכם בעיניו	lest he be wise in his own eyes

There are other examples of potentially contradictory sayings in Proverbs, but this one is a particularly clear case where the student is required to reflect on and adjudicate between competing claims. It may be that a few of the above-surveyed cases of probable modification were conscious revisions of earlier sayings to prod similar reflection.

That said, I maintain that it would be a mistake to try to explain most or all of the above variations as part of a conscious process. There is a temptation to attempt this, particularly because so many biblical scholars work in religious contexts where the goal is to find meaning in every aspect of the text no matter how seemingly insignificant. Indeed, there is a certain magic attached in scriptural contexts to finding meaning in every non-understood variation of a line or saying. That is part of what biblical scholars, particularly those working in traditions that view the Bible as Scripture, do: find new meanings in initially obscure ancient texts, often under the (ancient) preconception that *every* aspect of the canonical text is significant.[49] Set enough such scholars loose on variations such as those discussed above, and it is only a matter of time before many are explained as the result of either error or specific sorts of exegetical/theological modification.

The aim of the above broad survey, however, has been to show the plausibility in the Hebrew Bible of another model: the model of transmission of texts by way of memory. Though some variations in parallel lines or sayings may be the result of error or intertextual dialogue, we have seen a preponderance of exactly the sorts of variation that scholars in non-religious disciplines have explained as the result of recall of memorized texts: exchange of synonymous words, word order variation, presence and absence of conjunctions and minor modifiers, etc. In some instances, one may find places where a tradent inserts a demonstrably later grammatical expression or theological concept into an earlier saying, thus allowing us to be able to guess the direction of dependence. In many instances, however, this sort of variation does not allow for analysis of direction of dependence. Indeed, there is always the possibility that certain sayings existed in yet more forms than those reflected in Proverbs. In these cases, the parallel sayings may not be related to each other in a unilinear sort of development. Instead, they may be reproductions of earlier forms of such sayings that were also different. In sum, in so far as the sayings in Proverbs were reproduced—in whole or in part—through memory, the search for an Ur-text and clear lines of dependence and revision often will be fruitless.

49. For a broader argument on this point, see David M. Carr, "For the Love of Christ: Generic and Unique Elements in Christian Theological Readings of the Song of Songs," in *The Multivalence of Biblical Texts and Theological Meanings*, ed. Christine Helmer (Atlanta: Scholars, 2006), 11–35, particularly pp. 28–29.

One might still inquire, of course, on the extent to which the above examples testify to transmission of proverbs through pure memory (and orality) or through some kind of writing-supported process of memorization and performance. Certainly the anthropological and psychological studies surveyed above would suggest that ever greater amounts of verbatim agreement increase the odds that some sort of writing support is involved. Generally speaking, exclusively oral transmission produces changes far greater than an exchange of a synonym here or there, minor shifts in word order, etc. To some extent, Bartlett's early studies found pithy and memorable sayings to be an exception to this general rule, with distinctive sayings such as "Lawn tennis has often been described as a mutual cocktail" being preserved more faithfully than prose extracts. Nevertheless, the breadth and depth of agreement in many of these sayings from Proverbs—some more memorable than others—suggest that something more is at work in Proverbs. Furthermore, both the oral *qere* reading tradition preserved by the Masoretes and the LXX and Syriac versions testify to the impact of *memory* dynamics in the transmission of *written* forms of these sayings. Although all are written manuscript traditions, we see reflections in them of the sorts of harmonization typical of oral recollection of memorized material, harmonization produced by readers of the tradition (*qere*), by Hebrew tradents who passed on the versions of the sayings reflected in the LXX and Syriac versions, and by the translators who produced those versions. Though these tradents left their marks in *written* forms of the sayings, many of these are marks of transmission of texts in *memorized* form. Once again, this time in a book from the Hebrew Bible, we see the limits of sharp distinctions between writing and memory, with the clear influence of the latter on the former.

■ CONCLUSION ON MEMORY AND OTHER FORMS OF TRANSMISSION

The above-surveyed studies have illustrated the phenomenon of oral-written, cognitive transmission across a broad variety of ancient literatures. As I have argued, this sort of transmission is marked by a set of distinctive variants, "memory variants," which show the transformations typical of texts, transmitted, at least in part, through memory. So far I have been concerned with showing the widespread existence of such variants and summarizing cognitive psychological and other studies that help us recognize them as signs of writing-supported cognitive transmission of texts (as distinct from exclusively oral-cognitive textual transmission).

It should be stressed at this point that such writing-supported memorization was not characteristic of all ancient texts. Ancient scribes did not memorize every receipt or letter they wrote, and there are numerous other sorts of records, display texts, and other genres that were not typically internalized through the use of writing. Instead, the texts that have emerged at the forefront of this discussion—Homeric Epic, biblical texts, Gilgamesh, lexical lists, Egyptian instructions, etc.—tend to be what I have termed in another context "long-duration literature," that is, literature that is deemed by a certain group to be a heritage to be transmitted from one generation to another by performance and

memory.[50] Cultures and groups within them diverge in their idea of what sorts of texts should be so transmitted to subsequent generations, and the specific means by which they were passed on and the target groups for such transmission certainly diverged as well. The claim made here is simply that the texts of the Hebrew Bible, whatever their often diverse original uses, came down to us through the sorts of transmission processes characteristic of oral-written long-duration literature.

Though much of this chapter has discussed commonalities in how memory played a role in the transmission of a variety of literatures, it is important to recognize that such writing-supported transmission took quite different forms, not only between cultures, but within cultures. For example, in his analysis of the development of the classic Mesopotamian lexical list tradition, Veldhuis found quite different ways that earlier and later tradents worked with existing lexical traditions. Early scribes appear to have been freer in their reproduction of the tradition, introducing a number of the sorts of memory variants discussed in this chapter, while later tradents appear to have been more precise in graphically copying and carefully preserving the tradition.[51] Memory variants decrease, graphic variants become more common, and colophons increasingly emphasize that the scribe saw and precisely copied earlier tablets.[52] So also, in Jewish tradition, recent studies in the history of the development of the biblical text have highlighted an increasing trend toward precision of copying. Largely thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls and new analysis of the LXX tradition, we now know that early biblical textual traditions tended to be more fluid, manifesting more of the kinds of semantic shifts surveyed in this chapter (among other sorts of changes). Later, however, there was an increasing emphasis on precise copying of the consonantal text, still later, a codifying and standardization of textual vocalization, and finally the accentuation of the text was fixed. Thus, both the Mesopotamian and Jewish cases show an increasing emphasis on precision in reproduction of the tradition, an emphasis which means that there are fewer memory variants in later stages than in earlier ones.

This does not mean that the tradition was not being memorized at late stages (note the *qere* and versional variants in parallel proverbs), but it does suggest that even memorization probably was affected by the increasing emphasis on precise preservation of the tradition. Within traditional Judaism there is still an emphasis on memorization of biblical texts, but there has been a trend over time in Judaism toward writing-supported memorization of ever more precise elements of the text: not just meanings, not just consonants, not just vowels, but—in certain quarters—accentuation and other textual elements. Thus, the emphasis on precise preservation of the tradition is not just manifest in how manuscripts are produced, but also in how such manuscripts are used to aid ever more precise memorization of the

50. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 5.

51. Niek Veldhuis, "Mesopotamian Canons," in *Homer, the Bible and Beyond: Literary and Religious Canons in the Ancient World*, ed. Margarit Finkelberg and Guy G. Strousma (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 9–28.

52. The best diachronic study of these sorts of developments in a particular Mesopotamian scribal tradition is Veldhuis, *Elementary Education*; see also his "Mesopotamian Canons" on the different treatment of the lexical tradition in earlier and later periods.

Bible. The same was probably true in Mesopotamia as well. Though graphic and other means were used increasingly to ensure precise reproduction of classic Mesopotamian texts, we also know that students were still required to memorize these traditions.[53] It is likely that the emphasis on precision in copying also extended to emphasis on precision in memorization, so that students more precisely memorized these ever more precisely preserved texts.

Finally, we should recognize the complex ways in which memory interacts with authorial intention and target audience in the alteration of texts over time. On one level, audience expectations play a significant role in determining what counts as sufficient precision in the transmission of textual traditions. For example, the preceding paragraphs have discussed how both Mesopotamian and Jewish traditions seem to manifest an increasing expectation over time for ever more precise transmission of certain long duration texts. What would have counted as the "same" in early stages of Mesopotamian and Jewish transmission of textual tradition was looser than what counted as the "same" in later stages. In addition, it often is impossible to separate intentional alteration from unintentional memory shifts in textual transmission, and there are mixed cases, such as places where an exchange of a word or phrase by a scribe might manifest that scribe's unconscious wish to have the text address his or her audience in a particular way. From our perspective in a later period, it often is difficult to distinguish these cases. Contemporary exegetes may be a bit too inclined to find authorial intention in every shift, yet it is also likely that scribes did intervene in subtle ways (whether consciously or unconsciously) to update and shape their texts for their audiences.

All this situates the study of the formation of the Hebrew Bible within the broader context of a variety of studies of pre-print literatures of the Near East, Mediterranean region, and Europe. Enriched by such studies, we can approach the study of the formation of the Bible ever more attuned to the complex relationships that can be discerned between written text, performance, and memory. The history of much biblical scholarship done in isolation from such considerations has shown how prone biblical scholars can be to presuming that the biblical texts known to them—with attention often given almost exclusively to print editions of the MT—form stable data on the basis of which they can reconstruct highly precise differentiations of potential precursor literary strata, relationships of literary dependence of various texts on one another, and the presence of more or fewer groups of secondary additions. On the contrary, building on studies of ancient literatures near and far, we would be on much firmer ground to see in our *various* editions of Hebrew Scriptural texts the distillate of a transmission-historical process, shaped to varying extents by the exigencies of memory and performance. To exaggerate somewhat, it is as if past scholars presupposed that earlier layers of biblical texts were written in stone, when in fact it is more likely they were written in (or at least accessed and reproduced by means of) the shifting sands of memory. As a result, we have far less data in our present text(s) for the hypothetical reconstruction of the Bible's prehistory than we might presuppose or wish.

53. Petra Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, AOAT 275 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 72.

2 Documented Cases of Transmission History, Part 1

Two Cases

We turn now from the survey of evidence for oral-written transmission of couplets in Proverbs to examination of both memory variants and other dynamics in the revision of ancient oral-written texts. Already the studies surveyed in Chapter 1 suggest an overall pattern: Whereas texts transmitted in an exclusively oral-cognitive mode are often abbreviated and leveled, oral-written texts are more stable and expanded. Nevertheless, the most extensive documentation of these trends was in contemporary psychological experiments with textual transmission. In this and the next chapter, I look at the dynamics of revision as they can be traced through the comparison of variant editions of ancient texts.

This type of study has come to be called the "empirical study" of textual transmission, though it is a far cry from repeatable experiments of the sort that are usually labeled "empirical." The term "empirical" is applied mainly because these studies work with material evidence of textual transmission—different editions of texts—rather than trying to deduce a text's sources and layers on the basis of clues in a later edition of it. Another designation would be "study of documented cases of ancient textual revision," but "empirical study" is more compact, widely understood, and will be adequate for the purposes of this study.

The challenge for such empirical study of ancient revision is finding multiple cases where we have not one, but two or more editions of the same ancient text. Given the problems of preservation of ancient texts, this is not easy. The vast bulk of copies of ancient texts have been lost, and the few that were copied into later times—for example, the Bible—generally were copied in only one basic version (or a family of highly similar editions). As a result, we are limited in this study to a few places where the evidence has been unusually well preserved.

Despite these hazards, scholars have found many examples of such documented growth in ancient texts. Early studies, such as a classic essay by Moore (and a later essay by Donner), focused on the example of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, an early Christian interweaving of the canonical Christian gospels.[1] This, and some yet later materials analyzed by Longstaff, were seen to be empirical examples of the kind of conflationary interweaving that scholars had posited for sources of the Pentateuch and the synoptic gospels.[2] Jeffrey Tigay's dissertation on the documented transmission

1. George F. Moore, "Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 9 (1890): 201–15, republished as "Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 243–56; Herbert Donner, "Der Redaktor: Überlegungen zum vorkritischen Umgang mit der Heiligen Schrift," *Hennoch* 2 (1980): 1–30.

2. Thomas R. W. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study in the Synoptic Problem*, SBLDS 28 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

history of the Gilgamesh epic built on and expanded earlier work on documented examples of growth in Mesopotamia, showing how Assyriology could significantly inform models in biblical studies.[3] In addition, a book he edited, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, brought biblical scholars' attention to ways that some biblical manuscript traditions (the LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, and/or Qumran) provided evidence for the transmission history of biblical traditions.[4] As this research has continued, scholars have analyzed substantial differences in the traditions of virtually every book in the Hebrew Bible, and such scholarship has been increasingly inclined to explain such substantial differences as testimonies to different editions of such biblical books, rather than isolated copyist and/or translator revisions.[5] Meanwhile, other scholars have used this perspective to reanalyze long-known divergences within biblical traditions themselves, such as differences between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles or between legal traditions in the Pentateuch.[6] And finally, the Dead Sea Scrolls have turned out to be a particularly rich area for this kind of research. First, the Dead Sea Scrolls preserve a number of divergent manuscript versions of biblical traditions, including substantially different renditions of the Pentateuch in 4QRP and the Temple Scroll.[7] Second, recent work by Metso,

3. Jeffrey Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982). See also a previously mentioned (and as yet unpublished) dissertation completed under the supervision of Steve Tinney on the Sumerican decad: Paul Delnero, "Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions: A Case Study Based on the Decad," PhD diss. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), as well as a study of variants in Mesopotamian tradition (completed under the supervision of Ian Young) by Russell Hobson: "The Exact Transmission of Texts in the First Millenium BCE: An Examination of the Cuneiform Evidence from Mesopotamia and the Torah Scrolls from the Western Shore of the Dead Sea," PhD diss. (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2009), to be published by Equinox Press as Written and Checked According to Its Original: Six Studies on the Transmission of Authoritative Texts in the Ancient Near East.

4. Jeffrey Tigay, ed., *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

5. For a survey of scholarship on this, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 313–50.

6. For historical traditions, see, for example, Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, Harvard Semitic Monographs (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); Steven McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984); A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994) and (with a quite different approach) Hans Jürgen Tertel, *Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of Old Testament Narratives* (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1994), 56–67. For legal traditions, see particularly David M. Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34,11–26 and Its Parallels," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum, Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 18 (Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 107–40; Molly M. Zahn, "Reexamining Empirical Models: The Case of Exodus 13," in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk*, ed. Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach, FRLANT 206 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 36–55; Jeffrey Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*, FAT 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); Bernard Levinson, "*The Right Chorale": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation*, FAT 54 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), among others.

7. Note also recent studies of this phenomenon in Hobson, "Exact Transmission," and Molly Zahn, "The Forms and Methods of Early Jewish Reworkings of the Pentateuch in Light of 4Q158," PhD diss. (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University, 2009), now published as *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011). The major early treatment along these lines was Steven A. Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 29–43.

Harkin, and others has shown how the Dead Sea Scrolls contain divergent editions of nonbiblical documents, including the Community Rule, the Damascus Covenant (which also preserves divergent versions of laws found in the Community Rule), and the Hodayot hymns.[8]

As is evident from the above survey, the best documented (empirical) examples of transmission history range over a wide chronological and geographical spectrum—from early second millennium Mesopotamia (and before) to the late Second Temple Jewish repository of scrolls at the Dead Sea, and other biblical and post-biblical traditions from around that time and later. That said, there are other examples of documented transmission of texts in addition to these major groupings. The dry climate of Egypt has preserved documented examples of the growth of Egyptian traditions, though these have not been analyzed as comprehensively as their Mesopotamian counterparts, and the Ugaritic corpus contains a few good examples of overlapping and divergent textual traditions, especially for ritual texts.[9] Conversely, perhaps because of the lack of such a dry climate, Greek culture has not preserved a comparable number of examples of documented transmission history. Looking at the whole picture, variations in media (e.g., clay), climate (e.g., the dry climate of the Dead Sea), and transmission (the multiple transmission of biblical traditions in the Christian, Samaritan, and Jewish streams) have meant that our most numerous and best examples are concentrated in a few areas. Nevertheless, isolated examples of documented transmission elsewhere show that textual revision was not confined to those areas where we are lucky enough to have documentation of it.

Scholars analyzing such documented examples of transmission are well aware that each case has its own particularities, and it is unwise to presume too much in developing general rules to encompass highly varied examples. Nevertheless, as the wealth of studies has grown, certain patterns have begun to emerge, patterns that can inform biblical scholars' analysis of evidence of transmission history in biblical texts where we lack documentation of earlier stages of growth. These patterns should not be taken as hard and fast rules. We see exceptions. Nevertheless, the ancient cultures that used and preserved many of these texts had similar presuppositions about the sanctity of their literary traditions, and this is reflected in the similar ways they treated these texts.

In this and the following chapter, I survey documented cases of transmission history, focusing particularly on cases that have received prior published treatments, in search of broader patterns in the shape of revision of ancient texts.

8. Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Angela Kim [Harkins], "Signs of Editorial Shaping of the Hodayot Collection: A Redactional Analysis of 1QH^{a-b} and 4QH^{a-f}," PhD diss. (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2003), published in part as Angela Kim Harkins, "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH^{a} and 4QH^{a} (4Q427)," *DSD* 12 (2005): 233–56. An early essay moving in this direction was Kaufman, "Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism." See the next chapter (pp. 82–88) for more discussion of the debate surrounding reconstruction of the compositional history of the Community Rule.

9. On the latter, note, for example, KTU 1.40 (and parallels 1.84; 1.121; 1.122; 1.154; 1.153) and KTU 1.41 (//KTU 1.87 discussed in the next chapter, p. 66).

My starting point in this chapter will be two case studies of documented transmission where the direction of growth is relatively clear and the documentation of growth is broad. The first case is that of the Gilgamesh epic, already brilliantly studied by Tigay (among others) and now available in an excellent edition produced by A. George. The second case is that of the Temple Scroll, likewise studied by many before, and providing a wealth of examples of revision and recombination of biblical texts. Through studying these two cases individually, we will see how each case illustrates a variety of dynamics of textual change—memory variants, expansions, conflations, etc. This discussion of two cases will serve as the groundwork for a survey in the next chapter of four broader trends of revision in other documented cases of transmission, in Mesopotamia, the Dead Sea Scrolls and elsewhere.

The ultimate goal is to gain grounding for a "methodologically modest" form of transmission history. A side effect of the study of many documented cases of transmission history is an ever-greater appreciation for the gap between what actually happened in ancient textual revision and what one actually could reconstruct of such textual revision if we lacked documentation of earlier stages. We will see some places where scholars could reconstruct the major contours of growth in an oral-written tradition exclusively based on indicators of such growth left in the later version(s) of such tradition. Nevertheless, such a survey also shows that certain types of growth and revision are easier to detect in later stages than others. Even when one knows that "something must have happened" in a given tradition, there are many instances where the scholar working exclusively on the basis of a later tradition must realize the limits of what can be achieved with any level of methodological control and repeatability (among later scholars).

■ CASE ONE: THE GROWTH OF THE GILGAMESH EPIC

The first major case to be considered in this light is the documented growth of the Gilgamesh epic, particularly the move from Old Babylonian (OB) versions of the epic to the later, Standard Babylonian (SB) edition. There are several reasons for starting here. First, the chronology of these recensions is clear, established by the archaeological context of many of the tablets, script and language. Though many would question whether all OB exemplars of the Gilgamesh tradition stand in a direct genetic line behind the SB recension, all agree that the OB traditions generally precede the Standard Babylonian edition. Furthermore, this example is particularly useful, because it covers such a breadth of material. Though no edition is preserved in its entirety, there are enough parallel sections to allow for a lot of analysis of dynamics of change between them. Finally, this case has been the subject of several high-quality studies up to this point, most recently that of A. George in the process of preparing his edition of the epic. The following discussion draws on and builds beyond work on the growth of the Gilgamesh epic done by Cooper, Tigay, George, and others.[10]

10. Jerrold Cooper, "Gilgamesh Dreams of Enkidu: The Evolution and Dilution of Narrative," in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, ed. Maria Ellis (Hamden, CT:

One thing that emerges from an analysis of Tigay's work in particular is the extent to which later versions of the Gilgamesh epic show the sorts of memory variants typical of traditions transmitted in an oral-written dynamic. For example, in his survey of "smaller changes" in the late version of the epic, Tigay lists a number of places where the late version substitutes a word or phrase of equivalent meaning for a given word or phrase in the Old Babylonian version. He even finds cases where the late version has a completely new formulation of an Old Babylonian sentence, again with virtually the same meaning. Sometimes these substitutions and reformulations represent linguistic updating, but often the words occur in both early and late Mesopotamian texts, even early and late versions of the Gilgamesh epic.[11] Rather than representing a process of conscious revision, these shifts—along with other smaller-scale changes (e.g., minor grammatical and lexical shifts, additions of isolated words, expansion or contraction of parallel lines)—show the changes that the Gilgamesh epic underwent as it journeyed through the memory of its most influential tradents.

Shifts in order are also characteristic of texts transmitted by means of memory, and we see numerous such shifts in the Gilgamesh tradition. For example, in the OB [Penn] (69–72) and MB [MB Bog_1] (6–7) traditions, the harlot dresses Enkidu in one part of her clothing before dressing herself in the other part. In the late (SB) version, however, we see a shift in order: She dresses herself before dressing him (II:34–35). In Gilgamesh's confrontation with Enkidu, the OB version has a line about the appointment of a rival for Gilgamesh before one about a bed being laid out for Ebara (OB [Penn] 194–97), while these lines are reversed in the SB version (II:109–10). In the same episode, we see similar variation concerning whether a statement about Gilgamesh and Enkidu confronting one another is placed before (OB [Penn] 214) or after (SB II:114) the description of their grappling (OB [Penn] 215–18//SB II:111–13). Later on, Assyrian MSy_1 preserves a version of Gilgamesh's speech to Enkidu before the Cedar Forest where he asks about the purpose of valor (6') *after* anticipating their great deeds (3'–5'//OB [Penn] 146–49), while the OB version has this line before that anticipation (145). Later in the same speech, the standard version places a line about how Enkidu's deeds vex Gilgamesh's heart (SB II:233) earlier than it occurs in the OB and Assyrian MSy_1 recensions of the tradition (OB [Penn] 157//Assyrian MSy_1 9'). The elders' response to Gilgamesh's idea of going to kill Ḫuwawa likewise has a different order of rhetorical questions and

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Archon Books, 1977), 39–44; Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*; Tertel, *Text and Transmission*; Andrew R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Cuneiform Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Note that these studies (along with this one) are focused on a comparison between verbal elements held in common (or not) between the versions of the epic, rather than broader exegesis of the new wholes created in case by the innovations characteristic of each version. For studies focusing on that characteristic, cf., for example, the exegesis in Tzvi Abusch, "Ishtar's Proposal and Gilgamesh's Refusal: An Interpretation of the Gilgamesh Epic," *HR* 26 (1986): 143–87, especially pp. 180–84, and idem., "The Development and Meaning of the Epic of Gilgamesh: An Interpretive Essay," *JAOS* 121 (2001): 614–22.

11. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 58–68. Note also similar phenomena in the adaptation of the flood story (*Gilgamesh Epic*, 218–22).

statements in the OB version (III [Yale] 194–200) than that in the MB Bog_1 version (frg. d, 6'–7').[12]

As in the case of memory variants surveyed by Tigay, these examples of shifts in order could be multiplied.[13] And as in Tigay's list of smaller-scale shifts, it is possible that the tradents of the Gilgamesh epic may have consciously introduced some changes in order. Nevertheless, such shifts in order often occur in traditions transmitted in memory. This can be seen in cases where minor variations in order occur even within one version of the epic. For example, as Tigay points out, the late version (tablet I) of the narrative of Gilgamesh's dream gives one set of lines describing his encounter with a meteor (256–58), a slightly different order of these lines in his mother's report of the dream (265–67), and a third order of the lines in a description of the second dream (283–85).[14] Generally, the author of this late version appears to have made every attempt to conform each of these reports of the dreams to each other. It is unlikely that this author consciously varied these lines from one section to the other. Instead, they are probably variations in memory that were not considered significant enough to matter.

As we move to larger changes in the Gilgamesh epic, the chances of intentional revision increase. A good example of this are changes in the late version of the epic that revolve around its treatment of the problem of mortality. The late version includes a new prologue suggesting that an individual can find a measure of immortality in the ongoing community that he builds.[15] This perspective then recurs further on in the late version, for example, in new materials added about the flood, and in a final scene—resuming elements seen in the prologue—where Gilgamesh refers once more to the enduring reality of Uruk and its walls. This perspective on mortality in the late version represents a slight shift from that seen in the Old Babylonian epic, the latter part of which focuses on Gilgamesh's search for immortality in the wake of Enkidu's death. Early in his search, the OB version of the epic has a barmaid tell Gilgamesh that his quest for immortality is pointless and that instead he should embrace life's day-to-day pleasures:

> You, Gilgamesh, let your belly be full,
> keep enjoying yourself, day and night!
> Every day make merry,
> dance and play day and night!
> Let your clothes be clean!
> Let your head be washed, may you be bathed in water!

12. There are also shifts in order in the SB Gilgamesh adaptation of earlier Atrahasis flood material. For example, (SB) Gilgamesh places Ea's exhortation to Enlil to relax (XI 187) after an assertion that the one who does the crime should be punished for it (Atrahasis OB III vi 25–26//Gilg. XI 185–186), while OB Atrahasis apparently has this line before that assertion (OB III vi 24).

13. In addition, I have not begun to try to analyze larger-scale shifts in order, as in the example of the dreams on the way to Cedar Mountain, for example (see George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 464–65). They could result partly from memory, but are more likely to involve conscious revision as well.

14. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 88.

15. George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 526–28.

> Gaze on the little one who holds your hand!
> Let a wife enjoy your repeated embrace!
> Such is the destiny [of mortal men] (OB X, 6-14)[16]

Notably, both this speech (OB [Sippar] ii 14'- iii 15; also iii 16–20), and one by Shamash that anticipates its message (OB [Sippar] i 5'–15'), are absent from the SB version of the epic. Instead, the SB version skips from Gilgamesh's initial speech to the barmaid (SB X 55–73//OB [Sippar] ii 1'–13') to the conclusion of his second speech to her (SB X 74–76//OB [Sippar] iii 21–24). This skipping makes the interchange between Gilgamesh and the barmaid more parallel to the exchanges that Gilgamesh later has with the boatman and Utanapishti. One might conclude that this is a harmonization of different parts of the epic through elimination of non-parallel material in the speeches of Shamash and the barmaid. Nevertheless, another motivation for elimination may have been that the SB version of the epic promoted a different view of immortality than that seen in the eliminated sections of the OB version. Mortality is an issue central to both the OB and SB versions of the epic. Perhaps it was central enough that a reviser of the epic—maybe the one who added elements such as the prologue—saw fit to eliminate major material on this point in the OB epic that contradicted the new direction in which he wished to take it.

Such elimination of material occurs occasionally throughout the late version, but generally that version expands, rather than contracts, those sections of the Old Babylonian version that it closely parallels. For example, even the above-discussed late version of the exchange between Gilgamesh and the barmaid includes a number of expansions vis-à-vis its Old Babylonian parallel (SB X 62–63, 65–71, 74–75, 77).[17] In addition, the exchange with the boatman that follows the barmaid's speech in SB is likewise much longer than its OB parallel (SB X 112–48; cf. OB [Sippar] iv 3–11), with several pluses in parallel sections as well (SB X 151–52, 154). A number of these late version expansions involve only a few lines, such as the "expansions through parallelism" that Tigay discusses and illustrates.[18] Some others, however, involve more extensive additions, and I list them here:

1. **The Prologue**: This prologue, drawing on a number of literary precursors—naru literature, temple hymns, and possibly a specific hymn to Gilgamesh—was mentioned above in relation to the late version's perspective on mortality.[19]
2. **The Narrative of Gilgamesh's Dreams**: The SB version contains a number of expansions of the narrative of Gilgamesh's dreams of Enkidu (e.g., SB

16. Translation from George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 272.

17. Though cf. OB [Sippar] ii 7'–8', 12b'–13 without parallel in the late version.

18. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 61,107, 222–24.

19. See Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 143–60, for exegesis of the prologue and analysis of its literary precursors. Sara Milstein develops a somewhat more complex picture of the process of development of the beginning of the Gilgamesh epic in her "Revision Through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature," PhD diss. (New York: New York University, 2010).

I:245–98//OB [Penn] I:1–43), many of which harmonize the two dreams with each other.[20]

3. **Additions Related to Gilgamesh's Mother Ninsun**: Three of the pluses in the SB version of Gilgamesh's dreams of Enkidu highlight the wisdom of his mother, the goddess Ninsun (I:260, 274b, 287). This SB emphasis on Ninsun appears again in an expansion of her response to being introduced to Enkidu (SB III:165–77; cf. OB [Yale] ii 60–68). We then see expanded emphasis on Ninsun again, when the SB version contains over a hundred lines describing Gilgamesh's gaining ritual protection from her for the journey to Cedar Mountain (SB III:13–135), a section that apparently replaced OB descriptions of Gilgamesh's own prayers to Shamash and Lugalbanda (OB III [Yale]:216–21, 229–35). Notably, this latter set of additions relating to Ninsun is followed by yet other new material in the SB sections surrounding Enkidu and Gilgamesh's departure (SB III:136–211). Together, this new material represents several columns of expansion of the earlier epic, a huge expansion that appears to be integrated into its context through resumptive repetition (*Wiederaufnahme*) of the elders' speech after the addition (SB III:212–27; cf. SB III:1–10//OB (Yale) II:247–71).[21]
4. **An Additional Interchange Between Enkidu and Šamḫat, the Harlot**: Both the OB and SB versions describe Enkidu being invited by Šamḫat to Uruk after he has been estranged from the animals by making love with her (OB [Penn] 51–65//SB I 206–12), and in both versions, these words are heard favorably by Enkidu (OB [Penn] 66–67//SB I 213–14). The SB version, however, contains an additional reply by Enkidu and an additional speech by her, where she reports in detail about Uruk, Gilgamesh's dreams of Enkidu, and his mother's interpretations of them (SB I 215–98), followed by a renewed description of their lovemaking and her invitation to go to Uruk (SB I 299–300; II:1–29). This is another documented example of both (1) harmonization of different parts of the epic with each other and (2) an expansion integrated into its context through resumptive repetition of material preceding the expansion.
5. **The Expansion of the Narrative Introductions to Gilgamesh's Dreams on the Journey**: The various versions of Gilgamesh seem to have diverged from each other significantly in the order and reporting of Gilgamesh's dreams on the way to Cedar Mountain, and therefore, a detailed comparison of these sections with each other is difficult.[22] Nevertheless, as George has shown, it is possible to compare the narrative introductions to these dreams, and this comparison shows that they were gradually expanded to the point where the SB version has a full twenty-two-line sequence introducing all of the dreams,

20. Cooper, "Gilgamesh Dreams"; Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 82–90; Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 43–50.

21. For a listing of several other potential documented cases of the use of resumptive repetition to integrate new material, see Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 75–76, note 7.

22. For discussion of the evidence and a helpful table, see George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 464–65.

whereas the OB and earlier versions had more abbreviated introductions to many dreams.[23]

6. **Expansion of Shamash's Rebuke of Enkidu**: The SB recension includes a significantly longer version of the interchange with Shamash after Enkidu's curse of Šamḫat and the hunter (VII 132–50) than that seen in the MB Ur tablet (rev. 41–47). The rebuke is now focused on the curse of Šamḫat, and it includes a description of Gilgamesh's future mourning for Enkidu (SB VII:141–47) that matches Gilgamesh's later promise to do the same (SB VIII 84–91). Again, these expansions have the effect, in part, of binding together and harmonizing different parts of the Gilgamesh epic with each other.[24]
7. **Additions to Gilgamesh's Encounters with the Barmaid and the Boatman**: These were discussed above. As Tigay and Tertel have pointed out, many of these expansions make these exchanges more parallel to one another.[25]
8. **The Addition of an Adapted Version of the Atrahasis Flood Narrative**: Both the OB and SB versions of the epic feature Gilgamesh's journey to see Utanapishti, the hero of the flood epic, but tablet XI of the SB version also preserves an inserted version of the Atrahasis flood account. This case does not completely fall in the category of documented additions to the Gilgamesh epic, since there are no OB materials extant for this portion of the Gilgamesh epic. Nevertheless, we do have independent attestation of this flood narrative in the Atrahasis tradition itself, and the secondary character of its use in the Gilgamesh epic is clearly indicated through ways in which it has only been incompletely adapted for its new context.[26]

   Notably, the SB adapted version of the Atrahasis flood story features some expansions vis-à-vis the Atrahasis version of the flood narrative (e.g., Gilg. SB XI:20–31; cf. OB Atrahasis i, 15–29),[27] some of which are

23. George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 45–47. See as well George's analysis of both MB and SB counterparts to other OB dreams on pp. 43–45, sometimes involving loss of OB lines, but mostly involving expansion.

24. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 128.

25. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 95–100; Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 50–54.

26. For discussion, see Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 232–38.

27. Some of these are shared with later versions of the Atrahasis epic as well, and so may represent changes already introduced into the Atrahasis tradition before its flood tradition was adapted for Gilgamesh. For example, U rev. 3 of the Atrahasis tradition and Gilg XI 94 (first person) both have a report of entry into the ark, where it is assumed in OB Atrahasis III ii 51. So too, both Atrahasis U rev. 4 and Gilgamesh XI 97–98 have a description of the onset of the storm without parallel in the OB Atrahasis, which starts with Adad roaring incessantly.

In a slight variation, Atrahasis OB III ii 53–54 has a very brief description of the onset of the flood paralleled in Atrahasis U rev. 5–6 and Gilgamesh XI 99 (with no parallel to OB III ii 54//U rev. 6—winds). But Atrahasis U rev. 7–8 has a long section on winds, while Gilgamesh XI 100 has an extra note on Šullat and Haniš that is taken from the instruction for the flood also seen in OB II iii 50. Just a bit further on in the description of the onset of the storm, both Atrahasis U rev. 14–15 and SB Gilgamesh XI have sections on tearing up mooring poles and making dikes overflow that are parallel to instructions for flood seen in Atrahasis OB II vii 51–52. Nevertheless, SB Gilgamesh follows the order seen in the OB Atrahasis, while Atrahasis U rev. reverses it. In contrast, the OB report of the flood just has a description of Atrahasis severing the hawser of the boat and setting it adrift (III ii 55).

harmonizations that probably preceded the appropriation of the flood narrative into Gilgamesh.[28] Yet, it also lacks some elements of the earlier versions, such as older descriptions in Atrahasis of the distress and hunger of the gods.[29] Still other sections of the Gilgamesh flood narrative diverge from their counterparts in the Atrahasis epic, covering similar topics, but with different wording.[30]

9. **The Appending of a Translation of the Sumerian Tradition of Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Underworld**: Here again, there is no OB material corresponding to the conclusion of the SB epic. Nevertheless, we do have a Sumerian version of the tradition translated in tablet XII of the SB Gilgamesh epic. Moreover, this material is so nonintegrated into the flow of the epic that it is marked as a later addition to a narrative that once concluded in XI:328.[31]

These are the main examples of larger expansions in the SB Gilgamesh epic, both documented examples and two cases where the SB Gilgamesh only incompletely integrates material known elsewhere in Mesopotamian literature. These examples stand alongside additional smaller-scale expansions, many of which have been surveyed by Tigay and others.

To be sure, there are some loci where the SB Gilgamesh epic *lacks* material seen in parallel sections of earlier editions. Most examples involve the loss of one or two lines, sometimes through the telescoping of parallel lines in the earlier version.[32] More extensive examples of abbreviation involve either harmonization or elimination of material that contradicts the aims of the later edition. An example of the latter was discussed above: the elimination of material regarding mortality in

28. For example, both Gilg. XI 100–101 and Atrahasis U rev. add a description of the attacks of Ninurta and Errakal at the outset of the flood (though note reversed order) that was anticipated in the orders for the flood in OB Atrahasis II vii 51–52, thus harmonizing the description of the flood with the order for it (cf. OB Atrahasis III ii 55). Only Gilg. XI 100–101, however, has a fairly precise parallel in the description of the flood to the order for Šullat and Haniš to go in front (OB II vii 49–50; cf. Atrahasis OB III ii 54 and U rev. 7–10).

29. For passages and analysis, see Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 222–29. A few other examples of missing material in Gilgamesh include: parts of Enki's instructions to Atrahasis (OB iii 17–18, 30–33; but note pluses in SB Gilg. XI 25 and 27 as well), Mami/Bel-Iti's reproach of the gods (OB iii v 44–45), and Enlil's angry response at seeing the ark (OB iii vi 7–8).

30. The OB Atrahasis and Gilgamesh flood narratives have different preludes to Atrahasis's declarations to the elders that he cannot live in their city anymore: OB iii 42–46 is a narration of Atrahasis's report to the elders, where Atrahasis tells them that Enki has gotten into an argument with the other gods and has let Atrahasis know about it, while Gilg. XI 39 is an instruction by Ea on how to talk with the elders, where Ea tells him to say that Enlil now hates Atrahasis. So too, Gilg. XI 104–107 has a differently formulated and expanded description of the storm's lightning (cf. Atrahasis OB III iii 7//U rev. 16), and Gilg. XI 109–10 has an expanded description of the storm's winds (cf. Atrahasis OB III iii 11//U rev. 18). Notably, some such differences seem to have developed within the Gilgamesh tradition, as in some slight divergences from OB Atrahasis in the description of the post-flood mourning of the gods that are present in some versions of the Gilgamesh tradition but not others (e.g. [George's sigla] CJ^1 of XI 126 versus T or J^1 of XI 129 versus CT^1).

31. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 26–27, 105–107.

32. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 62.

speeches by Shamash and the barmaid toward the end of the OB epic, speeches that contradicted the perspective on mortality of the new edition. Somewhat similar is the apparent elimination in the late version of elements—perhaps considered impious—that imply hunger in the gods: parts of the mother goddess's lament and some portions of the Atrahasis flood narrative.[33] Elsewhere, the late version occasionally eliminates material in the process of harmonizing different parts of the Gilgamesh epic with each other. For example, the above-discussed elimination of the barmaid's second speech falls partially in this category, since it makes her interchange with Gilgamesh more parallel to his following encounters with the boatman and Utanapishti.[34] A clearer example of assimilatory abbreviation is the late version's apparent elimination in the SB version of elements, such as the OB description of the people's reaction to Gilgamesh (OB [Penn] II:182–92) so that the description of their encounter better corresponds to Gilgamesh's dreams of it.[35]

The above examples show a broad tendency in the late version of the Gilgamesh epic toward harmonization of different parts of the Gilgamesh epic with each other. Generally this led to expansion, as is seen in additions to the narratives of Gilgamesh's dreams, the new repetition of these dreams in a speech by Šamḫat to Enkidu, the expansion of later introductions to Gilgamesh's pre-Cedar Mountain dreams, and various additions to Gilgamesh's exchanges with the barmaid and boatman. Occasionally, such harmonization was accomplished through elimination of material, as we have seen in the cases of the description of Gilgamesh's encounter with Enkidu and (later) with the barmaid.

The discussion could continue, but several trends of revision have begun to emerge. Sometimes the revisers of the Gilgamesh tradition transformed it to the point where detailed comparison is difficult, as in the case of the dreams of Gilgamesh on the way to Cedar Mountain. Sometimes the revisers appear to have eliminated material in their precursor traditions, though usually with a view toward harmonizing those traditions or redirecting them in a particular way (e.g., on mortality). In the vast majority of cases, however, the revisers preserved or expanded the tradition, with marks sometimes left of their work in the form of resumptive repetition or lack of integration of material composed for a different context. Notably, the marks of such expansion were the clearest in cases where the material being expanded had once existed separately—for example, the flood story

33. For a survey and discussion, see Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 224–29.

34. For discussion of other sorts of harmonization in this section of the late version, see Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 95–100.

35. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 90–93. Under the same heading, Tigay also discusses (pp. 93–95) the amalgamation, assimilation, and expansion of two speeches by Enkidu in the late version. The OB version has two speeches by Enkidu about the plan to to go to the Cedar Forest with an intervening reply by Gilgamesh (OB [Yale] III:104–37). The SB version (II:216–19) omits the speech by Gilgamesh and builds one speech by Enkidu about the plan, one that is based mostly on the second of the OB speeches by Enkidu (III:127–37), though expanded both by new elements and some elements from the first of Enkidu's speeches in the OB tradition (III:104–15). As noted by George (*Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 567, note 7), this new version of their encounter appears to have been textually variable in the SB tradition itself. Be that as it may, all versions of the SB tradition omit counterparts to OB III:106–107, 113–16 and the speech of Gilgamesh in III:117–26.

or (the translated version of) the Sumerian tradition of Enkidu and the underworld. Whether expanding or (more rarely) contracting older material, one trend seen across the late version of the epic is a tendency to harmonize different parts of the Gilgamesh epic with each other.

■ CASE TWO: TEXTUAL APPROPRIATION AND REVISION IN THE TEMPLE SCROLL

The next case to be examined, the Temple Scroll, stands at considerable chronological and other remove from the later versions of the Gilgamesh epic. Written sometime in the mid- to late- Second Temple period, it provides an unusually broad array of examples of early Jewish textual revision, including many examples of appropriation and revision of biblical texts.[36]

As in the case of the later versions of the Gilgamesh epic, the overall relatively later date of the Temple Scroll (vis-à-vis biblical texts) is widely accepted, though there may be isolated instances where it preserves an earlier reading. For example, as indicated in table 2.1, 11QT 55:21[37] lacks some phrases that are found in the MT of Deut 17:5, but which are variably attested in the versions and may be later additions. It omits both an awkward additional specification found in the MT of Deut 17:5—אשר עשו את־הדבר הרע הזה אל־שעריך—and a resumptive repetition that (at least in some manuscript traditions) was used to resume the thread of the text (את־האיש או את־האשה; cf. את־האיש ההוא או את־האשה ההיא earlier in 17:5).

TABLE 2.1 *Deut 17:5 and 11QT 55:20–21*

55:20) והוצאתה	17:5) והוצאת
55:21) את האיש ההוא או את האשה ההיא	את־האיש ההוא או את־האשה ההוא
	אשר עשו את־הדבר הרע הזה אל־שעריך
	את־האיש או את־האשה (see above)
וסקלתמה באבנים	וסקלתם באבנים

The material in bold in the MT bears the marks of a later addition (also in the Samaritan Pentateuch [hereafter often SamP], but not in the LXX), while it is likely that 11QT (along with LXX) witnesses to an earlier form of Deut 17:5. Moreover, there are other cases where variants in 11QT may reflect variants in the biblical text used by its authors, not changes introduced by them. For example, in several cases 11QT parallels other versions in its divergences from the MT version of the biblical text, possibly reflecting the fact that—in these instances—its biblical text was similar to those reflected in the LXX and/or the Samaritan version.[38]

36. For a lucid summary discussion of considerations in dating and citation of some of the earlier literature, see Sidney White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 24–26.

37. Because of the large number of columns in 11QTemple and frequency of citations of it in this chapter, the less cumbersome Arabic numbering system (plus colon before line number) will be used to number them here and elsewhere in this book in contrast to the usual SBL style.

38. On this, see especially Emanuel Tov, "The Temple Scroll and Old Testament Textual Criticism [Heb.]," *ErIs* 16 (1982): 100–11, and George Brooke, "The Temple Scroll and LXX Exodus 35–40," in

That said, there are far more cases where 11QT expands, conflates, updates, and otherwise appears to revise its probable biblical precursor. Some such changes appear to be conscious ideological shifts. For example, 11QT 60:1–10a diverges from the base text of Deut 18:1–4, replacing MT Deuteronomy's denial that the Levites receive gifts (18:1–2) with a new law, built on a modified form of Num 18:8, 11a, which includes Levites among those who should receive gifts. Similarly, the reproduction of the Deuteronomic law on witnesses (Deut 19:15–21) in 11QT 61:6–12 adds Levites to those who should hear the witnesses (61:8; cf. Deut 19:17). The more such similar cases of variation accumulate, the firmer the case is that these features reflect a pro-Levite perspective in the authors of these portions of the scroll, a perspective strong enough that it may have led to omission and replacement of material from the Deuteronomic base text (18:1–2) that related to a topic treated in the Temple Scroll. Elsewhere, variants in the scroll reflect later developments in Hebrew language and legal formulation, such as the shift from original כי in Deuteronomy to אם at several loci in 11QT (e.g., 52:10; 53:12; 55:13, 15; 61:7)[39] or the replacement of ירח in Deut 21:13 with חדש. Whether or not these and other shifts represent conscious updatings by the author, they are among the many indicators that the scroll as a whole represents an altered version of a biblical text that is more conservatively preserved in the (consonantal text of the) MT and older versions, such as the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX. Therefore, previous scholarship has been right to presume that most divergences of 11QT from such biblical materials represent alterations (whether conscious or unconscious) made by the author(s) of 11QT.

Another issue in this analysis is that 11QT itself may derive from multiple sources. Since the work of Wills and Wilson in the early 1980s, most scholars recognize that the Temple Scroll was composed of earlier materials.[40] Though its earlier stages are not documented (both copies at Qumran appear to be of the same recension), scholars have concluded that the scroll is composite based on the multiple ways the different parts of it are distinguished from one another—being voiced by God or not, substantially different ways of working with Scripture, and other indicators. Based on this data, Wills and Wilson concluded that five sources lay behind the Temple Scroll: a description of the temple and courts (columns 3–13, 30–47), a festival calendar (13:9–30:2), a purity laws source (48–50), a source focusing on "laws of polity" that reworks parts of Deuteronomy (51–56, 60–66), and a source giving the laws of the king (57–59). Subsequent discussions have reinforced Wills and Wilson's basic findings, though some dispute exists about whether the laws of purity (48–50) and law of the king (57–59) originated in separate sources, and there has been a tendency

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Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990), ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 81–106.

39. This phenomenon is comprehensively discussed in Bernhard Levinson and Molly Zahn, "Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כי and אם in the Temple Scroll," *DSD* 9 (2002): 295–346.

40. Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, "Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll," *HTR* 75 (1982): 275–88.

to expand and refine the list of passages seen to be composed by the author of the Temple Scroll as a whole.[41] The main impact of this discussion for our purposes is to be sensitive to, though not determined by, the fact that different parts of the scroll work quite differently with Scripture. Dynamics found in one part of the scroll, say, in the description of the temple and its courts, may be quite different from those found elsewhere, say, in the reworked parts of Deuteronomy. Insofar as this is the case, this may not mean that one author worked with Scripture in all these different ways. Instead, different sources of the scroll may have done quite different things with Scripture.[42]

The material on purity and impurity in columns 48–51 illustrates dynamics when an author is drawing selectively on biblical materials, but not precisely representing them. The author of this material (whether the author of the scroll or of a source used in it) draws broadly on the phraseology and conceptuality of Pentateuchal passages (and one passage from Ezekiel), occasionally betraying through memory variants the memory process by which the passages were accessed. For example, at the outset of the purity section, the law on unclean animals in 48:1–7 combines and rearranges biblical passages from various locations (Deut 14:18; Lev 11:20, 22, 21; Ezek 44:31; Deut 14:21aα, 3, 21aβ), while also introducing several minor shifts. The texts are given in Table 2.2, with pluses (vis-à-vis parallel traditions) indicated by **boldface**, shifts in placement indicated by *italics*, and close variation indicated by an underline.

The shifts seen in the text of 11QTemple 48:1–7 (as given in Table 2.2) include:

1. Elimination of את in 48:3–4 at several points where it is present in the MT of Lev 11:22
2. Adaptation of the MT phrase מכל שרץ העוף to אלה משרץ העוף and placement of the phrase before the permission to eat (11 QT 48:4 formulated as תואכלו) rather than after (MT Lev 11:21 אך את־זה תאכלו)
3. Use of the preposition ב before עוף ("winged thing") and בהמה ("animal") where the MT of Ezek 44:31 has מן
4. Placement of כול תועבה before the prohibitive in 48:6 rather than after, as in the MT of Deut 14:3

41. Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987*, ed. George Brooke (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 132–42; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987*, ed. George Brooke (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 239–41; Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 21–23, 35–41, 61–64, 101–10, 129–32. For a summary discussion, see Crawford, *Temple Scroll*, 22–24, but note the dissenting opinion on source criticism of the Temple Scroll in Molly M. Zahn, "Schneiderei oder Weberei? Zum Verständnis der Diachronie der Tempelrolle," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 255–86.

42. This would be the main qualification I would raise against Kaufman's pathbreaking work on how the Temple Scroll displays radically different ways of working with preexisting (Scriptural) material. Kaufman, "Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism."

TABLE 2.2 *Deut 14:3, 18, 23; Lev 11:21–22; Ezek 44:31; and 11Q Temple 48:1–7*

Deuteronomy	Leviticus	Temple Scroll
		48:1) [השלך
14:18) והחסידה והאנפה למינה		והחסידה והאנפה למי]נה
והדוכיפת והעטלף		והדוכ[יפת והעטלף
	11:20) כל שרץ העוף	כול שרץ העוף
	ההלך על־ארבע שקץ הוא לכם	ההולך על]
		blank 48:2
		48:3) [את אלה
		משרץ] העוף
		תוכלו הארבה למינו
		והס[ל]עם למינו
		והחורגל 48:4) למינו
		והחגב למינו
		אלה *משרץ העוף*
		תואכלו
		see above
		ההולכים על ארבע
		אשר 48:5) **יש** לו כרעים
		מעל רגליו לנתור בהמה על הארץ
		ולעוף בכנפיו
	Ezekiel	
	44:31) כל־נבלה **וטרפה**	כול 48:6) *נבלה*
	מן־העוף ומן־הבהמה	בעוף ובבהמה
14:21aα) לא תאכלו כל־*נבלה*	לא יאכלו **הכהנים**	לוא תואכלו
לגר אשר־בשעריך תתננה		
ואכלה		
או מכר לנכרי		כי מכור לנוכרי
14:3) לא תאכל כל־*תועבה*		*וכול תועבה* לוא 48:7) תואכלו
14:21aβ) כי עם קדוש אתה		כי עם קדוש אתה
ליהוה אלהיך		ליהוה אלוהיכה
לא־תבשל גדי בחלב אמו		

Some of these shifts may represent conscious or unconscious updating that occurred in the process of appropriation. Together, however, these differences show the real, though limited, fluidity of the tradition appropriated here.

Other parts of the purity section vary, but show the same sort of selective and free appropriation of material in the process of writing law. For example, the law regarding mourning in 11QT 48:7–10 corresponds more closely with the biblical material that it conflates (Deut 14:1–2a with Lev 19:28a) than the above-discussed law about unclean animals (48:1–7), though it lacks the rationale for the laws found in both biblical passages (Deut 14:2b; Lev 19:28b). At the other end of the spectrum, the law on cleansing the house in 49:11–19 is largely non-Scriptural (especially 49:11–13 and 18–19), but shows some memory variants in sections paralleling the Bible, for example, a reformulation in 49:16 (ובגדים ושקים ועורות rather than בגד או־עור או שק in Lev 11:32) and another in 49:17 (ירחץ במים ויכבס בגדיו rather than וכבס בגדיו ורחץ במים in Num 19:19). Similarly, the law about a dead fetus in 11QT 50:10–16 draws selectively on material from the law about death in a tent in Num 19:14–22 and the law regarding a woman with flow of blood in Lev

15:19–27. Nevertheless, again in this law there are some shifts in order (e.g., placement of יטמא at a different point in 50:11–12//Num 19:14) and reformulations, for example, 50:12 כל אשר־נגע־בו//כל נוגע בו Num 19:22// כל־הנוגע בם Lev 15:27 (cf. 50:21 relative clause//participial formulation Lev 11:31). Overall, it is virtually impossible to identify "pluses" or "minuses" in these columns, because the material in this portion of the Temple Scroll features such free conflations, recombinations, and reformulations of biblical passages. Sometimes comparisons can be made when a line or two of biblical material recurs in the Temple Scroll. Nevertheless, an analysis of 11QT columns 48–51:11a as a whole shows that the author(s) of this section does not seem to have attempted sustained reproductions of biblical passages. Instead, he was producing new legal material through drawing—likely from memory—on biblical legal passages.

11QT 51:11b begins a law of the courts that shows a significantly different way of working with Scripture. As indicated in Table 2.3, 51:11b–18 closely reproduces all of Deut 16:18–20, with the one exception of the theologically oriented relative clause in Deut 16:18aβ (אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לשבטיך).

TABLE 2.3 *Deut 16:18–20; 11QTemple 51:11–18*

Temple Scroll	Deuteronomy
51:11 cont.) שופטים ושוטרים תתן לכה	16:18) שפטים ושטרים תתן־לך
בכול שעריכה	בכל־שעריך
	אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך לשבטיך
ושפטו את העם	ושפטו את־העם
51:12) משפט צדק	משפט־צדק
	16:19) לא־*תטה משפט*
ולוא יכירופנים **במשפט**	לא תכיר פנים
ולוא יקחו שוחד	ולא־תקח שחד
ולוא 51:13) *יטו משפט*	
כי השוחד	כי השחד
מטה משפט	
	יעור עיני חכמים
ומסלף דברי <u>הצדק</u>	ויסלף דברי <u>צדיקם</u>
ומעור 51:14) *עיני חכמים*	
ועושה אשמה גדולה	
ומטמא הבית בעוון 51:15) **החטאה**	16:20) צדק צדק תרדף למען תחיה וירשת)
צדק צדק תרדוף למען תחיה ובאתה וירשתה	את־הארץ אשר־יהוה אלהיך נתן לך
51:16) את הארץ אשר אנוכי נותן לכמה	
לרשתה כול הימים	
והאיש 51:17) **אשר יקח שוחד**	
ויטה משפט צדק	
יומת ולוא תגורו ממנו	
51:18) **להמיתו**	

The **boldface** material indicates that 11QTemple 51:11–18a also includes a number of pluses vis-à-vis its parallel in Deuteronomy, including:

1. Addition of במשפט of Deut 1:17 into the law about showing preference (51:12–13//Deut 16:19aβ)[43]

43. See Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: Text and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983 [Hebrew Or. 1977]), 228, which notes that the LXX has a similar conflation.

2. Addition of several additional problems produced by bribes in 51:13 (מטה משפט) and 14–15, including a statement that perversion of justice produces great guilt that will pollute the sanctuary (51:14–15)
3. Addition of a description of the land from Deut 12:1 (לרשתה כל הימים) in 51:16
4. A concluding specification of the death penalty for one who breaks the law (51:16–18)

Notably, there are also shifts in address and the kind of shift in order (placement of ולא יטו/טתה משפט in Deut 16:18//51:12–13) that are the sort of changes typical of transmission through memory.[44] Despite these changes, however, 11QT 51:11b–16 re-presents and expands on a full unit of biblical text. Whereas columns 48–51:11a are laws on impurity that draw on biblical passages, 51:11b–18 is a *reproduction* of a particular part of Scripture, enriched at points with various additions, sometimes taken from other parts of Scripture.

As the scroll continues, it becomes clear that this reproduction of Deuteronomy in 11QT 51:11b–18 is not limited to this section, but is part of an ongoing reproduction and enrichment of Deuteronomic laws. Just as Deut 16:18–20 is followed by laws about sacrifice, so also 51:19 continues with laws about sacrifice. As indicated in Table 2.4, this next section eventually includes a reproduction of Deut 16:21–17:1, but it is conflated with parts of Lev 22:28 and 26:1, and expanded toward the end by a law about sacrificing a pregnant animal (52:5) along with the Deuteronomic law about the sacrifice of a mother and her young (Deut 22:6).

One pattern that appears here and later in the scroll is the presence of relatively more memory variants in the portions of Scripture added from other loci in Deuteronomy and Leviticus: for example, 52:3 תתנו//תעשה Lev 26:1; 52:6 תשחטו//תזבח Lev 22:28; and 52:7 תקח//תכה Deut 22:6 when compared to the variants in the base text. When Deut 22:6 is part of the base text reproduced in 11QT (65:4), it is virtually identical with the MT (with the exception of an added את), but here in 52:6, where Deut 22:6 is drawn on selectively to enrich another passage in Deuteronomy, the wording varies more.[45] Similarly, in 11QT 2:1–15 (conflating Deut 7:25 in 2:7–11) and 11QT 66:8–16 (adding material from Lev 20:21, 17; 18:12–13 into Deut 22:28–23:1), the Temple Scroll follows the base text more closely than biblical material that is being used to enrich or expand that base text. This may indicate that the author(s) of these portions of the Temple Scroll may have graphically consulted a copy of Deuteronomy in producing the main text, but depended more on memory to enrich that main text with biblical passages distant from the pericope being reproduced. This matches what we know about the technology of scroll reading. Scrolls are unwieldy, and it is much easier to consult a scroll graphically when reading or copying it from beginning to end, than to skip around in a scroll, looking for isolated citations.

44. Yadin, *Temple Scroll Text*, 228 argues that this was done to heighten the emphasis on bribery, but that was already present in the order found in Deuteronomy. See the same page for his discussion of possible reasons for the shift from צדקים in Deut 16:19 to צדק in 51:13.

45. The different level of preservation of 22:6b was pointed out in Yadin, *Temple Scroll Text*, 233.

TABLE 2.4 *Deut 16:21–17:1; 22:6; 11QTemple 51:19–52:7 and Lev 22:24, 28; 26:1*

Deuteronomy	Leviticus	Temple Scroll
	22:24b) ובארצכם לא תעשו	51:19) **לוא תעשו בארצכמה כאשר הגו״ים עושים בכול מקום המה**
		51:20) זובחים
*16:21aα) לא־תטע לך אשרה		ונוטעים להמה אשרות
*16:22aα) ולא־תקים לך מצבה		ומקימים להמה מצבות
	26:1aβγ) ואבן משכית לא תתנו בארצכם	51:21) ונותנים אבני משכיות
	להשתחות עליה	להשתחות עליהמה
		ובונים להמה
16:21) לא־תטע לך אשרה כל־עץ אצל מזבח יהוה אלהיך אשר תעשה־לך		52:1) לוא תטע [לכה אשרה כול עץ אצל מזבחי]
16:22) ולא־תקים לך מצבה אשר שנא יהוה אלהיך		52:2) [אשר תעשה ל]כה ולוא תקים לכה מצבה [אשר שנאתי
	26:1aβγb) ואבן משכית לא תתנו בארצכם להשתחות עליה	וא]בן 52:3) [מ]שכית [לו]א תעשה לכה **בכול** ארצכה להשתחו[ות] עליה
	כי אני יהוה אלהיכם	
17:1) לא־תזבח ליהוה אלהיך שור ושה אשר יהיה בו מום **כל דבר** רע כי תועבת יהוה אלהיך הוא		ולוא 52:4) תזבח לי שור ושה אשר יהיה בו **כול** מום רע כי תועבה המה 52:5) לי **ולוא תזבח לי שור ושה ועז והמה מלאות כי תועבה המה לי**
	22:28) ושור **או**־שה אתו ואת־בנו לא תשחטו ביום אחד	52:6) ושור ושה אותו ואת בנו לוא תזבח ביום אחד
22:6b) לא־תקח האם על־הבנים		ולוא תכה אם 52:7) על בנים

That said, even sections of the scroll that reproduce continuous sections of Scripture feature some memory variants in their reproduction of the base text. For example, 11QT 61:13–62:4 is a close reproduction of Deut 20:1–8, but there are memory variants that go in both directions: 61:14 ל, cf. אל in Deut 20:2, and the reverse in 62:1 (reconstructed אל)//Deut 20:7. We see a similar phenomenon of exchange in both directions in 11QT 56:1–11, a reproduction of Deut 17:9–12: 11QT 56:3, 7 דבר//Deut 17:10, 11; and the reverse in 56:3//Deut 17:11 תורה.[46] Similarly, in an example of semantically equivalent grammatical structures, 11QT has a relative clause in 54:16 (אשר הוציאכה), whereas Deut 13:6 has a participial phrase (המוצא), while the reverse variation is seen in 11QT 66:5//Deut 22:25.[47] Such variants are the most plausible candidates for memory shifts, since they go in

46. Yadin, *Temple Scroll Text*, 251 says that there is "virtually no doubt" that these changes were introduced to forbid the fixing of law according to oral tradition. This explanation, however, is hampered by the shifts going in both directions.

47. There are other examples, in both directions, of this phenomenon in 11QT 50:12 (participle; cf. the relative clause in Num 19:22) and the reverse in 11QT 50:21 (cf. the participle in Lev 11:31).

both directions and are less easily explained as the result of conscious revision or unconscious updating on the part of the author(s) of 11QT. Nevertheless, there are many other probable cases of memory variants, such as the inclusion/exclusion of minor particles (e.g., את, כול),[48] exchange of semantically similar words and phrases, and larger-scale shifts in order. An example of a combination of these phenomena is found in the reproduction in 11QT 62:14–15 of the list of the nations to be destroyed that is seen in Deut 20:17. Not only does the 11QT list begin with an extra direct object marker (את), but 11QT adds Girgashites into the list and has the Perizzites at a later point than in the Deut 20:17 version. Neither variation is easily attributed to linguistic updating or ideological revision. Rather, 11QT 62:14–15 probably witnesses here to the sort of variation in memory that complicated the transmission of many such lists of nations in the Bible.

Some other portions of the Temple Scroll show yet more significant rearrangement of the base text of Deuteronomy, such as the placement of the contents of Deut 12:21 between 12:20aα and 12:20aβb in 11QT 53:1, or the placement of Deut 17:10aβb after the beginning of 17:11 in 11QT 56:5. The larger such shifts are, the more one must reckon with possible conscious alteration of the base text. Nevertheless, past treatments of 11QT have been too prone to assume that all such variation reflected updating or revision. The suggestion here is that unconscious variation in recall also may have been a factor.

In sum, the portions of the Temple Scroll that most closely reproduce extensive biblical passages (columns 2, 51–56, 60–66) show several broad tendencies. Sometimes, as in 11QT 61:1–5 (//Deut 18:20–22) and 65:2–7 (//Deut 22:6–8), 11QT has a version of the base text that is virtually identical with that seen in other witnesses to that text. In other sections, the reproduction of the biblical base text tends to be fairly close to other witnesses to that text, aside from the above-discussed sorts of memory variants and occasional rearrangement, along with minor omissions or additions of single words or short phrases. Where columns 2, 51–56, and 60–66 of 11QT diverge more substantially from the base text, they generally expand on it, whether by adding material on the topic from elsewhere in the Bible, or through addition of new material. The material drawn from elsewhere in the Bible is used much more selectively than the base text is, and there are more apparent memory variants in the appropriated fragments of such conflated biblical material than in reproductions of the base text. In some cases, such new material is concentrated toward the outset of a discussion (e.g., the introduction to the section on sacrifice in 11QT 51:19–20*); more often, larger expansions occur after the base text has been reproduced (e.g., 51:16–18; 52:17–21; 63:15). Elsewhere, however, we see conflations and smaller insertions scattered throughout numerous sections of 11QT 2, 51–56, 60–66.

48. A non-comprehensive list of examples in both directions: את absent in 11QT, but present in its (MT) parallel: 11QT48:3 (cf. Lev 18:22); 50:16 (cf. Num 31:20); 54:5 (cf. Deut 13:1). את present in 11QT, but absent in parallel: 11QT 53:18 (cf. Num 30:5); 62:14 (cf. Deut 20:17); 65:4 (cf. Deut 22:6); כל present in parallel, but (כול) absent in 11QT: 11QT 62:9 (cf. Deut 20:13); 62:12 (cf. Deut 20:15). כול present in 11QT, but (כל) absent in parallel: 11QT 53:9 (cf. Deut 12:26); 55:3 (cf. Deut 13:14); 55:7 (cf. Deut 13:16); 60:11 (cf. Deut 18:5).

The above cases, situated at disparate ends of the continuum of transmission of ancient Semitic texts, illustrate a mix of dynamics found in other documented cases of transmission history. In particular, they illustrate the complex mix of preservation, expansion, and selectivity operative in the composition of the Temple Scroll and other ancient texts. Thus, even if we take into account the partial preservation of 11QTemple, it appears as if this composition did not attempt to reproduce all parts of its Pentateuchal source text. Indeed, it does not even seem to reproduce all of Deuteronomy, parts of which it parallels more closely than other biblical books. Nevertheless, in the portions where the Temple Scroll *does* reproduce a significant chunk of Deuteronomy, it generally reproduces that chunk virtually unchanged (albeit with occasional memory variants) or tends to expand on it. Thus, we see a curious mix in the Temple Scroll of (1) merely partial preservation of the broader source text with (2) a trend toward preservation and expansion of those portions of the source text that are selected to be reproduced. I will return to this seemingly contradictory combination of partial preservation and a trend toward expansion (of selected chunks that are reproduced) in the next chapter.

3 Documented Cases of Transmission History, Part 2

Broader Trends

Whereas the prior chapter focused on two cases of transmission history (the Gilgamesh epic and Temple Scroll), this one offers a broader survey of four overall trends in the revision of ancient traditions, with references to some of the main places where such trends are documented. As before, the focus will be on documented cases of transmission history where the direction of dependence is clear. Moreover, though this chapter incorporates some of my own analysis of materials from Mesopotamia and Qumran, the chapter builds generally on documented examples of transmission history previously studied by others.

EVIDENCE OF WRITING-SUPPORTED TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS THROUGH MEMORY

The first overall dynamic to be observed is further evidence of the transmission of written texts by way of (writing-supported) memory. In this case, the evidence is so broad as to be impossible to survey completely here. As a result, the following discussion will focus on several documented cases of transmission history discussed elsewhere in this book: Mesopotamian literature, divergences between traditions of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, divergent editions of the Pentateuch found in the Dead Sea caves (proto-Samaritan manuscripts and 4QRP), and the Qumran Community Rule.

Not being an Assyriologist, the present author is not in a position to do the kind of analysis of smaller-scale changes of other Mesopotamian materials that Tigay did for Gilgamesh. Nevertheless, on a broader level each of the Mesopotamian cases of transmission history to be discussed below features many of the shifts in order which are typical of texts that are transmitted through memory. In Atrahasis, the OB description of the impact of the famine has the people walk hunched with their shoulders narrowed (OB II iv 16–17), while these two are reversed in the Standard Babylonian version (V 16–17), and there are other such similar and larger-scale shifts, some of which are surveyed by Tigay in his discussion of the appropriation of the flood narrative in the Gilgamesh epic.[1] In the Anzu epic, the note about Enlil's speechlessness occurs a few lines earlier in the OB version (II:2) than in the SB version (I iii 26). The Etana epic shows many such changes, including shifts in the order of the curses in the eagle and snake's oath (MAV I 2–5//LV II 20–22), the birth of the snake's young before the eagle's in the OB (I C 6–7) and the

1. Jeffrey Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 218–22.

reverse in the MAV version (I 8–9), and so on. We even see such order shifts in recensions of narratives of the royal past, such as the phrase *sisêpl u ṣu-um-bi* in line 25 of the Chicago copy of the Sennacherib inscription versus the reverse order in parallel lines of BM and Bell copies, or *[1]Akkadi ù Sumeriki* in the BM copy of the same (line 54), and the reverse order in Bell (line 13).[2] These shifts in order accompany many orthographic and lexical shifts that probably also reflect writing-supported transmission of texts by way of memory, but await more detailed analysis.[3]

Biblical narratives about the monarchal past are a fruitful area for this kind of research because they are attested in multiple manuscript versions of two tradition streams: Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Moreover, scholars already have noticed the kind of free variation in these traditions typical of transmission of biblical texts through memory. For example, the linguist Tamar Zewi has studied eight types of syntactic variation between the MT of Samuel-Kings and the MT of Chronicles. In each case, the syntactic variants express similar semantic content, and in several cases the variation goes in both directions. Zewi finds instances where Samuel-Kings and Chronicles vary in both directions on whether active or passive verbs are used to describe similar phenomena.[4] Similarly, in a variation mirroring dispute among Hebrew linguists about the status of the third member of a nominal clause containing a verbal copula, five cases in the MT of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles vary in both directions on whether היה occurs with or without the preposition ל.[5] These cases involve syntactic variation that does not appear to be linked to diachronic shifts in the language or differences in the semantic content being expressed. Moreover, they are the sorts of shifts that would not happen in an environment focused exclusively on graphic copying of texts. Rather, they are examples—surveyed by a linguist without apparent investment in any model for the creation of this literature—of the sorts of cognitive transformations that occur in texts transmitted, at least in part, through memory.[6]

2. Cf. Hans Jürgen Tertel, *Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of Old Testament Narratives* (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1994), 88, which asserts that these sections are identical.

3. Note, in the meantime, the preliminary analysis of these sorts of memory variants in other cuneiform materials in Mordechai Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues in the Hebrew Bible from an Assyriological Perspective," *Textus* 22 (2005); see especially pp. 7–8, 12.

4. Tamar Zewi, "Biblical Parallels and Biblical Hebrew Syntax," *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 17 (2006): 240–41. The author also notes that in several further instances involving burial formulae, Chronicles clearly avoids the passive.

5. Zewi, "Biblical Parallels," 242–43.

6. These examples could be multiplied through a survey of work by biblical scholars, including scholars building cases for specific models of the relationship of the traditions of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings. For example, though Steven McKenzie repeatedly posits all kinds of graphic and ideological reasons for variation between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings in his detailed study of the relationship between the traditions (*The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984]), he also acknowledges a number of cases where the alternatives are so semantically similar that the originality of either reading is difficult to determine. One of several instances occurs in the versions of Solomon's prayer, where McKenzie (p. 150) says that it is impossible to determine whether the reading of the MT of 1 Kgs 8:29 (יומם after לילה) is original, or the reading of 2 Chr 6:20 and the LXX of 1 Kgs 8:29 (יומם occurs before לילה). Similarly, McKenzie (p. 139) notes that either למלך (2 Chr 9:9 and the MT of 2 Kgs 10:10) or לשלמה (the OG of 2 Kgs 10:10) could be original. For an

Other studies have documented similar shifts in the manuscript traditions of these historical traditions. For example, the editors of 4QSam[a] note several examples of free variation in the process of commenting on 4QSam[a] for the editio princeps of that text: shifts in order and variation between expressions of such similar content that they are translated by the same word(s) in the Greek and other versions. For example, the editors note that "preference" is "difficult" in the original order of עליהם and למלך in 2 Sam 2:7: 4QSam[a] (and LXX[L]; see also LXX[B]) place עליהם before למלך, while the reverse order is found in MT and LXX[O].[7] So also, they note that it is difficult to determine whether לאמור (4QSam[a]; 1 Chr 13:12) or ויאמר (MT of 2 Sam 6:9) was the original reading because both options are grammatically correct, and both are translated by the same form in Greek (λεγων).[8] Similar instances would be the variation in 2 Sam 2:6 between 4QSam[a] אתכם and MT עמכם, both of which would be translated by the Greek μετα, and the variation between forms of אמה and שפחה ("maidservant") between 4QSam[a] and the MT of 1 Sam 8:16 and 2 Sam 14:19, both of which are expressed by identical words in the versions.[9]

These illustrative examples from Zewi and the editors of 4QSam[a] are useful because they occur in studies focused on other issues, by scholars with no apparent investment in demonstrating that a given variation originates from memory or other shifts. Nevertheless, the examples multiply once one reexamines the evidence, looking specifically for examples of the sorts of cognitive variation that have been found in other memorized traditions: addition/subtraction of minor particles, exchange of semantically equivalent words or phrases, shifts in order, etc. This is an area worthy of more sustained discussion than will be attempted here. The following provides excerpts from a more comprehensive survey by this author aimed at documenting the presence of memory variants in traditions about Israel's monarchal past.

To start, my survey of parallels between the MT traditions of 1 Chr 10–2 Chronicles and 1 Samuel 31–2 Kings has shown a far higher proportion of memory variants than variants best explainable through graphic or aural dynamics.[10] Since there is no space in this context for a full analysis of the entire stretch of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, I start with probable cases of memory variants in the first few pericopes that are parallel: the story of Saul's demise (1 Sam 31:1–13//1

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early, impressively broad survey of the sort of "synonymous variants" typical of transmission through memory, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "Synonymous Readings in the Textual Traditions of the Old Testament," in *Studies in the Bible*, ed. Chaim Rabin, Scripta Hierosolymitana 8 (1961), 335–83, along with Sara Japhet's study focused on parallels between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: "Interchanges of Verbal Roots in Parallel Texts in Chronicles," *Hebrew Studies* 28 (1987); see especially pp. 33–36 (synonymous readings).

7. Frank Moore Cross, et al., *Qumran Cave 4, 12: 1–2 Samuel*, DJD 17 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 105.

8. Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 127.

9. See Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 59, where the editors state that the 4QSam[a] reading of אמתך may be modernizing.

10. Because such comparison only works for Hebrew, it could only be done with the MT (and relevant Qumran) versions of the Chronicles and Samuel-Kings traditions.

Chr 10:1–14) and David's rise to power (2 Sam 5–6 and 1 Chr 11:1–10; 14:1–17; 13:6–14; see also 2 Sam 23:8–39//1 Chr 11:11–41).

In the story of Saul's demise, both 1 Sam 31:9 and 1 Chr 10:9 describe how the Philistines cut off Saul's head and stripped him of his weapons, but they describe the events in different order and in different words:

1 Chr 10:9 ויפשיטהו וישאו את ראשו ואת־כליו and they stripped him and lifted his head and his weapons

1 Sam 31:9 ויכרתו את־ראשו ויפשטו את־כליו and they cut his head and stripped his weapons

The next parallel story, about David's anointing as king, starts with an exchange between similar verbs—1 Chr 11:1 ויקבצו ("and they gathered")//ויבאו ("and they came") 2 Sam 5:1—and includes one of Zewi's examples of syntactic equivalents (1 Chr 11:2 תהיה ל//2 Sam 5:2).[11] Later, Chronicles and Kings diverge in how the passive is expressed in describing the Philistines hearing about this anointing: נמשח (1 Chr 14:8)//משחו את (2 Sam 5:17), another one of Zewi's examples of variation between syntactic equivalents.[12] In addition, the introduction to Yhwh's reply to David's inquiry in 2 Sam 5:19 and 1 Chr 14:10 varies slightly in word order and word choice: 1 Chr 14:10 ויאמר לו יהוה ("and Yhwh said to him")//ויאמר יהוה אל־דוד ("and Yhwh said to David") 2 Sam 5:19. The story about the recovery of the ark also includes a number of non-graphic, non-aural variants involving minimal shifts in semantic content:

1 Chr 13:6 ויעל ("and he got up")//ויקם וילך ("and he rose and went") 2 Sam 6:2

1 Chr 13:9 את־ידו לאחז את־הארון ([he sent] "his hand to grasp the ark")//אל־ארון האלהים ויאחז בו ([he sent] "to the ark of God and seized it") 2 Sam 6:6

1 Chr 13:11 כי־פרץ//על אשר פרץ 2 Sam 6:8; ("because it broke forth")

1 Chr 13:14 את־בית עבד־אדם ואת־כל־אשר לו ([Yhwh blessed] "the house of the servant of Edom and all that belonged to him")//את עבד אדם ואת־כל־ביתו ([Yhwh blessed] "the servant of Edom and all his house"; 2 Sam 6:12)

To be sure, one might argue in one or more of these cases that the variation represents a conscious revision by the author of Chronicles (or Samuel) of the text seen in the other. Nevertheless, given the resemblance of many of these variants to memory variants seen elsewhere, it is difficult to exclude the possibility that a substantial share of them result from slight shifts in memory.

These sorts of variants continue throughout other parallels between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. In some cases, such as the evident importation by the Chronicler of David's list of warriors (2 Chr 11:11–41a) from its probable original position appended later in the David tradition (2 Sam 23:8–39), the frequency of

11. Zewi, "Biblical Parallels," 243.

12. Zewi, "Biblical Parallels," 240. Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1910), 209 merely notes this variation with no preference. Note also that Zewi (pp. 233–34) places another variation two verses later in the same story in her list of variations between syntactic equivalents: התתנם 2 Sam 5:19//ונתתם 1 Chr 14:10.

variation is particularly intense, perhaps reflecting the fact that the Chronicler was depending on memory to reproduce a list distantly located (and difficult to access) in his scroll source. In other cases, variations occur only every few verses. Nevertheless, some overall types of memory variants can be identified. There are many additional examples of shifts in word order, such as 1 Chr 17:24 ובית־דויד עבדך versus ובית עבדך דוד in 2 Sam 7:26 or פני־המלחמה אליו in 1 Chr 19:10 versus אליו פני המלחמה in 2 Sam 10:9.[13] There are shifts between semantic equivalents that have been recognized, for example, as "lexical" or "synonymous" variants by others, 1 Chr 16:21 לאיש//Ps 105:14 אדם.[14] These include shifts in designations of figures, such as God, who are mentioned frequently through the narrative, for example, 1 Chr 13:6//2 Sam 6:2; 2 Chr 1:7//1 Kgs 3:5; 2 Chr 4:11//1 Kgs 7:40 [note also the OG];[15] there are shifts in prepositions, such as between אל and ל (e.g., 2 Sam 5:19//1 Chr 14:10; 2 Sam 10:3//1 Chr 19:3) or between אל and לפני (e.g., 2 Chr 6:24//1 Kgs 8:33; Isa 37:15//2 Kgs 19:15)—some of which may reflect diachronic language changes, but are also exchanges of what become semantic equivalents. And there are the sorts of additions/omissions of minor particles that previous studies have identified as signs of oral-memory transmission, such as the addition/omission of כל (e.g., 1 Chr 10:11//1 Sam 31:11).

Similarly, 4QSam[a] provides additional examples of the kind of cognitive variation typical of texts transmitted, at least in part, through memory. Notably, one of the best examples of wide-scale variation in word order, the echo of Chronicles in the 4QSam[a] version of 2 Sam 24:16 (no parallel in MT), involves a place where the Samuel tradition may have been harmonized, probably by way of memory, with the tradition in Chronicles:[16]

4QSam[a] 2 Sam 24:16	ויפלו	והזקנים	ע]ל [פני]הם	מת[כסים ב]שקים
1 Chr 21:16	ויפלו **דויד**	והזקנים		מכסים בשקים על פניהם

Two other examples of wider variation also occur in pluses to the Samuel tradition: shifts toward the end of the confession found in 4QSam[a] II (frg. c 30–33//Jer 9:22–23) at 2 Sam 2:10, and variations found in the versions of the plus found at 2 Sam 8:7 in 4QSam[a] (frg. 83:11–12) that parallel a plus found in the Greek and

13. The latter is in Zewi, "Biblical Parallels," 236 Note also another nearby example from the same page of that article: 1 Chr 19:12 ארם ממני//ממני ארם 2 Sam 10:12.

14. Helmer Ringgren, "Oral and Written Transmission in the Old Testament: Some Observations," *Studia Theologica* 3 (1949): 48 thinks this represents an oral "exchange of synonyms." See also McKenzie. Note also the numerous synonymous variants recorded by Raymond Person in his study of the parallel Isaiah-Hezekiah and Jeremiah narratives (*The Kings-Isaiah and Kings-Jeremiah Recensions*, BZAW [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997]), though note some cautions on this work in Hermann-Josef Stipp, "Review of Raymond F. Person. *The Kings-Isaiah and Kings-Jeremiah Recensions*," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 3 (1998), http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol03/Person1998rev-x.html.

15. For survey of the data, see Robert Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark: Text, Language, and Story in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles* 13, 15–16 (LOHB/OTS 470; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 79–80, summarizing a more extensive discussion in his dissertation.

16. For a discussion, see Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, Harvard Semitic Monographs (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 152–64, 257; and Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 193.

Latin versions.[17] The presence of such larger variations in pluses of the 4QSam[a] tradition may point to heightened use of memory for the rendering of additional material, particularly when it is being drawn from other parts of the biblical tradition (e.g., 1 Chr 21:16; Jer 9:22–23). Interestingly, another major example of large-scale variation in 4QSam[a] involves the iteration of Psalm 18 found in 2 Samuel 22 (4QSam[a] fragments 155–58).[18]

Many of the other examples of variation in between 4QSam[a] and other textual traditions involve smaller-scale shifts in a single word, particle, or grammatical expression. Some that are particularly interesting for the present purposes are cases that involve shifts which go in both directions, thus lessening the chance that those who produced the 4QSam[a] or parallel version(s) had systematically updated or otherwise revised a precursor. For example, in another instance where the semantic equivalence is such that the versions would translate either variant identically, 4QSam[a] for 2 Sam 6:13 has והיה where the MT has ויהי, while a few verses later in 6:16 it has ויהי (with 1 Chr 15:29) where the MT has והיה. Finally, prepositions frequently switch in the tradition, often in both directions. 4QSam[a] has על for MT אל in several instances (e.g. 2 Sam 3:29, 33; 6:3), while the reverse is the case in other instances (e.g. 2 Sam 12:17; 13:39).[19] Similarly, 4QSam[a] uses the preposition אל in a number of instances where the MT has ל (e.g. 1 Sam 6:2; 2 Sam 11:8; 15:2), but it also has ל in one instance where the MT has אל (2 Sam 18:3). Further grammatical analysis may refine these cases, but overall, they show an apparent fluidity in the textual transmission of these texts, particularly in the exchange of prepositions, one also remarked upon by the editors of 4QSam[a].[20]

Readings in 4QSam[a] display other types of memory variants, including the addition/omission of smaller particles, variation between semantically equivalent lexemes or grammatical features, and shifts in order. The particle כול is present (4QSam[a] on 1 Sam 10:18; 2 Sam 21:4) or absent (4QSam[a] on 1 Sam 2:22; 13:23) in contrast to the MT and other versions, and similar observations could be made about the presence/absence of the conjunction (1 Sam 6:5)[21] and direct object marker (present in 4QSam[a] but missing in MT for 1 Sam 8:9; 2 Sam 6:2; missing in 4QSam[a] but in MT for 1 Sam 24:19). Shifts in order include: 4QSam[a] (with Syr) of 2 Sam 5:8 ואת העו[רים ואת] ה[פסחי]ם versus ואת הפסחים ואת העורים (MT, LXX), מ[אד את יהוה] (with MT) versus את יהוה מאד (LXX[BAL]), 4QSam[a] of 2 Sam 5:13 (with MT and several witnesses) פיל[ג]שים ו[נשים versus נשים ופלגשים (LXX[BL]; Josephus *Ant*. 7.70; cf. 1 Chr 14:3), 4QSam[a] of 2 Sam 5:13 (with LXX and Vulgate) לדויד עוד versus עוד לדוד

17. For 4QSam[a] II, lines 30–33, see Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 32 (text) and 34 (discussion). For 4QSam[a] frags. 80–83, lines 11–12, see Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 132 (text) and 133 (discussion).

18. Cross, et.al. surveys and discusses the variants attested in 4QSam[a] in *Cave 4, Samuel*, 182–86.

19. Note also variation with respect to other traditions on this point, e.g. אל in 4QSam[a] where other traditions reflect על at 2 Sam 6:6; 22:42 and the reverse in 2 Sam 20:10. Cross, et.al. note this variation, *Cave 4, Samuel*, 184.

20. For example, DJD 17, p. 126. Note also 4QSam[a] 3 Col. XI 52 a-b 2 [2 Sam 2:5] על אדניכ[ם] [see LXX] versus עם אדניכם in MT—rare use here of עשה חסד with על seen only elsewhere in MT of 1 Sam 20:8. At 2 Sam 13:24 4QSam[a], LXX[L] VL Vulg אל versus עם MT LXX[BO] Targ Syr.

21. See the note in Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 53 on this feature.

(MT, Targ., Syr), 4QSam[a] of 2 Sam 15:2 ה[שכם ועמד ואבש]לום versus the MT and other witnesses והשכים אבשלום ועמד, and 4QSam[a] of 2 Sam 16:11 (with MT, LXX[BO] and Targ.) כי יהוה לו אמ[ר אם versus כי יהוה אמר לו (LXX[L] and Syr.). Sometimes shifts in order are combined with the kinds of shifts in prepositions noted above, as in 4QSam[a] (cf. LXX[BL]) of 2 Sam 15:2 לו אבשל[ו]ם versus אבשלום אליו (MT; cf. Targ).[22] Finally, 4QSam[a] has variations from other textual witnesses in its designations of characters and items that frequently appear in Samuel, such as switches in designations for the people,[23] God,[24] and the ark,[25] along with other lexical variants, such as אני at 1 Sam 2:23 where the MT has אנכי. To be sure, many of these readings in 4QSam[a] and the witnesses with which it agrees may be secondary. Certainly, there are cases where semantic equivalents also reflect apparent linguistic updating or ideological revision. The point is that the sorts of variation seen between 4QSam[a] and other textual witnesses are of the kind frequently seen when texts are transmitted, at least in part, through memory.

We see a similar range of variants in the various editions of the Pentateuch found in the caves near Qumran. For example, 4QpaleoExod[m], a so-called proto-Samaritan manuscript, shows shifts in order when compared with other traditions, such as ל]לאות חמשים (with OG) versus חמשים ללאת (with MT, Syr, Vulg) in Exod 26:10.[26] The same manuscript contains several other variants in expressions with similar or identical semantic content. For example, in Exod 6:30 4QpaleoExod[m] has אלי ישמע in Exod 6:30 with the MT where the Samaritan Pentateuch (often SamP in the following) has ישמעני. In Exod 7:14 4QpaleoExod[m] agrees with the SamP tradition in having וידבר where the MT has ויאמר, while in Exod 10:21 it disagrees with both the MT and SamP tradition in having וידבר where they have ויאמר, In Exod 18:6 4QpaleoExod[m] has אל משה (with the MT) where the SamP has למשה. This and other proto-Samaritan manuscripts also vary vis-à-vis other traditions in the common sorts of memory variants in designations for God,[27] and both proto-Samaritan and 4QRP manuscripts show probable memory

22. Note also the variation between 4QSam[a] frags. 117–18, line 3 and a variety of readings in witnesses to 2 Sam 16:1 surveyed in Cross et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 158.

23. 4QSam[a] of 1 Sam 2:22 בני ישראל versus כול ישראל MT and others; 4QSam[a] of 2 Sam 20:13 כ[ו]ל העם with LXX[L] and Josephus, *Ant*. 7.287 versus כל איש in the MT, Targ, and Syr and כול איש ישראל LXX[BO].

24. 4QSam[a] varies from other witnesses in having יהוה for אלהים in readings for 1 Sam 2:1; 6:20; 10:26 and 2 Sam 6:3; the reverse in readings for 1 Sam 22:10; 2 Sam 12:15; 20:19. In 1 Sam 10:9, 4QSam[a] has האלהים where the MT has אלהים, and in 2 Sam 5:10 4QSam[a] reads יהוה צבאות with LXX[BO] where the MT and other witnesses reflect יהוה אלהי צבאות. For comments on the difficulty of deciding the preferability of the last reading, see Cross et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 122.

25. For example, 4QSam[a] 6:20 (1 Sam 6:8) ארון MT, LXX[LO], Old Latin, Targ Syr, Vulg versus LXX[B] ארון. Cross et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 53 notes the frequency of this variation in this portion of Samuel.

26. There are other instances where it agrees in a given order with other witnesses, versus the OG. For example, משה ואהרון in Exod 6:27 (with the MT and others, versus the OG) and ו]עלות זב[ח]ים (with MT and others) versus עלות וזבחים (OG) in Exod 10:25.

27. 4QExod[m] agrees with MT and SamP in having יהוה where some other witnesses reflect אלהים (16:33; 19:8 32:30), while having אלהים at two loci where other traditions have יהוה (18:1; 20:1; see Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod[m] and the Samaritan Tradition*, HSM 30 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1986], 135–36). 4QNum[b] has אלוהים at Num 23:3 with the SamP and OG versus יהוה in the MT, אלוהים in Num 23:27 versus האלהים in the MT, Sam, and OG, and agrees with other Hebrew witnesses in having יהוה where the OG reflects אלהים in Num 22:13, 32. Similarly, 4QDeut[n] 5:24 has יהוה with Targ versus אלהים in MT, SamP, LXX, and Syr.

variants in designations for the people.[28] Similarly, 4Q158, a manuscript with affinities to the proto-Samaritan and 4QRP traditions, has ידבר וא[ל] (at frg. 6.2) where the Sam and MT of Exod 20:19 have ואל ידבר, (at frg. 10.4) אם (at frg.) where the MT of Exod 21:37 and other traditions have כי,[29] and לפני האלוהים (frg. 10.9) where the MT and others have אל האלהים at Exod 22:7.

As in the case of 4QSam[a], the proto-Samaritan and 4QRP traditions show other kinds of memory variation, such as the addition/omission of particles, shifts in prepositions, and grammatical equivalences. For example, at one point, 4Q365 (4QRP[c]) has the copula where other traditions lack it (קוד[ש ה]י[א ליה]וה frag. 10.1; cf. MT and Sam Exod 30:37), while at another locus (frag. 27:3) it lacks it (cf. Num 3:27). Similarly, 4QNum[b], a proto-Samaritan manuscript, has כול in several expressions where other traditions, including occasionally the Samaritan tradition, lack it;[30] 4QDeut[n] has the direct object marker at 5:13 (את כול מלאכתך) where other witnesses lack it; and 4Q365 (4QRP[c]; frag. 10 3) has an extra הנה (ראה הנה) where it is lacking in the MT and Sam of Exod 31:2. Shifts in prepositions include אל for ל in 4QNum[b] for Num 22:16 and אל for על in 4Q365 frag. 12biii 5 (cf. MT of Exod 39:4) and frag. 17ac 2 (cf. MT of Lev 11:42). Finally, there are some grammatical equivalents. 4Qpaleo-Exod[m] features the use of the construct for things made of a given material בריחי עצי שטים (with the Sam) where the MT of Exod 26:26 uses the absolute (בריחים), and it has the niphal (נגנב[ו]) for the passive where the MT of Exod 22:6 has the pual (וגנב).[31]

As in the case of the discussion of 4QSam[a], this overview does not aim to be comprehensive, nor does it claim primacy for the relevant readings from the Proto-Samaritan and 4QRP traditions. Rather, the aim is to show how these traditions, which exhibit much larger forms of variation as well, have the kinds of variants typical of traditions transmitted through memory.

Finally, the manuscript tradition for the Qumran Community Rule shows that such variation in memory could also occur in the transmission of late Second Temple non-biblical Hebrew traditions. Sometimes the variation found in the Community Rule and related traditions is so wide as to indicate probable transmission of a tradition in an exclusively oral mode. For example, a confession of sin found in 1QS I 24-II 1 is semantically and occasionally verbally parallel to a shorter confession of sin found in CD B XX 27–30. In this case, the parallels are so general as to suggest the probability of textual transmission without the aid of writing.[32]

28. 4QpaleoExod[m] of Exod 16:31 has בית ישראל (with the MT and SamP) versus reflections of בני ישראל in the OG, Targ, and Syr (Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 138–9). 4QNum[b] has בנ[י ישראל] where the MT, SamP, and OG of Num 31:3 reflect העם. 4Q365 (4QRP[c]) frg. 23:2 has אבותיכם where the MT, SamP, and OG of Lev 23:43 have בני ישראל.

29. For a discussion of this switch in the Temple Scroll, see Bernhard Levinson and Molly Zahn, "Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כי and אם in the Temple Scroll," *DSD* 9 (2002): 295–346.

30. כול העם in 11:32, כול תרומת יהוה in 18:29, כול נדריה ואסריה in Num 30:9 [see the chart in DJD 12, p. 250], כול פקודים in 31:48 and כ[ול זהב] in 31:52, and 4QDeut[n], another proto-Samaritan manuscript, has כ[ול בשר] at Deut 5:26 with 4QDeut[j], MT, Sam, and Targ versus OG and Syr, which just reflect בשר.

31. For a discussion of both cases, see Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 118.

32. For a helpful tabular comparison, see Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumrân Cave 4. XIX: Serekh ha-yah*ad yaḥad and Two Related Texts*, DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 51.

When we look, however, toward parallels between iterations of the Community Rule tradition itself, they often are the sorts of shifts between semantic equivalents typical of writing-supported transmission of texts through memory. As in the cases discussed above, we see shifts in order, such as the reading ופעמים יהכין in 4QS[a] (frg. 2, line 4) where 1QS III, 9 has ויהכין פעמיו. We see different kinds of variation in designations for property in 1QS VI 2 ממון (a later term)//4QS[d] II:7 הון and 1QS VI 25 ממון//הון 4Q266 and 4QS[g] (frg. 3 3). As in the 4QSam[a] variants discussed above, the passive is expressed differently in 1QS VIII 24 (והובדל) and 4QS[d] VII 1(והבדילהו). There are a couple of instances of inclusion/exclusion of the particle כול in parallels to 1QS V 19 (cf. 4QS[d] I [frg. 1 a i and 1b]) and 1QS V 20 (//4QS[b] Col. IX 4 13, but cf. 4QS[d] I 11). And we see some interchanges of prepositions as well: 1QS X 1 אל//על in 4QS[d] VIII 11; 1QS VI 1 ל//לפני 4 QS[d] II 5; and 1QS X 18 ל//ב 4QS[f] IV 5.[33] Such exchanges of semantic equivalents, amidst overall widespread verbatim agreement, suggest that these Community Rule texts were transmitted, at least in part, through a process of writing-supported memorization.

This sort of analysis could be done for many more texts transmitted in multiple copies. Of course, the variants discussed above occur alongside examples of graphic variants, such as the interchange of letters, skipping of lines, and other sorts of variation often discussed in introductions to text criticism. Moreover, such analysis would be enriched through more attention to the tendencies of individual manuscript traditions and the ideological-theological and lexical-grammatical dynamics of each given case. The aim of the above survey, however, was more modest: to establish the probability that the manuscript traditions discussed elsewhere in this book were transmitted, at least in part, through a process of writing-supported memorization, a process that is betrayed by extensive verbatim agreement between traditions combined with occasional variation between expressions of similar or virtually identical semantic content.

■ THE TREND TOWARD EXPANSION

Of course, there is substantial evidence that some ancient authors made much more significant changes in the traditions that they received and appropriated. When they did, I suggest that ancient scholars *generally* tended to expand on, rather than abbreviate, the portions of the tradition that they chose to reproduce. We see the ideology behind this trend in a series of ancient scribal warnings initially surveyed by Fishbane decades ago. One sees several warnings exclusively focused on the need not to subtract from a given text (Deut 13:1; Prov 30:6; note also Jer 26:2) in addition to warnings not to add or subtract from it (e.g. Erra 11:43b–44; Satire Trades 10 [cf. Ptahhotep 8]; Deut 4:2).[34] I suggest that the bulk of documented cases of transmission history confirm that scribes generally were more reluctant to subtract from a given tradition than they were to expand it.

33. See Alexander and Vermes, *Serekh ha-yah*ad*, 97 and 120 for a discussion of the late character of some of these switches.

34. Michael Fishbane, "Varia Deuteronomica," *ZAW* 84 (1972): 350.

This trend toward expansion is particularly evident in the addition of material to the beginning or end of later versions of Mesopotamian literature. In his survey of these cases, Tigay starts with the list of ante-diluvian kings prefixed to the Sumerian king list, which originally surveyed only post-diluvian kings. The late version of the Etana epic, to be discussed below, includes a new eight-line introduction that is not found in the older versions. Finkelstein argues that the code of Hammurabi may be an additional case where a given composition—in this case, the laws—was supplemented by new material, the prologue, added to its beginning.[35] Meanwhile, there is manuscript evidence that the Tummal Inscription and Šumma Isbu birth omen series once circulated in shorter copies, before new material was added after their conclusions.[36] Finally, outside the Mesopotamian tradition, but still continuous with its cuneiform media form, we have a documented example of divergent appendices added to the conclusion of an Ugaritic cuneiform ritual text (KTU 1.41//1.87).[37]

In addition, there are several traditions where we can observe expansions throughout later versions. The late, standard Babylonian recension of the Anzu epic, for example, far more often expands its Old Babylonian precursor than abbreviating it. Some of these expansions harmonize different parts of the epic with each other, such as the addition of appeals to Gira and Šara and their replies, exchanges that closely resemble appeals and replies to Adad and Ninurta.[38] In addition, the SB appeal to all these gods is expanded with a line about placing shrines across the whole world (SB I iii 42; cf. OB II:14–15). In at least one instance, such an expanded line is linked to the flow of the narrative through resumptive repetition (SB I iii 35–36),[39] and there are numerous other examples where the SB version of the epic just has one or more additional lines expanding on parallel lines in the OB version.[40] Sometimes a few lines fill a gap in the earlier version, as in the SB inclusion of an explicit description of Ea's thinking process before speaking to

35. J. J. Finkelstein, "A Late Old Babylonian Copy of the Laws of Hammurapi," *JCS* 21 (1967 [published 1969]): 42 with note 5. A sophisticated recent survey of this phenomenon in these cases and others (e.g., Adapa; various stages of Gilgamesh) can be found in Chapter 2 of Sara Milstein, "Revision Through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature," PhD diss. (New York: New York, New York University, 2010). See Daniel E. Fleming and Sara J. Milstein, *The Buried Foundation of the Gilgamesh Epic*, Cuneiform Monographs 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2010) for a detailed case, based more on internal evidence within the OB edition of the Gilgamesh epic, that the Penn tablet of the OB tradition represents a secondary expansion (through introduction) of an earlier Akkadian version of the Huwawa episode (reflected partly in the Yale tablet).

36. This list comes from Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 104, including notes 76–78.

37. For discussion of the two appendices, see Gregorio del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1999), 122–28.

38. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 101. Note also the addition of Anzu's soaring departure for the mountains (OB II:20//SB I iii 51) to an earlier report (SB I iii 24).

39. For a discussion, see Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 61, note 14.

40. There are other examples of such expansion of parallel lines, such as SB I iii 50b ("authority is overthrown"; cf. OB II:19), Ea's call to appoint Anzu's conqueror (SB I iii 104–107; cf. OB II 32–33), expanded lines in Mami's description of Anzu's crime (SB IV 10, 12; cf. OB II 50–51//SB IV 9 [now actively formulated], 11), and two lines added to Anzu's attack that expand parallel lines in the OB version ([Hallo and Moran] II 41, 43; cf. OB "III" 5, 6//SB II 40, 42).

Anu (SB I iii 101–102) where the OB just refers generally to this thinking having happened (OB II:32//SB I iii 103). Elsewhere, the SB version includes more extensive additions, particularly in expanding the role of Mami in the epic (e.g., SB I iii 111–21, cf. OB II 36).[41] These larger and smaller pluses in the SB version far outnumber the few loci where the text of SB eliminates a doubled refrain seen in the OB version (e.g., OB II 72, cf. OB II 70//SB II 18; OB II 77, cf. OB II 75//SB II 30) or otherwise eliminates a line seen in the OB version (e.g., OB II 4).

The standard Babylonian version of the Atrahasis epic likewise contains a number of pluses vis-à-vis the Old Babylonian version, though the picture is more complex than in the case of the Anzu epic. Some additions, such as the additional description of lack of sleep (SB IV 3; cf. OB I 356), Enlil's complaint about being disturbed by the noise (SB IV 7), or the additional conversation between Atrahasis and Ea in SB V 27–30, conform different parts of the Atrahasis epic with each other.[42] Other pluses, such as three extra lines in the decree to make humanity (K 6634 V ob. 2–3; note also K 3399+3934 [s] ob. iii 4), the expanded version of Enlil's decree in SB IV 10–16 (cf. 3 unintelligible lines in OB I 361–63), Atrahasis's description of the groaning of humanity (SB IV 23–26), Ea's command to Atrahasis to speak a benediction (SB IV 35), and the beginning of Enlil's address to the gods after the plague (SB IV 37–39; though cf. OB II i 1–5), appear to be expansions on the earlier version of the epic. At some other points the versions are simply different, as in portions of both the OB and SB versions of Enlil's curse on humanity that have no counterpart in the other version (OB II i 14–17; SB IV 47b–51), the descriptions of the impact of the plagues (OB II iv 6; SB V 7b, 9), or the different descriptions of the impact on humanity of the famine (OB II iv 13–17; SB V 15–16). In some cases, the authors of the late version may have eliminated material in the OB version (e.g., OB II i 3–4, 20–22) in order to better harmonize that material with other parts of the epic.[43] Finally, there are some additional instances where the SB version lacks material seen in the OB version, such as some lines of the introduction (OB I 23–25, 29–36), an initial part of Enki's speech after the plague (OB I 374–75), and a description of humanity disturbing Enlil (OB II i 4–5). Overall, however, the preservation and expansion of older material are the rule, while elimination of material is the exception, and the most significant cases of elimination appear—once again—to be related to an overall drive to conform different parts of the epic with each other.

Preserved in three versions—Old Babylonian, Middle Assyrian (MAV), and Late Standard Version (LV)—the later iterations of the Etana epic show a more complex relationship of pluses and minuses. For example, all three versions preserve portions of an oath that the serpent and eagle swear to each other, and the late version of the oath is relatively longer than the other two. Nevertheless, the OB version starts with a line (OB I/C 1) lacking in the Late Version, and the MAV adds some additional curses that either do not appear or appear in different order in the Late Version (MAV I 1//LV II 22; MAV I 6//LV II 18; and MAV I 5, 7). When the

41. Note also SB I iii 128–34 expanded instructions to her and SB IV 5–6, cf. OB II 48.
42. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 100; Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 35–36.
43. Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 36, notes 35 and 37–38.

versions of the epic are most closely parallel to each other, we often see dynamics present in other documented examples of transmission history: the addition of a prologue (LV I:1–8),[44] addition of a phrase in the later version (LV II 23, cf. OB I/C 4), expansion of parallel lines (e.g., LV II 24, 37–38 in the description of the eagle's plan),[45] a plus further assimilating one part of the epic (the warning by the eagle's offspring, LV II 48–49) with an earlier part of the epic (the oath, LV II 18–19), and various other pluses (e.g., MAV I 19–20//LV II 32–33 and LV II 48–49, 56, 116, 119, 122, 123, and 125). Nevertheless, the later versions often lack elements seen in one or the other earlier ones, for example, lack in the Late Version of the begetting of young (OB IC 6–7//MAV I 8–9 [different order]; note also OB IC 5), the eagle's anticipation of the ongoing life of his young (OB IC 15–17), some elements of the snake's prayer to Shamash (OB IC 39, 41–42; cf. a plus in LV as well as in II 64), and a number of elements in the Middle Assyrian version's narrative of the eagle falling into the snake's trap and subsequent interaction with Shamash (MAV IB 13, 17–19, 21, 24; IC 4–5).[46] Unlike cases of omission in cases discussed previously, most of these are not easily attributed to the ideology of the MAV author or a wish to harmonize through abbreviation.

Moreover, the minuses in the MAV and LV versions of the Etana epic cannot all be attributed to the idea that the author of these versions used a shorter version of Etana than that seen in earlier versions.[47] This can be illustrated by the integration of replaced elements, along with supplementation, seen in the parallel descriptions (given below) of the prelude to the eagle's deception (OB I C 8–11//MAV I A 14–20//LV II 26–35).[48] Here, the Late Version incorporates most elements of the earlier versions, even as they are reordered and supplemented. As can be seen in Table 3.1, where the OB and MAV versions describe only the snake catching game for the eagle—first boar and bison and then mountain goats and gazelles (MAV I 15–18, cf. OB I/C 8–11)—the LV parallels have the snake first catch mountain goats and gazelles and then the *eagle* catch wild boar and bison.

This inclusion of similar animals to those seen in MAV I 15 (cf. OB IC 8), along with the LV inclusion of a parallel to a plus of MAV to the second description that describes the snake hunting various other sorts of game (MAV I 19–20//LV II 32–33), shows that the author of the LV had before him a three-part description of

44. Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 104, including note 77 discusses this introduction and cites studies of it. For a more extensive discussion of this prologue and issues surrounding the transmission of OB and LV vis-à-vis the MAV version (lacking the kingship introduction), see Milstein, "Revision Through Introduction."

45. Though note the compression of parallel lines in LV II 120, cf. OB I/D 9–10 also seen in the transmission of the Gilgamesh epic (Tigay, *Gilgamesh Epic*, 62).

46. In addition, the versions simply diverge in their transition from the eagle and snake's oath to the hunting scene (OB IC 5//LV II 25; nothing in MAV).

47. Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 21–22. See the nuanced picture of the development of the Etana tradition in Milstein, "Revision Through Introduction.," which argues in detail that many of the apparent minuses in the MAV Etana do not necessarily reflect subtractions from the version used by the author of that recension, but instead reflect its use of a different OB Vorlage than the one to which we now have access.

48. The translations are taken from J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Epic of Etana* (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips, 1985), 33, 53, 91.

TABLE 3.1 *Parallel Versions of the Hunt in Etana*

Old Babylonian 33	Middle Assyrian 53	Late Version 91
		26 (So) when the eagle caught wild bulls and asses,
		27 The serpent ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.
	14 The serpent went out to hunt.	
8 (Then) ox and wild boar did the serpent catch,	15 Wild boar and bison the serpent caught,	28 When the serpent caught mountain goats and gazelles (cf. MAV 17),
9 The eagle ate and his young ones ate.	16 The eagle ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.	29 The eagle ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.
		30 When the eagle caught wild boar and bison, (cf. MAV 15)
		31 The serpent ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.
10 Leopard and tiger did the serpent catch,	17 Mountain goats and gazelles did the serpent catch,	
11 The eagle ate and his young ones ate.	18 The eagle ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.	
	19 Other kinds of game did the serpent catch,	32 When the serpent caught other kinds of wild game,
	20 The eagle ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.	33 The eagle ate and withdrew, and his young ones ate.
		34 The young [of the serpent grew fat] from the food.
		35 The young of the eagle became fully grown.

the snake's hunting: boar and bison, mountain goats and gazelles, and finally various other sorts of game.[49] But the LV preserves a reverse order of the first two groups of animals, and what was now the second group (boar and bison) was caught by the eagle, not the snake. This move is accompanied by a plus initially describing the eagle's hunting (plus in LV II 26–27; note also MAV I 14) and another supplement focusing on the young of both animals (II 34–35).[50]

In sum, the case of the Etana epic underscores the distinctiveness already seen in previous cases discussed. All examples of reproduction of earlier texts (as opposed to merely drawing on them) show preservation and expansion on precursors. Most show a preponderance of expansion and a minimum of abbreviation, with most abbreviation of precursors confined to the contraction of parallel lines, harmonization through abbreviation, and elimination of material that contradicted central aims of the later version. The example of the Etana epic, however, shows that some late versions can exhibit more of a balance of expansion and subtraction, with the minuses less explainable as the result of harmonization or other such factors. The trend toward expansion is just that, a trend, with cases such as the Etana epic showing less of the trend than others, such as the late Gilgamesh epic.

The trend toward expansion is sometimes more difficult to trace in later documented examples of the transmission of texts, such as the versions of Jeremiah or Samuel, because there is still debate about which of the versions is earlier. Though a preponderance of scholars may judge that the longer versions of the relevant traditions are later, at least some of this judgment is often based on the very fact that the version in question is longer. To use such cases to buttress the case for a trend toward expansion would be a circular argument. Nevertheless, there are a number of cases of versions with pluses, where there are multiple indicators that the longer version is a later expansion of the earlier documented version. These include:

1. **The Proto-Samaritan Pentateuch(s)**: Many of the expansions are small, but there are several longer harmonizing expansions that integrate laws from Deuteronomy into Exodus or vice versa.
2. **4Q Rewritten Pentateuch**: Like the proto-Samaritan Pentateuch(s), this tradition generally parallels the Pentateuchal tradition as known elsewhere, but includes a number of pluses, including an expanded speech of Rebecca, an expanded speech of Miriam at the Red Sea, and a new festival of wood in Leviticus.

49. It is impossible on the basis of the evidence to know whether or not the precursor used by LV had already switched the order of the first two groups of animals. For a further discussion of this set of shifts, see Jerrold Cooper, "Symmetry and Repetition in Akkadian Narrative," *JAOS* 97 (1977): 509–10.

50. In addition, the LV lacks an element corresponding to the OB/MAV description of the end of the snake's hunting expeditions (OB I/C 13//MAV I 22) after the young of the eagle had become fully grown (OB I/C 12//MAV I 21//LV II 36). This, however, may be part of the Late Version's reconceptualization of the process. Where the OB and MAV have the eagle plotting to eat the snake's young after his young have grown and the eagle has stopped hunting for them, the LV has both the eagle and snake hunting and the eagle being prompted in his decision to betray the snake not by the sudden need to start hunting again himself, but, perhaps, by the fattening of the snake's young (LV II 34).

3. **The Longer Greek Version of the Book of Esther**: The six major additions to the Esther tradition add an apocalyptic and religious slant to an otherwise fairly secular tradition. Some of the expansions appear to have been done in Hebrew or Aramaic (e.g., 11:2–12 and 12:1–6), while others were added to the Greek tradition (13:1–7).
4. **The Longer Greek Version of the Book of Daniel**: The LXX Daniel includes several elements, such as the story of Bel and the Dragon, that have no counterpart in the Hebrew witnesses to the book and are generally agreed to be later additions to the book.
5. **The Expansion of the Ezra Tradition**: 1 Esdras includes the story of the three guards (Esd 3:1–5:6). The issue of the general relationship of the MT Ezra-Nehemiah tradition to the Greek Esdras tradition will be discussed later in this chapter. Nevertheless, there are multiple signs that the story of the three guards in Esd 3:1–5:6 is a secondary addition to the Ezra tradition, as found in both the MT and Esdras versions.[51]

This list could be expanded with other examples of divergent recensions of traditions, where many scholars agree that the longer version is later. Nevertheless, the above list provides an initial survey of places where the longer tradition of a given biblical text is marked by other indicators as later.

Despite the above examples, it should be emphasized again that this is a *trend* toward exact reproduction or expansion. It is not a *law*. The above discussion of the Gilgamesh tradition featured an extended treatment of at least one case where the later author of the standard version eliminated a prominent element of the earlier OB version, the barmaid's speech, in order to replace it with a different perspective on how to deal with mortality. Similarly, pious inclinations may have led authors of the flood portion of the standard version of the Gilgamesh epic to eliminate parts of the earlier flood narrative that implied hunger in the gods. Such abbreviations of material amidst overall reproduction of a text are the exception, not the rule. Furthermore, most such abbreviations can be explained as a result of the theological-ideological interests of the later authors or as a by-product of their harmonization of different parts of a text with each other. Aside from such cases, the overall trend toward expansion seems to hold—at least for cases where later tradents reproduced ancient texts known or learned in written form.

When we turn to examine other ways that ancient authors drew on earlier texts, abbreviation is much more common. For example, starting already with Bartlett's experiments with memory a century ago, psychologists and anthropologists have documented the abbreviation of traditions known/learned in exclusively *oral* form, a tendency leading to focalization of central and unusual elements and elimination of elements deemed irrelevant. Furthermore, there are numerous examples of later authors drawing in a highly selective way on earlier traditions in the process of producing entirely new texts. We have already seen several such examples of selective

51. For a good summary of arguments regarding the late character of this interpolation, see Dieter Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia: Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels*, OBO 158 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 69–72.

appropriation of written laws in the purity section of the Temple Scroll, and there are many other examples of such selective appropriation of earlier source material at Qumran (e.g., the Genesis Apocryphon) and elsewhere (epitomes of lost Greek and Latin works [or parts of them]). Such partial use of earlier content is particularly characteristic of the appropriation of material across a language barrier, as in the radical adaptation of narrative elements from earlier Sumerian Gilgamesh traditions in the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh epic. In all these cases the later tradition draws on the *contents* of the earlier tradition, but the tradent does not reproduce long stretches of the precursor tradition. As a result, the later text does not feature verbal agreement along long stretches with its precursor tradition(s). Moreover, the later text may be longer at some points or shorter in others, but it does not come under the heading of this "trend toward expansion." It is not a *reproduction* of a written tradition known/learned in written form.

Excursus: Consideration of Major Potential Counterexamples to the Trend Toward Expansion

Though above I have granted that the trend toward expansion admits exceptions, there are several major cases of potential counterexamples to this phenomenon that deserve more extended discussion. First, Assyrian royal inscriptions from later years of a king's reign tend to abbreviate narration of earlier years of that king's reign. Second, most scholars believe that the author of Chronicles omitted significant amounts from Samuel-Kings on which he was otherwise dependent. Third, many would understand 1 Esdras to be a Greek translation of a Hebrew original that was created through abbreviating and combining portions of 2 Kings and Ezra-Nehemiah. Fourth, some have argued that the shorter editions of the Qumran Community Rule found in Qumran cave 4 are abbreviations of the longer edition best reflected in the cave 1 Community Rule scroll, a scroll whose paleography predates that of the shorter editions. In the following, I proceed through these cases in roughly chronological order.

The Assyrian Royal Inscriptions

In a book devoted to documented cases of transmission history, Tertel used the case of Assyrian royal inscriptions to argue for a tendency toward abbreviation in the transmission of written traditions.[52] Arguing that such Assyrian inscriptions represent the best example of a tradition transmitted over multiple stages that can be compared with each other, Tertel suggested that the documentation of abbreviation in such inscriptions contradicted the assumption by many that transmission history led toward expansion. To some extent this is true, since the Assyrian royal inscriptions represent a case where a later tradition reproduces and yet abbreviates extensive sections of a precursor tradition known/learned in written form. Nevertheless, this case of abbreviation has to do with the particular foci of this genre form and is thus genre-specific. Apparently, the author of a later inscription

52. Tertel, *Text and Transmission*.

that included narration of a king's recent regnal year(s) was primarily focused on such new material, and that material relating to the king's recent rule represents a clear expansion of the earlier inscriptional tradition about him. Conversely, such an author was less interested in rehearsing earlier years of that king's reign, and so that material often was abbreviated.

The Books of Chronicles

The next case has to do with the possible elimination of massive amounts of material from Samuel-Kings in the reproduction of that material in 1–2 Chronicles. Already two hundred years ago, de Wette argued that the Chronicles version of the tradition was later than that in Samuel-Kings, and that position has achieved virtually unanimous acceptance in the otherwise contentious world of biblical scholarship.[53] Insofar as this is the case, the books of Chronicles would represent a significant exception to the "trend toward expansion." Though this demonstrably late biblical set of books includes parallels to the conclusion of Saul's reign and many parts of the history of David and his heirs in Samuel-Kings, it lacks any parallel to the narration up to the end of Saul's reign, many (unflattering) narratives about David, and virtually all the material about the northern kingdom in Kings.

A closer look, however, shows that different parts of Chronicles have quite different relationships to the earlier material in Samuel-Kings. On the one hand, there is good evidence that the author(s) of Chronicles knew of and chose to omit large swathes of material found in Samuel-Kings. On the other hand, it does not appear that the author(s) of Chronicles so freely omitted material from sections of Samuel-Kings that he or they chose to reproduce.

We can most clearly see abbreviation in Chronicles in cases where Chronicles features the *incomplete* abbreviation of portions of Samuel-Kings that has produced incongruities in the later text. For example, as many have pointed out before, the existing text of 1 Chr 20:1–3, and thus the postulated shared text (cf. 2 Sam 11:1, 26, 30–31), starts with an otherwise dangling juxtaposition of David's presence in Jerusalem with Joab's campaign in Ammon (2 Sam 11:1//1 Chr 20:1). In Samuel, this ironic placement of David in Jerusalem away from battle "at the time when kings went to battle" anticipates his misdeeds in the David and Bathsheba story that follows in 2 Sam 11–12. Furthermore, as many have pointed out, the combination of materials in 1 Chr 20:1–3 jumps from Joab's conquering of Rabbah while David was still in Jerusalem (1 Chr 20:1//2 Sam 11:1, 26b) to David taking the crown of Milcom along with other booty out of Rabbah (1 Chr 20:2–3//2 Sam 11:30–31). David never travels to Ammon in this shared source. To be sure, there are a couple of Greek LXX manuscripts of Chronicles that preserve a form of Joab's invitation to David to come to Rabbah that is seen in 2 Sam 12:27–29, but most text critics rightly propose that these are secondary harmonizations of these Chronicles manuscripts to Samuel in order to deal with the difficulty just observed. Furthermore, as Ralph Klein has observed, the Chronicles description

53. Wilhelm Martin L. de Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Halle: Schimmelpfenning und Compagnie, 1806–807).

of Joab's destruction of Ammon uses a verb הרס that was featured in David's original order to Joab to conquer Ammon in special material in Samuel that is not included in Chronicles (2 Sam 11:25).[54] All this seems to indicate that the Chronicler knew of material in 2 Sam 11:25, 12:27–29 and the broader David-Bathsheba story, but omitted it in the process of producing this somewhat jumbled account of the conclusion of the Ammon campaign. The account in Chronicles is not just shorter, but jumbled in a way suggesting *incomplete* abbreviation.[55]

There are other loci where the text of Chronicles has incongruities that seem to result from incomplete abbreviation of its source text in Samuel-Kings. These include the mention in 1 Chr 14:3 of *more* wives that David took in Jerusalem (//2 Sam 5:13) despite the fact that Chronicles omits narratives in Samuel regarding earlier wives he had taken (e.g. 1 Samuel 25; 2 Sam 3:13–16),[56] the mention in 2 Chr 10:4 of Israel's complaint about Solomon's oppression without rebuttal by Rehoboam (//1 Kgs 12:4) despite the lack of any previous description in Chronicles of Solomon's forced labor (cf. 1 Kgs 4:6b–7; 5:7–8 [ET 4:27–28], 27–28 [ET 5:13–14]),[57] and the assertion in 2 Chr 10:15 (//1 Kgs 12:15) that Rehoboam failed to listen to Israel to fulfill Ahijah's prophecy despite the fact that this prophecy (found in 1 Kgs 11:29–39) is not reproduced in Chronicles.[58] These cases, along with some issues regarding placement of material such as the appendices to Samuel and the narrative about Micaiah,[59] are decisive reasons to believe that the author of Chronicles selectively used a source that looked enough like the biblical Samuel-Kings to be termed a version of that text, appropriating some sections of that text while discarding others.[60]

54. Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia: Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 407.

55. Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels*, FRLANT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 57–58; Zipora Talshir, "The Reign of Solomon in the Making: Pseudo- Connections Between 3 Kingdoms and Chronicles," *VT* 50 (2000): 233–34.

56. Willi, *Chronik als Auslegung*, 57.

57. Willi, *Chronik als Auslegung*, 58–59.

58. Willi, *Chronik als Auslegung*, 58; McKenzie, "Chronicler as Redactor," 83.

59. For discussion of the appendices to Samuel, see Hugh Williamson, "A Response to A. Graeme Auld," *JSOT* 8 (1983): 36–37. For the Micaiah story, see Gary Knoppers, "[Review of Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*]," *Ashland Theological Journal* 27 (1995): 120 and Sara Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 756–57.

60. This discussion thus rejects the more radical of the possibilities that I tentatively entertained in David M. Carr, "Empirische Perspektiven auf das Deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk," in *Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*, ed. Markus Witte, et al., BZAW 365 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 8–13 (see, however, the qualified formulation on p. 13), building on the bold proposal regarding Chronicles and Samuel-Kings advocated by Graeme Auld (A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994] and *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld*, Society for Old Testament Study Monographs [Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004]). Important reviews of Auld's work (in addition to those cited above) include Richard J. Coggins, "[Review of Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*]," *Theology* 98 (1995): 383; Hugh Williamson, "[Review of Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*]," VT 46 (1996): 553–55; and Thomas C. Römer and Christophe Nihan, "Une source commune aux récits de rois et chroniques? À propos d'un ouvrage récent d'A.G. Auld," *ETR* 79 (1999): 415–22.

Meanwhile, however, there is increasing evidence that the authors of Chronicles stayed quite close to their source text when they chose to reproduce it, indeed much closer than many scholars previously thought. In many loci where scholars once supposed that Chronicles had added material or changed it, it now appears that Chronicles was closely following a source text. Early on scholars recognized that the 4QSam[a] manuscript at Qumran, along with Josephus and some Greek witnesses, reflected a version of the Samuel tradition closer to Chronicles at points than that found in the MT.[61] Meanwhile, in a pair of studies, Williamson argued persuasively that some characteristics found toward the end of 2 Chronicles are best explained as the result of an extension of the Samuel-Kings tradition before it was used as a source by the Chronicler.[62] This has led to more global reevaluations of the relationship of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, such as Steven McKenzie's attempt to use Chronicles to reconstruct the contours of a pre-exilic edition of the Deuteronomistic history.[63] Together, these studies suggest that the authors of Chronicles followed their sources for Samuel-Kings more closely than scholars once supposed, even as their edition of those traditions was quite distinct from the MT and other significant later witnesses for those books.

The above-discussed phenomenon of memory variants in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles provides further insight into the close relationship of Chronicles to its precursors in Samuel-Kings. In many loci where previous scholars have attempted an exegetical explanation of a divergence between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, it is quite likely that the different order or wording found in these traditions results from a semantic switch on the part of the authors of Chronicles, Samuel-Kings, or both. For example, when we see the sorts of shifts in order discussed above in 1 Chr 17:24//2 Sam 7:26 and 1 Chr 19:10//2 Sam 10:9, these may not reflect conscious Chronistic exegetical revisions, but the sorts of variation in order typical of texts transmitted, at least in part, through memory.

These insights do not mean that the Chronicler just reproduced earlier sources, but they do mean that the Chronicler was not as consistently creative as many once thought. In many loci where exegetes might think that a divergence between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings is an exegetical revision by the Chronicler, it is now as or more likely that the given divergence resulted from a memory variant and/or use by the Chronicler of an edition of Samuel-Kings that was different from the editions available to us now. Generally speaking, the Chronicler seems to have stayed remarkably close to his sources in places where he chose to appropriate them, even as he appears to have chosen not to reproduce substantial portions of Samuel-Kings that did not fit with his interests.

61. See especially Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, Harvard Semitic Monographs (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

62. Hugh Williamson, "The Death of Josiah and the Continuing Development of the Deuteronomic History," *VT* 26 (1982): 351–61 and "Reliving the Death of Josiah: A Reply to C. T. Begg," *VT* 37 (1987): 9–15.

63. McKenzie, "*Chronicler as Redactor*." Note also W. E. Lemke, "Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History," PhD diss.(Cambridge: Harvard University, 1963) and "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *Harvard Theological Review* 58 (1965): 349–63.

This perspective could lead to a reevaluation of some cases where Chronicles lacks minor elements in Samuel-Kings. For example, the MT of 2 Sam 5:1 includes an additional לאמר introducing the elders' quote that is lacking in both 1 Chr 11:1 and 4QSam[a], [64] and 2 Sam 5:4-5 (cf. 1 Kgs 2:11//2 Chr 29:27) is missing both in its parallel in 1 Chronicles 11 and a number of witnesses to 2 Samuel 5 itself (4QSam[a], Old Latin, and Josephus).[65] These are cases where a minus in Chronicles matches a minus found in at least one version of the Samuel-Kings tradition, in this case 4QSam[a]. And these sorts of cases (and the reflections given above) might lead to reconsideration of some other places where Chronicles lacks elements in its Samuel-Kings parallel. For example, the account of the capture of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 11:5–6 lacks traditions about defense of the city by the blind and lame in 2 Sam 5:6 and 8,[66] and the list of David's mighty men in 1 Chr 11:13–14 lacks some traditions about the mighty deeds of Eleazar, son of Dodo, and Shamma, son of Elah, found in 2 Sam 23:9b–11.[67] 1 Chr 14:3 lacks parallels to the פלגשים and אחרי באו מחברון found in all witnesses to 2 Sam 5:13.[68] And the Chronicler's account of Yhwh's covenant with David lacks multiple elements found across 2 Samuel 7:

ויהוה הניח־לו מסביב מכל־איביו in 2 Sam 7:1; cf. 1 Chr 17:1
את־ישׂראל in 2 Sam 7:7; cf. 1 Chr 17:6
גדול in 2 Sam 7:9; cf. 1 Chr 17:8
אשר בהעותו והכחתיו בשבט אנשים ובנגעי בני אדם in 2 Sam 7:14; cf. 1 Chr 17:13
ואלהיו in 2 Sam 7:23; cf. 1 Chr 17:21; also ואהלים in 4QSam[a] and probably LXX
ודבריך יהיו אמת in 2 Sam 7:28; cf. 1 Chr 17:26
בית־עבדך לעולם in 2 Sam 7:29; cf. 1 Chr 17:27

It is a stretch to explain all these minuses in Chronicles as resulting from the author's ideological inclinations. Moreover, such cases are not limited to the outset of the David narratives. They occur throughout the Chronicles/Samuel-Kings parallels. For example, one of Graeme Auld's more persuasive suggestions is that both the MT and LXX of the description of Solomon's temple building reflect a continuing fluidity and expansion of that tradition that produced late pluses in the MT and LXX that did not make it into the Chronicles version. Given the Chronicler's interest in the temple, it is unlikely that he produced his shorter temple-building narrative through omitting elements seen in the OG and MT of Kings. Rather, they probably were missing from his source.[69]

64. For a discussion, see McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 42.

65. For discussion, see Cross, et.al. *Cave 4, Samuel*, 120–21.

66. McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 44 suggests that the Chronicler omitted these notices because their meaning was obscure. This is not as strong an explanation as those that can be offered in other cases of abbreviation by the Chronicler.

67. McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 60 proposes that the Chronicler omitted these through haplography, but the precise overlap is not as clear in this instance as others.

68. McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 46.

69. A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*, 22–29. Cf. David M. Carr, "Empirische Perspektiven," 11. On p. 10 (along with the table on pp. 15–17), I note how Auld's approach independently produced results quite close to a redactional analysis done by me in David M. Carr, *From D to Q: A Study of Early Jewish Interpretations of Solomon's Dream at Gibeon*, SBLMS (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), 13–43 (cf. A. Graeme Auld, "Solomon at Gibeon," *EI* 24 [1993]: 1–7 and a similar note on the similarity of the

Exegetes working with older models of the relationship between the Chronicler and his sources have found reasons why the Chronicler would have eliminated all of these elements, and it will always be possible to come up with more. Nevertheless, already work by von Bussche, McKenzie, and others has raised questions about automatic assumptions that every minus in Chronicles is an abbreviation of its source.[70] Rather, *in cases where the Chronicler varies from Samuel-Kings in sections where it otherwise closely parallels its source material*, it appears that one must reckon with the possibility that minuses and potential memory variants in Chronicles were also present in its source. Sometimes, as in the Chronicler's thoroughly Aaronide reorganization and abbreviation of the originally "Levitical" city list (Joshua 21) in 1 Chr 6:39–66, the Chronicler does appear to have abbreviated otherwise quite parallel material. Yet even here, there are pluses in the Joshua 21 version, for example, the possible gloss קרית ארבע אבי הענוק היא in Josh 21:11 (see Josh 15:13) or the additional הכהן in 21:13 that is missing in the LXX, where the version of the list found in Chronicles may well preserve an earlier reading.[71]

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approaches in Georg Braulik, "Weisheit im Buch Deuteronomiu," in *Weisheit ausserhalb der kanonischen Weisheitsschriften*, ed. Bernd Janowski [Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser; Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1996], 50). The possibility that Auld's approach might work for the temple narrative is noted in the following, otherwise critical review of his work: Römer and Nihan, "Une source commune?" 422, note 29.

70. H. van den Bussche, "Le texte de la prophétie de Nathan sur la dynastie davidique," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 24 (1948): 354–94; McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*; A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege*; *Samuel*.

71. On this, cf. especially Graeme Auld, "Cities of Refuge in Israelite Tradition," *JSOT* 10 (1978): 26–40; idem., "The 'Levitical Cities': Texts and History," *ZAW* 91 (1979): 194–206; idem., "The Cities in Joshua 21: The Contribution of Textual Criticism," *Textus* 15 (1990): 141–52. Though Auld (building on some isolated earlier studies by others, excerpting arguments from his 1976 dissertation) makes some good points about the possible presence of later material at some loci in Joshua 21, I find his global case for the dependence of Joshua 21 on 1 Chr 6:39–66 unpersuasive. In this instance, the absence in Chronicles of the introduction (cf. Josh 21:3–4), references to Levites (e.g., Josh 21:10, 34; note that the Levitical identity of the clans listed in 1 Chr 6:46–66 has been clarified already for the Chronicles context in 6:1), concluding totals for Levitical cities (cf. Josh 21:16b, 22b, 25b, etc.) and conclusion (Josh 21:40–42) can be explained by the resolute focus of the Chronicler at this juncture on the Aaronides, a focus also evident in the Chronicler's partial reorganization of the list to place the Aaronides first (1 Chr 6:39–45//Josh 21:10–19), inclusion of the subtotal of cities assigned *to the Aaronides* (1 Chr 6:45b//Josh 21:19), and placement of the overall list in a discussion focusing on the Aaronides (1 Chr 6:34–38). That this Aaronide reorganization is secondary vis-à-vis the Joshua parallel is particularly clear from the failure to include the introduction to the Aaronide cities (Josh 21:9) at the outset of the Aaronide list of cities (Josh 21:10–19//1 Chr 6:39–45), but instead an obviously awkward placement of it at the conclusion (1 Chr 6:50) of the summary of broader assignment of Levitical cities (1 Chr 6:46–49//Josh 21:5–8a), thus preserving the placement it originally had in Joshua 21 (21:9, following 21:5–8). Auld argues that the awkwardness of this "pedantic" note was produced by the gradual growth of 1 Chr 6:39–66 to its present form, an awkwardness that is resolved by the (later) more logical Joshua 21. Nevertheless, it seems easier to understand Joshua 21 to be the earlier version in this instance, with 1 Chr 6:39–66 representing a partial, heavily Aaronide reorganization of the list. For a judicious summary of other distinctive elements in 1 Chr 6:39–66 that are best understood as errors and/or modifications of a version close to Joshua 21, see Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 146–48, 159–62, which particularly stresses how terminology preserved in both lists about the "giving" of cities to various Levitical clans (e.g., 1 Chr 6:42//Josh 21:13; 1 Chr 6:49//Josh 21:8; 1 Chr 6:50//Josh 21:9), along with language of "lots"

In sum, the book of Chronicles seems to reflect a situation where an author switched back and forth from reproducing (and sometimes expanding) a source tradition to leaving out or incompletely abbreviating that tradition in other loci. In cases where the Chronicler reproduced material from Samuel-Kings, he generally preserved or expanded it, in accordance with the trend toward expansion. Indeed, he stayed close enough to his source in these sections, that some minuses in Chronicles (which are pluses in Samuel-Kings) are potential indicators that his source likewise lacked material now found in one or more editions of Samuel-Kings. Meanwhile, it is clear that the Chronicler chose not to reproduce large swatches of the Samuel-Kings tradition. In these cases, the principle of the trend toward expansion does not apply.

Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah and Esdras

I turn next to the case of Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras (Greek). As in the case of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, this case is complicated. In at least one instance, the above-mentioned case of the story of the three guards in Esd 3:1–5:6, the book of 1 Esdras represents an expansion of the tradition found in Ezra-Nehemiah. Whereas the Esdras tradition has the temple implements brought back under Sheshbazzar (Esd 2:14; 6:17 [ET 6:18]//Ezra 1:11; 5:14), this interpolation has them brought back at Zerubbabel's request (Esd 4:44, 57), and Zerubbabel has been added secondarily into texts that follow in Esd 6:26 [ET 6:27; cf. Ezra 6:7] and 6:28 [ET 6:29; cf. Ezra 6:9] to reflect this addition. Meanwhile, the following narrative in both Esdras and Ezra does not seem to know of the edict of Darius that Zerubbabel secured in the (added) story of the three guards. Instead, the narrative that follows focuses on Cyrus's edict. These kinds of indicators have led scholars to agree that the story of the three guards, which itself probably had some kind of independent existence, is an expansion of the tradition surrounding it in Esdras, and that the tradition surrounding it probably also was modified in at least minor ways—for example, in Esd 6:26, 28 [ET 6:27, 29]—to accommodate the interpolation.[72]

The more debated issue with regard to Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras is whether the rest of Esdras is an abbreviation of the Ezra-Nehemiah tradition (along with a section from 2 Chronicles) or whether 1 Esdras reflects an earlier and shorter stage of the tradition in Ezra-Nehemiah. The differences between the traditions (beyond the story of the three guards) are significant. Esdras lacks counterparts to the entire Nehemiah narrative in Neh 1:1–7:72 and Nehemiah 11–13, along with some materials associated with Ezra in Neh 8:13–10:40. Moreover, Ezra-Nehemiah and Esdras place the correspondence with Artaxerses at different points and have

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(e.g., 1 Chr 6:39//Josh 21:10; 1 Chr 6:46//Josh 21:5; 1 Chr 6:50//Josh 21:9; even 1 Chr 6:48 without parallel in Josh 21:7), most likely has its original home in the Joshua narrative of land allotment rather than the 1 Chronicles 6 listing of ongoing Priestly settlements. In addition, as Auld himself concedes (albeit as a later element in 1 Chr 6:40–42a), the material about Caleb in 1 Chr 6:41//Josh 21:12 most likely has its original home in Joshua, since it harmonizes allotment of Hebron to Aaron with earlier statements *in Joshua* that Caleb had received that city (Josh 14:6–15; 15:13).

72. Böhler, *Heilige Stadt*, 69–72.

significantly different versions of this correspondence. In Esdras, this correspondence consists of a single exchange, where the Samarians write to Artaxerses to warn him of the threat posed by the Judeans' rebuilding of the city *and temple* (1 Esd 2:12–18 [ET 2:16–24]), and the king writes back with an authorization to halt the rebuilding of the city (1 Esd 2:19–24 [ET 2:25–29]) and the Samarians stop the rebuilding (1 Esd 2:25 [ET 2:30]). This serves as a prelude to the interpolated story of the three guards, and Zerubbabel's success in getting Darius to rescind the order by Artaxerses (1 Esd 3:1–5:6). In Ezra-Nehemiah, there are three letter reports—Ezra 4:6 (to Xerses), 7 and 8–16 (to Artaxerses)—only one of which quotes a complaint to Artaxerses by Rehum and Shimshai about the Judeans' rebuilding the city (4:9–16), to which Artaxerses replies by forbidding the rebuilding of the city until he decrees it (4:17–22), and Rehum and Shimshai stop the rebuilding of the temple (4:23–24). In both texts, the temple rebuilding is halted until Zerubbabel's efforts in the second year of Darius (1 Esd 2:25 [ET 2:30]//Ezra 4:24 and 1 Esd 6:1–7:9//Ezra 5:1–6:18).

So far scholars seem to have preferred two major alternative explanations for the divergences between the Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras traditions, both of which take 1 Esdras as a witness to an earlier Hebrew original that diverged significantly from Ezra-Nehemiah. From Michaelis's work in 1778 up through studies by Dieter Böhler and others more recently, many have argued that 1 Esdras in some form (e.g., without the interpolation in 3:1–5:6) witnesses to an older Hebrew description of the rebuilding of Jerusalem that did not yet have the material about Nehemiah's rebuilding now found in Neh 1:1–7:72 and Nehemiah 11–13.[73] An alternative explanation, advocated first by Trendelenburg in 1795 and advanced most forcefully recently by Zippora Talshir, has been to see 1 Esdras as witnessing to a Hebrew revision of Ezra-Nehemiah, one prompted largely by the addition of the interpolated story of the three guards and a broader focus on Zerubbabel's role in rebuilding. According to this second approach, the author of the Hebrew Vorlage to 1 Esdras eliminated material about Nehemiah in the process of emphasizing Zerubbabel's rebuilding.[74] According to the first approach, an early Hebrew version of 1 Esdras was expanded through rearrangement of the Artaxerses correspondence and the addition of sections about Nehemiah. According to the second, 1 Esdras was produced through a significant abbreviation of Ezra-Nehemiah, along with a rearrangement of the correspondence with Artaxerses to introduce and provide an occasion for the interpolated story of the three guards.

Both approaches have worth. On the one hand, Trendelenburg, Talshir, and others have persuasive arguments that the version of the correspondence found in 1 Esdras is secondary to that found in Ezra. The version in 1 Esdras (2:12–25 [ET 2:16–30]) appears to simplify the difficult, garbled text of the multiple letter reports

73. Böhler, *Heilige Stadt*. Note also Juha Pakkala, "The Original Independence of the Ezra Story in Ezra 7–10 and Nehemiah 8," *Biblische Notizen* 129 (2006): 17–24.

74. Zippora Talshir, "Ezra-Nehemiah and First Esdras: Diagnosis of a Relationship Between Two Recensions," *Bib* 81 (2000): 566–73, building on Zippora Talshir, *I Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999).

found in the MT (4:6–16//1 Esdras 2:12–18 [ET 2:16–24]), and it rearranges the order of the Persian kings (placing Artaxerses before Darius) in the process of providing an immediate introduction for the secondary story about Zerubbabel's restarting of the temple-rebuilding process (1 Esd 3:1–5:6). To be sure, the MT already rearranges the order of the Persian kings somewhat (placing Xerses and Artaxerses in the midst of a narrative about Darius), and Böhler has presented a detailed argument for how the version of the correspondence found in 1 Esdras might be prior to that in Ezra.[75] Nevertheless, numerous factors, including the proximity of the potentially rearranged correspondence in 1 Esd 2:12–25 (ET 2:16–30) to the clear interpolation of the three guards story (3:1–5:6), support the alternative theory that the Artaxerses correspondence was revised and transposed as part of the same redaction that interpolated the three guards story, along with adding extra mentions of Zerubbabel later in 1 Esdras (Esd 6:26 [ET 6:27; cf. Ezra 6:7] and 6:28 [ET 6:29; cf. Ezra 6:9]).[76]

Contra Talshir and others, however, this does not mean that this three-guards redaction also involved the elimination of material regarding Nehemiah. On the contrary, Böhler's work in particular has shown multiple ways in which the authors of Ezra-Nehemiah appear to have revised an account much like that seen in 1 Esdras in order to allow room for the addition of the account of Nehemiah's rebuilding of the city and purification of the people. He points out that the account of temple rebuilding in 1 Esdras refers not just to Jerusalem as a place, but speaks also of the rebuilding of Zion, the city gates, marketplaces, temple forecourt, etc. Furthermore, Böhler shows that these references to a built Jerusalem before Nehemiah are missing in the MT version of Ezra. Instead, there are only general mentions of Jerusalem as a place, thus leaving space in the narrative for Nehemiah to rebuild it. Böhler argues persuasively that the author of Ezra-Nehemiah probably eliminated these pre-Nehemiah references to a rebuilt Jerusalem in Ezra as part of the process of adding the Nehemiah Memoir.[77]

75. Böhler, *Heilige Stadt*, 119–42, 266–95.

76. Böhler (personal correspondence) has confirmed that there is not a necessary connection between his theories regarding the correspondence and his theories regarding the conflation and expansion of separate compositions about Rebuilding-Ezra (//1 Esdras minus the three guards story) and Nehemiah.

77. On this, cf. the recent arguments in Jacob Wright, "Remember Nehemiah: 1 Esdras and the *Damnatio memoriae Nehemiae*," in *Was 1st Esdras First? An Investigation into the Nature and Priority of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth Fried (Atlanta: SBL, 2010 or 2011), that the mentions of the wall and other items of rebuilt Jerusalem were *added* to the Esdras narrative as part of a systematic Priestly attempt to blot out the memory of an anti-priestly Nehemiah. Only a few problems with this argument will be noted here. First, Wright makes too much in his argument about the possible genetic dependence of Ezra 8:22 (Esd 5:2; 8:51–52) on Neh 2:9b. Even if the verbal parallels establish a genetic relationship and that relationship goes from the Nehemiah Memoir to the Ezra/Esdras materials, Wright himself acknowledges that 8:22 could be a later literary accommodation of the Ezra/Esdras narrative to the Nehemiah narrative (a scribal coordination typical of many ancient revisions; on this, see below) or the dependence of an independent Ezra narrative on an independent Nehemiah narrative (Wright's interpretation of these texts in sequence in Ezra-Nehemiah is fine as exegesis of the combined text, but not sufficient as proof that was always the intention of the author of Ezra 8:22). Second, despite the long list of (ten!) problems that the authors of Esdras ostensibly would have had with Nehemiah, few are very significant and even the narrative in Nehemiah 13 hardly seems sufficient for the sort of *damnatio memoriae*

Similarly, he suggests that the same author truncated the divorce report reflected in 1 Esd 9:36, just referring to the foreign marriages and children (Ezra 10:44, "All these had married foreign women, there were women from among them, and they had children") in order to leave room for Nehemiah's purging of the people of foreign wives (Neh 13:23–30).[78]

In addition, several early Jewish texts appear to witness to separate forms of the Ezra and Nehemiah traditions. In particular, book XI of Josephus's *Antiquities* (159–83) seems to draw on forms of the Ezra and Nehemiah traditions, a Nehemiah Memoir, and a separate Ezra tradition much like 1 Esdras. To this, Böhler and some others would add the witness of Ben Sira's praise of the fathers, which fairly comprehensively reviews biblical figures, including Nehemiah (Ben Sira 49:13), but strikingly omits any mention of the major figure of Ezra. Though an argument from silence, this can be taken as an indication that Ben Sira had a form of the Nehemiah tradition which had not yet been combined with Ezra traditions.

These different sorts of evidence combine to provide powerful support for the idea that Ezra-Nehemiah is a conflation and expansion of two, originally separate compositions: a rebuilding account culminating in Ezra's work that is partially witnessed to by 1 Esdras (minus the three guards interpolation and any other changes related to it) and a Nehemiah Memoir now found in Neh 1:1–7:4 and parts of Nehemiah 13 (and possibly 12). It is much easier to explain the presence/absence of mention of parts of Jerusalem in 1 Esdras and Ezra as the result of the addition of the Nehemiah Memoir to Ezra than it is to argue that all of these changes were caused by the addition of the story of the three guards to Esdras. The Nehemiah Memoir is more massive, and most of the smaller variants between Esdras and Ezra connect better to the themes of the Nehemiah material than to the story of the three guards (which actually seems to have been incorporated into Esdras *without* the elimination of conflicts with the surrounding tradition). In addition, the preservation of apparent Second Temple witnesses to separate forms

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posited here. Third, it is not clear how it would have been essential to add a variety of random mentions of the wall and parts of the temple complex in order to eliminate the memory of Nehemiah. Fourth, I maintain that Wright manufactures a problem with these supposed additions—that the method of rebuilding the wall is never explained—that only occurs if we see the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative as a substitute for the Nehemiah Memoir. The Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative is focused on Temple rebuilding, and so the problem of how and why the wall was (already) rebuilt never occurs. Fifth, even though it is true, as Wright observes, that Esdras represents an inferior text to Ezra-Nehemiah in some respects (I have already argued that with respect to the insertion in Esd 3:1–5:6 of material regarding the three bodyguards and related changes), that does not decide the question of priority with regard to the link of Ezra and Nehemiah traditions in Ezra-Nehemiah versus Esdras. Similarly, insofar as other articles in the same volume depend on arguments related to this insertion and the (probably related) rearrangement of the correspondence preceding it, they do not directly pertain to the problem of determining whether Esdras is the product of elimination of material regarding Nehemiah versus Ezra-Nehemiah being the combination of an originally separate Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative (somewhat parallel to Esdras minus late elements such as the insertion of the three guards story) and Nehemiah Memoir.

78. Böhler, *Heilige Stadt*, 84–86. In addition, see the Excursus on the following pages (86–92) for his discussion of the key problem of Neh 7:72a in relation to Esdr 9:37a.

of both the Ezra and Nehemiah traditions provides a rare external confirmation of the precursors to Ezra-Nehemiah.[79]

If these arguments hold up, then 1 Esdras would not stand as a documented counterexample to the trend toward abbreviation. Instead, it stands as probable evidence that the books of Ezra-Nehemiah were created through a process of conflation and expansion. The author of Ezra-Nehemiah seems to have modified the Rebuilding-Ezra source by stripping it of most references to a rebuilt Jerusalem (1 Esd 2:1–30 [ET 2:1–25]; 5:7–9:36//Ezra 1–10), then reproduced a major block of the Nehemiah Memoir (Neh 1:1–7:4), described the settlement of Jerusalem through repeating a list of returnees from earlier in the Rebuilding-Ezra source (Neh 7:[5]6–73 [ET 7:6–7:72]//Ezra 2//1 Esd 5:7–46; cf. 1 Esd 9:37a), picked up again with the Torah-reading narrative in the Rebuilding-Ezra source (Neh 7:72b–8:12 [ET 7:73b–8:12]//1 Esd 9:37b–55), and then added much new material—along with fragments of the Nehemiah Memoir in Nehemiah 12 and 13—to conclude the combined book (Neh 8:13–13:31). This last, largely new, section narrates Nehemiah's celebration of Sukkoth, confession and purification of the people. It is distinguished from the older Ezra and Nehemiah material by its more intense focus on Torah obedience, its hostility toward foreign rulers, and its argument that the concrete political protection from foreigners provided by Nehemiah's measures was essential to Torah obedience.[80] Much later in this book, I will have occasion to return to this set of texts as we consider writings like Ezra-Nehemiah that appear to have been written toward the end of the formation of the Hebrew Bible.

The Qumran Community Rule Compositions

The Qumran Community Rule compositions represent the chronologically latest of the potential cases of documented abbreviation to be considered here. The issue is that one of the manuscripts that is dated earliest on the basis of paleography, 1QS, is also the longest and one of the most expansive of the editions of the Community Rule found at Qumran. The paleographic dating has been a primary element leading many scholars to see 1QS as representing the probable earliest stage of the Community Rule tradition, while the shorter and less expansive versions of the Community Rule tradition are taken to be later abbreviations and truncations of this earlier edition.[81] Sarianna Metso and others, however, have

79. An alternative perspective on the growth of the Ezra-Nehemiah tradition and the significance of external witnesses is argued in detail in Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah Memoir and Its Earliest Readers*, BZAW 348 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004). For my detailed response, see my review of this book, "A Response [to Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity*]," *JHS* 8 (2008): 11–20, http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article_73.pdf.

80. Böhler, *Heilige Stadt*, 326–93.

81. Examples include Michael Thomas Davis, "Methodological Considerations Concerning the Reconstruction of the Textual History of the 'Rule of the Community' from Qumran," paper presented at the International Meeting of the Society for Textual Scholarship (City College of New York, 1995) [as cited in Brent Strawn, "Excerpted 'Non-Biblical' Scrolls at Qumran? Background, Analogies, Function," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent Strawn

argued on internal grounds that some of the shorter editions of the Community Rule, particularly 4QS[b], 4QS[d], and 4QS[e], represent earlier stages of the Community Rule tradition than that seen in 1QS, even though the manuscripts are dated later on paleographic grounds.[82]

Though some might dispute the reliability of paleographic dating in general,[83] the dating of the Community Rule manuscripts on paleographic grounds will be taken as a given here. Given that, the issue to be addressed is whether it is possible that a community might have preserved and even recopied older, briefer versions of the Community Rule, even after having produced (and carefully stored) longer versions such as 1QS. Furthermore, we must review the grounds on which Metso posits that the editions of the Community Rule dated later on paleographic grounds precede the relatively earlier 1QS copy and similar editions.

We have multiple examples of places where a community preserved multiple versions of a given tradition, editions diverging in length and probable date. For example, the Qumran community itself seems to have preserved relatively late copies of the shorter proto-Masoretic edition of the Pentateuch alongside copies of the expansionist, proto-Samaritan Pentateuch. Though the expansions that distinguish the proto-Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch almost certainly post-date

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(Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 93]; Philip Alexander, "The Redaction History of Serekh ha-Yaḥad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 410–20; James Charlesworth and Brent Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serek Ha-Yaḥad Found in Cave IV (1)," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 403–35; Paul Garnet, "Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1 QS 5:1–7: Towards a *Serek* Text History," *JSP* 15 (1997): 67–78 and Strawn, "Excerpted 'Non-Biblical' Scrolls?" 98–115; along with some criticisms of Metso's work (see the following note) in George J. Brooke, "[Review of] S. Metso, *Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*," *OTS Booklist* (1998): 198; Philip R. Davies, "[Review of] S. Metso, *Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*," *JSOT* 77 (1998): 125; Jonahan G. Campbell, "[Review of] S. Metso, *Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*," *JTS* 51 (2000): 630; and H. W. Rietz, "[Review of] S. Metso, *Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*," *Koinonia* 11 (1999): 140–43.

82. Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 1997), with a more recent synthesis in Sarianna Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in *Proceedings of the International Congress The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, ed. Lawrence Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Shrine of the Book, 2000), 377–84, provides the fullest case for this approach. Key parts of this understanding of the history were proposed earlier by Geza Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991): 25–55 and idem., "Qumran Forum Miscellanea," *JJS* 43 (1992): 299–305. Select others who have affirmed a similar approach (or Metso's approach) include Charlotte Hempel, "Comments on the Translation of 4QS[d] 1.1," *JJS* 44 (1993): 127–28 (note also her "[Review of] S. Metso, *Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*," *VT* 50 [2000]: 273–74); Jörg Frey, "[Review of] S. Metso, *Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*," *TLZ* 123 (1998): 144–46; and Markus Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541–60.

83. See, for example, Stephen A. Kaufman, "The Pitfalls of Typology: On the Early History of the Alphabet," *HUCA* 57 (1986): 1–14; Bruce Zuckerman, "Pots and Alphabets: Refractions of Reflections on Typological Method," *Maarav* 11 (2003): 89–133; and William Schniedewind, "Problems in the Paleographic Dating of Inscriptions," in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox, 2005), 405–408. But cf. Christopher Rollston, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence," *BASOR* 344 (2006): 47–74.

the non-harmonizing aspects of the proto-Masoretic edition, copies of the proto-Samaritan recension can be dated on paleographic grounds earlier than many of the (shorter) copies of the proto-MT Pentateuch. Similarly, the Qumran library contained copies of Jeremiah close to the longer proto-MT version and other copies closer to the shorter and differently organized LXX version. The Christian church preserved longer and shorter versions of narratives (gospels) about Jesus parallel to one another, irrespective of which was earliest. And there are other examples where communities seem to have found a tradition precious enough that they preserved multiple recensions of it alongside each other.[84] Apparently, the Community Rule tradition was important enough at Qumran to receive that treatment, too.

That still does not settle, however, which of the extant recensions of the Community Rule at Qumran is earliest, if these recensions even can be related to each other in anything like a linear or stemmatic progression. Here, the internal considerations raised by Metso are important. This can be illustrated by considering the first part of column V of 1QS and its parallels in 4QS$^{b, d, g, h}$, particularly the less expansive recensions in 4QS$^{b, d}$. In 1QS this column begins with what appears to be a label of an originally independent text: וזה הסרך לאנשי היחד ("this is the rule for the men of the community"). In 4QS^{d} we appear to have an actual copy of such a recension. This scroll *begins* with a version of this label, now מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה ("Instruction for the wise leader over the men of the Torah"—4QS^{d} as completed with a reading from 4QS^{b}). To be sure, as Philip Alexander has argued, it is possible that a later author excerpted only part of an earlier edition of the Community Rule (reflected in 1QS), and provided a new heading for the abbreviated whole now reflected in 4QS^{d}. Nevertheless, two things weigh against the probability of this theory. First, the presence of the same heading in 4QS^{b} as in 4QS^{d} complicates this picture. If the new heading seen in 4QS^{d} was provided by someone abbreviating the tradition, why does it appear in a non-abbreviated form of the tradition in 4QS^{d}? Second, even apart from the general trend toward expansion (under discussion here), we have ample Ancient Near Eastern documentation of later authors adding introductions to early compositions.[85] We do not have a similar level of documentation for the removal of introductory material.[86] In sum, it is likely that 4QS^{d} reflects an earlier recension with respect to its lack of parallel to material in 1QS I-IV.[87]

84. Metso, "Redaction of the Community Rule," 381–82.

85. This is the focus of Milstein's (above-cited) dissertation, "Revision Through Introduction."

86. Brent Strawn raises the possibility that the shorter manuscripts of the Community Rule might be "Excerpted Scrolls" of the sort often used in the ancient world for instruction and study (see especially Strawn, "Excerpted 'Non-Biblical' Scrolls?" 98–115. He does not develop, however, a phenomenology of what sorts of excerpting are typical of such manuscripts more generally. The shorter Community Rule manuscripts have a number of minuses vis-à-vis their longer counterparts, but they do not seem to preserve block-excerpts of the sort seen in clear examples of the genre. Moreover, as Strawn acknowledges, the other criteria that might be used for identifying such excerpted manuscripts do not apply cleanly or clearly to the shorter Community Rule recensions.

87. This latter note is important, since it is quite likely that the recension in 4QS^{d} might be later in some other respects than its 1QS (and other) counterparts. The recensions we happen to have (partial)

Comparison of the contents of 1QS V with 4QS[b] and [d] shows a number of cases where there are significant recensional variations, most of which involve places where 4QS[b] and [d] lack material seen in 1QS. A major case occurs in the first few lines. Early in the examination of the cave IV manuscripts of the Community Rule, scholars noted that the 4QS[b] and [d] manuscripts asserted that community discussions will be under the authority of "the many" (הרבים), as opposed to the much longer reference in 1QS to "the sons of Zadok, the priests, who observe the covenant and under the authority of the majority of the men of the community who hold fast to the covenant" (עפי בני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית על פי רוב אנשי היחד המחזיקים בברית). Some, such as Alexander, maintain that the reading in 1QS is earlier, while the shorter reading in 4QS[b] and [d] is later, reflecting a stage of community life where the influence of the Zadokite priests had declined.[88] Many others, however, take the longer Zadokite reading found in 1QS to be later, and see it as part of a broader Zadokite recension of the Community Rule and some other texts found at Qumran.[89] As these authors have pointed out, this new picture of the development of the Community Rule would have a significant impact on histories of the Qumran community that posited a founding by Zadokite priests on the basis of references to them in 1QS V:2 and other documents that seem to have received this redaction.

The next sentence of column V of 1QS along with its parallels in 4QS[b] and [d] illustrates the kinds of considerations that have led an increasing number of scholars to see the recension found in 4QS[b] and [d] as generally earlier. 4QS[b] and [d] contain a continuation of the sentence, including the reference to the authority of the "many" (הרבים) referring to the scope of their authority and then referring back to what the "men of the Torah" (אנשי התורה) are to be careful to do. The parallel text of 1QS contains two additional sentences at this point that cover similar ground, but build on the reference to the "sons of Zadok." The comparison in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 shows the differences between the recensions discussed so far.

A theory that takes 1QS as earlier should explain why a later author would have combined the separate sentences of 1QS into the single complex sentence found in 4QS[b] and [d], and eliminated references to "judgment" and "truth." It is far easier to explain why an author, having added the reference to the Zadokites, might have broken up the sentence and added new elements to it in the process. Furthermore, if the above rendering of אמת יחד as "truth together with" is correct, there may even

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manuscript access to are not necessarily the complete sum of recensions of the Community Rule produced in the community. Therefore, it is unlikely that we could produce clean stemmata of such recensions, especially given the probable oral-written environment in which they were transmitted. A recension such as 4QS[d] may be earlier in certain respects (e.g., a number of shorter readings), but longer in some others.

88. Alexander, "Redaction of Serekh ha-YahYad," 450–51. See also Garnet, "Towards a *Serek* Text History," 72–73.

89. In addition to positions cited earlier in support of the earliness of shorter recensions of the rule (Vermes, Metso, et al.), see the survey of the evidence in Robert Kugler, "Priesthood at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years, A Comprehensive Assessment*, Vol. 2, ed. Peter W. Flint and James Vanderkam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 97–100.

TABLE 3.2 *1 QS V 1–4 Compared to 4QS^{b} IX:1–4 and 4QS^{d} I:1–3 (Hebrew)*

1 QS V 1–4	4QS^{b} IX 1–4 and 4QS^{d} I 1–3
זה הסרך לאנשי היחד המתנדבים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה **לרצונו** להבדיל מעדת אנשי העול להיות **ליחד** בתורה ובהון ומשיבים **על פי בני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית** ועל פי רוב **אנשי היחד המחזיקים בברית** **על פיהם יצא תוכן הגורל** לכול דבר לתורה ולהון **ולמשפט** לעשות **אמת יחד** ועונה צדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם	מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה המתנדבים להשיב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה ולהבדיל מעדת אנשי העול ולהיות יחד בתורה ובהון ובמשיבים על פי הרבים לכול דבר לתורה ולהון לעשות ענוה וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהמה

TABLE 3.3 *1 QS V 1–4 Compared to 4QS^{b} IX 1–4 and 4QS^{d} I 1–3 (English)*

1QS V 1–4	4QS^{b} IX 1–4 and 4QS^{d} I 1–3
This is the rule for the men of the community who offer themselves willingly to turn from all evil and hold fast to all that he has commanded **by his intention.**	A midrash for the wise leader over the men of the Torah who offer themselves willingly to turn from all evil and hold fast to all that he has commanded.
They are to separate from the community of men of perversity and have unity with regard to Torah and possessions. Their deliberations will be under the authority **of the Zadokites, the priests, and under the authority** of the majority (רוב) **of the men of community who hold fast to the covenant.**	They are to separate from the community of men of perversity and have unity with regard to Torah and possessions. Their deliberations will be under the authority of the many (הרבים)
According to their authority will go forth every determination of the lot in every matter of Torah, property, **and judgment**, to practice **the truth together with** humility, righteousness, justice, loving kindness, and modest behavior in all their ways.	in every matter of Torah and property, to practice humility, righteousness, justice, loving kindness, and modest behavior in all their ways.

be a recognition by the author of this expanded version that this element, "truth," is an important added element to be considered alongside those mentioned in the earlier recension: not just to practice "humility" as in 4QS^{b} and ^{d}, but "truth together with humility" in the expanded edition in 1QS.

This is not the context for thorough exploration of all of the other variants between 1QS and its parallels in 4QS^{b}, ^{d} and other manuscripts, a task that has been done well already by Metso and others. For the purposes of this discussion, it is sufficient to note that the rest of column V of 1QS contains many other elements not paralleled in 4QS^{b} and ^{d} that are easier to see as additions to 1QS than as subtractions from 4QS^{b} and ^{d}. These include the additional stricture that no community member should err **"following his heart, his eyes or the thoughts of his inclination" (אחר**

לבבו ועינוהי ומחשבת יצרו; 1QS V 4–5), the additional call for the community members to "circumcise the foreskin of inclination and a stiff neck" (למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורף קשה 1QS V:5)—a call that was introduced by a scribal error, יאאם for the כי אם found in 4QS^{b} and ^{d}, the additional description of the community as a community "of the eternal covenant" (ברית עולם; 1QS V 5–6), an additional reference to atonement done by these community members (לכפר; 1QS V 6), additional sentences about how the sons of Zadok are to condemn those who transgress a community regulation (1QS V 6–7), and many other elements, such as support for regulations through citations of Scripture (1QS V 11, 14–15, 17, 26). A theory of abbreviation in the Qumran Community Rule tradition must explain why a later author felt it important, or at least allowable, to eliminate these additional elements, stripping this and other portions of the Community Rule of Scriptural justifications, eliminating additional specifications of actions to be sought or avoided, etc. This is possible. Nevertheless, a cumulative study of the variants between 1QS and the (generally) less expansive versions of the Community Rule in 4QS^{b} and ^{d} indicates that the case for expansion is much easier to make. It is far easier to explain the introduction of the Zadokites and various additional specifications by the author of 1QS—often specifications that seem to update the text—than it is to explain the elimination of these elements by the authors of the recensions reflected in 4QS^{b} and ^{d}.[90]

Long ago biblical text-critics realized that they could not determine a better reading purely on the basis of which reading was attested in the earlier manuscript copies of a biblical text. This seems to be the case for the Qumran Community Rule traditions as well. It is tempting to attempt to resolve the recensional history of the Community Rule tradition through recourse to the fairly well-established paleographic diachrony of the Qumran manuscripts. Nevertheless, the above reflections suggest that the seeming objectivity provided by paleography proves to be misleading in this case. Systematic and careful study of the variants between copies such as 1QS and 4QS^{b} and ^{d} suggests that several later copies represent generally earlier recensions than the better-preserved, more famous, and earlier copy in 1QS (and parallels). There certainly are cases where one could argue that a variant in 1QS (or a similar recension) is earlier, and it is quite likely that the recensional history of the Community Rule is more complicated than a simple stemmatic model would allow. Nevertheless, overall, 4QS^{d} along with 4QS^{b} suggests that the Community Rule tradition started with a set of Community Rules like those found in 1QS V and parallels, probably without most of the scriptural citations, Zadokite additions, and other pluses found in 1QS but not 4QS^{b} and ^{d}. Over time, versions

90. One of the most specific attempts to explain the minuses in 1QS$^{b, d}$ is Garnet, "Towards a *Serek* Text History." Yet he often resorts to suppositions that ancient tradents would have eliminated a given phrase or sentence because it was redundant or had little purpose in the broader scope of the document. As suggested elsewhere in this chapter and studies cited in it, a broad look at ancient transmission of tradition does not support the idea that tradents generally were inclined to eliminate repetition, nor do they seem to have been preoccupied with streamlining their source documents. Such concerns are more typical of contemporary instructors in writing than of those responsible for preserving and transmitting ancient traditions. Tradents could and did eliminate material, as we have seen, but almost always for a clear reason.

of this less expansive Community Rule tradition continued to be copied, even up to just before the Common Era. Meanwhile, other recensions, such as that reflected in 1QS, were expanded through the introductory material seen in 1QS I–IV and additions such as those discussed above.

■ CONCLUSION ON POTENTIAL EXCEPTIONS TO THE TREND TOWARD EXPANSION

From the outset, it has been admitted that there are exceptions to the trend toward expansion. The discussion in this and the previous chapter has reviewed some specific examples of such exceptions: the genre-specific abbreviation of narration of earlier regnal years in later Assyrian inscriptions and the apparent choice by the Chronicler not to reproduce significant portions of Samuel-Kings that did exist in his source. Nevertheless, despite these and other examples of traditions less characterized by expansion (e.g., the Etana epic), the overall *trend* toward expansion holds. Certainly, ancient authors could omit material from a source that they otherwise followed, particularly in cases such as the treatment of death in the Gilgamesh epic, where such omission harmonized a given section with others and/or conformed it to a new ideological orientation of the whole. Furthermore, ancient authors could draw in a variety of ways on the contents of earlier sources, without necessarily producing an end product that was longer than the source document. Nevertheless, once the broader spectrum of cases is analyzed, it is clear that the overall trend was toward preservation and expansion of tradition, at least in cases where tradents were reproducing, virtually verbatim, an earlier written source or sources.

■ THE PARTIAL PRESERVATION OF TRADITION

Already the above discussion on the trend toward expansion (in loci where a tradent is reproducing an earlier tradition) provides the context for a survey of another, apparently contradictory phenomenon documented across a range of documented cases of transmission history: the tendency of many (if not most) tradents not to reproduce the entirety of compositions whose parts they appropriate, particularly the beginnings and ends of compositions. To be sure, once one gets to the stage where tradents are merely reorganizing a tradition and/or adding and coordinating other sorts of glosses—for example, the proto-MT version of Jeremiah—an earlier version of the tradition is virtually completely preserved in the later one (albeit often largely unreconstructible in detail [without the help of manuscript attestation of an earlier stage] behind a number of seamless glosses). Nevertheless, in cases of more extensive intervention (where we have some form of the earlier text fully preserved), tradents did not fully preserve each and every part of the preceding tradition. Chronicles does not appear to preserve the original beginning of its Samuel-Kings source, nor a number of intervening parts to which it had access (as discussed above), and perhaps not the ending.[91] As discussed

91. Though Graeme Auld proposes that the point of first overlap, the story of the death of Saul, might be the original beginning of his postulated "Book of the Two Houses" (based on common

above, numerous portions of the Temple Scroll only appropriate and recombine snippets of biblical text, and even its closer reproduction (and coordinating expansion/elaboration) of Deuteronomy does not preserve the beginning or end of the book, and its reproduction of the bulk of Deuteronomy 12–26 and 28 is in a different order. If we had the Temple Scroll alone and somehow correctly identified the fragments of Deuteronomy embedded in it accurately, we would emerge with a reconstructed "Deuteronomy" something like the following: Deut 7:25…14:18, 21aα, 3, 21aβ, 1, 2; 16:18–17:1; 22:6b; 15:19–23; 25:4; 22:10; 12:15*, 12aα, 5, 20aα; 21:21; 12:20aβb; 12:22*, 23a; 15:23; 17:13*; 12:23, 25b, 28b; 26, 11; 22:22–24; 13:1–7, 12*–19; 17:2–18:13; 18:20–22; 19:15–21:13; 21:18–21, 22b; 17:6; 22:22–23; 21:1–2; 22:6–8 (9–11?); 22:13–23:1; 27:11, hardly a complete or correctly ordered copy! Similarly, though Matthew and Luke each preserve significant portions of the beginning of Mark (1:2–6; the label in 1:1 is not preserved in either), albeit expanded and in different orders from Mark (cf. Matt 3:1–5; 11:10; Luke 3:1–6; 7:27), they do not reproduce large portions of the rest of Mark (Matthew about 10 percent; Luke about 45 percent), including significant modifications of Mark's enigmatic ending (Mark 16:7–8; cf. Matt 28:7–8; Luke 24:9–12; also the longer ending of Mark 16:9–20*). And these are just prominent examples across a broad spectrum where there is a good chance that we have in our possession fairly complete copies of texts (Chronicles, Temple Scroll, Luke, and Matthew) that are close to the precursor texts (Samuel-Kings*; Deuteronomy; Mark*) used by later tradents. In other cases such as Gilgamesh, Atrahasis, Etana, etc., we see yet more examples of probable partial transmission of traditions, but our ability to achieve more certainty on partial preservation is hampered by the partial preservation of the earlier and/or later versions. The outstanding possible exceptions that I see to this phenomenon—for example, relatively complete appropriation of a Rebuilding-Ezra narrative and Nehemiah Memoir in Ezra-Nehemiah, and appropriation of almost all of an earlier Community Rule recension in later ones—both occur in the latter half of the Second Temple period and may represent a special scribal emphasis on more exact preservation that is also attested around that time in the solidification of Hebrew Bible textual traditions.

This phenomenon may seem difficult to square with the tendency of tradents to expand on traditions where they choose to reproduce them, but it is not completely inconsistent with it. As seen in the case of Chronicles in particular, it appears that tradents could alternate between close reproduction/expansion of a given tradition on the one hand and elision of larger chunks of it on the other. Insofar as the beginnings and ends of compositions are the best loci to shape audiences' perceptions of a text, they appear to have been loci for particularly intense scribal intervention. A scribe wishing to add significant material to the outset or end of a composition often (though not always!) would be inclined to eliminate distinctive marks of the beginning (e.g., the label in Mark 1:1) or decisive end of a

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material), few others have found this a plausible beginning of a narrative. We probably do not have the data to determine exactly what material earlier in 1 Samuel was available to the Chronicler. On the ending, see Williamson, "Death of Josiah," for an interesting proposal.

composition. Nevertheless, starting with the elision in SB Gilgamesh of OB Gilgamesh's version of the barmaid's speech to Gilgamesh, we have seen numerous examples of the omission of parts of earlier oral-written texts by later tradents, even in texts that more generally expanded on their earlier precursors. A nuanced view of documented cases of transmission history must keep both tendencies in view: an overall orientation toward preservation/expansion combined with some omissions, particularly of the original beginnings and ends of compositions, in the process of producing new wholes.

■ HARMONIZATION/COORDINATION

One final broad trend in the revision of ancient texts is the trend toward coordination of different texts with one another in later versions. This can take different forms. Sometimes it is insertion of material that coordinates one part of a text with another part of the same text: a command with the execution of the command, a dream with the report of its fulfillment, different dreams with each other, and so on. Sometimes it involves harmonization of one text with another text that treats similar matters.[92] For example, below I will discuss cases where parts of Chronicles appear to have been harmonized with parts of Samuel-Kings and vice versa, particularly in the oral tradition. In general, the term "harmonization" has been used by scholars to refer to all sorts of changes to sections of text that bring them into agreement with other sections of text, whether in the same text or another. In this sense, a broader term, such as "coordination," often may apply better to the array of phenomena frequently discussed under the heading of harmonization, since ancient scribes bridged between texts in a variety of ways.[93]

We saw many examples of such harmonization (or coordination) already in analysis of the growth of the Gilgamesh epic and Temple Scroll. Amidst various kinds of revision in those cases, one of the most common was the tendency of later tradents to make different parts of a given story correspond more closely with one another. Within the Gilgamesh epic, we see such harmonization in the late version of Gilgamesh's dreams of Enkidu,[94] the interchange between Enkidu and the harlot

92. Some recent attempts at typology include Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–7 and Gordon Fee, "Modern Text Criticism and the Synoptic Problem," in *JJ Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776–1976*, ed. B Orchard and T. R. W. Longstaff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 161–62.

93. Note also Molly Zahn's discussion of problems with the term "harmonization" ("The Forms and Methods of Early Jewish Reworkings of the Pentateuch in Light of 4Q158," PhD diss.[South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University, 2009]; published as eadem., *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*, STDJ 95 [Leiden: Brill, 2011]) and her proposal on p. 20 (of the dissertation) of a substitute descriptor, "addition of new material from elsewhere" for many of the changes previously termed "harmonizations" in the Samaritan Pentateuch and other texts. This term is appropriate for the range of materials from Qumran that are the focus of her study, but its focus on exact repetition of material from elsewhere is more restrictive than the broader term "coordination" used here, which I find useful in this context to compare different levels of scribal linking of texts.

94. Here again, note Jerrold Cooper, "Gilgamesh Dreams of Enkidu: the Evolution and Dilution of Narrative," in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, ed. Maria Ellis (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977), 39–44.

and subsequent interchange between Shamash and Enkidu, narrative introductions of Gilgamesh's dreams on the way to Cedar Mountain, and various expansions and abbreviations of Gilgamesh's final encounters with the barmaid and boatman after Enkidu's death. In the case of the Temple Scroll, many of the columns featuring verbatim parallels to biblical material harmonize sections from Deuteronomy with legislation and/or wording found in Deuteronomy, Leviticus, and elsewhere.

This tendency toward harmonization/coordination is present in other documented cases of transmission history in Mesopotamia. As Tertel has previously argued, later versions of the Atrahasis epic contain several harmonizing expansions, such as in the description of the gods' response to human noise (SB IV 3, 7; cf. OB I 356) and the interchange between Ea and Atrahasis (SB V 27–30). In addition, the author of the late version of the Gilgamesh epic appears to have incorporated a version of the Atrahasis flood narrative that featured some additional coordinations of that narrative with earlier parts of the epic, some of which are attested in Atrahasis traditions themselves, and at least one of which is not (SB Gilg. XI 100–101; see OB Atrahasis II vii 49–50 and cf. OB Atrahasis III ii 54 and U rev. 7–10). Similarly, the Etana epic features a plus that assimilates the warning by the eagle's offspring (LV II 48–49) with an oath given earlier (LV II 18–19).[95] Finally, the SB version of the Anzu epic assimilates Anu's initial recruiting speeches to various gods to the final speeches to Ningursu and his mother.[96]

Turning to the other end of the chronological spectrum, we have extensive manuscript evidence for scribal coordination/harmonization in late Second Temple Jewish traditions. Particularly famous in this regard are the extended coordinating insertions in the "proto-Samaritan" and Samaritan Pentateuchal traditions, such as the conforming of the descriptions of Canaan in Gen 10:19 and Deut 34:2 (SamP 34:1) to God's promise to Abra(ha)m in Gen 15:18, an insertion at Gen 30:36 narrating the appearance of an angel in a dream to Jacob corresponding to his later report of such a dream in Gen 31:11–13, insertions (also found in 4QExod^{a}) ensuring that the plague commands in Exodus 7–11 have compliance reports and vice versa, the addition of a complaint by the people at Exod 6:9 to correspond to their back-reference to such a complaint in (MT) Exod 14:12, insertions from Deuteronomy that conform the description of Moses's delegation of responsibilities in Exod 18:13–27 (Sam Pent and 4QExod^{a}) to Moses's review of that process in Deut 1:9–18, insertions at various points in Numbers to allow its description of the spy story and Transjordanian travels to match the review of those events in Deuteronomy 1–3 (e.g., Deut 1:20–23a before Num 13:1 [also in 4QNum^{b}]; Deut 1:27–33 after Num 13:33; Deut 1:44a into Num 14:45), and provision of a Mosaic order regarding war booty at Num 31:20 to anticipate mention of that order in Num 31:21(-24). There are a few examples of such scribal coordination in the Samaritan redaction of Deuteronomy (e.g., Num 20:17–18 inserted between

95. Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 33–36, 43–54.

96. On this, see Cooper, "Symmetry and Repetition," 508–509. Note also the same article (p. 510) on another example from Pseudo-Naram-Sin and the above-noted example of rougher assimilation in Etana (pp. 509–10).

Deut 2:7 and 8), but they are less numerous and not at all widespread in the expansionist Pentateuchal manuscripts at Qumran (though cf. 4QDeut[n]). Apparently, there was much more impetus in these instances to conform the narrative to a later review, rather than the other way around. A review by its nature need not mention all the preceding events, but a problem was created when a character such as Jacob or Moses described an event in a way that diverged significantly from the narrative of that event in the Tetrateuch.[97]

Less often recognized is direct and indirect (by way of version) manuscript documentation of probable harmonizations/coordinations in the Septuagint and MT.[98] Already in 1948, a study by Prijs found multiple places where the LXX harmonizes Pentateuchal passages, particularly conforming Tetrateuchal narratives to the reviews in Deuteronomy.[99] For example, the LXX lists of nations to be dispossessed found in Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23; and 34:11 appear to be matched (albeit in different orders, a typical memory variant) with the list of "seven" nations to be dispossessed in Deut 7:1 (cf. the *various* lists of dispossessed nations in the MT and SamP of these passages). A plus in the LXX of Exod 23:18 prefaces a command about the Passover offering with a prediction of land inheritance taken from Exod 34:24. Yet another plus in the LXX of Exod 23:22 adds the promises related to obedience in Exod 19:5–6 to the promise related obedience found in the other witnesses for Exod 23:22. And the list could go on. Many past discussions have attributed these and a multitude of other examples of harmonizing/coordinating readings in the LXX to harmonizing tendencies in the translator, and certainly such cannot be ruled out. Nevertheless, given the widespread documentation of harmonizing impulses in the Hebrew tradition for the Pentateuch and other biblical texts, it is just as likely that the bulk of these pluses already were present in the Hebrew Vorlagen used by LXX translators.[100]

97. See comments along these lines in Tov, "Harmonizations," 8, which explains the disproportion (relative lack of harmonizations in Qumran Deuteronomy manuscripts) puzzled over in Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 266–69. Note, however, one Deuteronomy manuscript at Qumran, 4QDeut[n], that contains a number of possible harmonizations to its Tetrateuchal precursors (Esther Eshel, "4QDeut[n]—A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," *HUCA* 62 [1991]: 117–54).

98. For a broader study of this phenomenon in Genesis 1–11 along with good arguments for this process as an inner-Hebrew development, see Ronald Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), especially pp. 36–38, 49–56, 75, 85–92.

99. Leo Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 93–99.

100. Two recent discussions have concluded that the LXX reflects more harmonizations than its SP and MT counterparts, at least for some sections of the Pentateuch. See Hendel, *Genesis 1–11*, 81–92 and Emanuel Tov, "Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy," in *Mishneh Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*, ed. Nili Sacher Fox, David A. Glatt-Gilead, and Michael J. Williams (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 19–27, both of which conclude that, in general, most of these harmonizations probably stem from the Vorlage(n) of the LXX translators, rather than being products of the translation process itself. On this, cf. David Noel Freedman and D. Miano, "Is the Shorter Reading Better? Haplography in the First Book of Chronicles," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 685–98, which strikingly fails to consider the possibility of LXX harmonizations of 1 Chronicles with parallels in Genesis in several cases (1:4, 10, 17, 32, 50). Instead, the authors posit haplography and similar errors producing the shorter MT text, often on the basis of the slightest (or no) overlap in wording or letters (e.g., the conjunction ו). Once these

Indeed, there are some loci where the MT Hebrew tradition (often combined with other traditions, such as the SamP) contains harmonizing pluses vis-à-vis the LXX. For example, the MT and SamP versions give seventy as the number of Jacob's family descending into Egypt in Gen 46:27 and Exod 1:5, thus conforming these passages to the numbering given in Deut 10:22 (rather than seventy-five as given in the LXX of Gen 46:27 and Exod 1:5; cf. the harmonizing 75 in LXX^{B} of Deut 10:22). The MT and SamP versions of Num 13:33 contain a plus not reflected in the LXX (בני ענק מן־הנפלים) which clarifies that the נפלים ("giants") mentioned in Numbers 13 are identical to the ענקים mentioned in the non-P parts of Numbers 13–14 (Num 13:22, 28) and Moses's review of the spy story in Deut 1:28.[101] Later in Numbers, the MT and SamP both harmonize portions of the P report with the non-P report by including additional mentions of Dathan and Abiram alongside Korah (Num 16:24 [cf. 16:25], 27a [cf. 16:27b]; note also 26:9),[102] and adding בלעם ובלק (Balaam and Balak) to an original description (with a singular verb) of just Balak executing Balaam's command in Num 23:2 so that it agrees with 23:4.[103] Then, in the story of the East Jordan tribes, the MT/SamP features a mention of the עדת ישראל ("congregation of Israel") in Num 32:4 (cf. בני ישראל ["sons of Israel"] in LXX//Syriac) that conforms that portion of the story to mention of the עדה immediately preceding it (Num 32:2).[104] Similarly, the MT/SamP has a clarifying plus in Num 33:38 that Aaron went up *to Mount Hor* anticipating information given in the next verse (33:39), the MT/SamP of Deut 1:15 features an additional mention of את־ראשי שבטים ("heads of tribes") that makes his appointment of judges conform more to the plan mentioned in Deut 1:13, and Deut 1:35 MT/SamP

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questionable cases are omitted from their list, along with two cases of broader recensional differences between LXX and MT (on placing Kainan between Arpachshad and Shelah in 1 Chr 1:18; Gen 10:24; 11:12–13; and addition of sons of Barad in LXX of both 1 Chr 1:50 and Gen 36:39) and four cases of striking omissions specific to Codex Vaticanus for 1 Chronicles, there are very few examples of better "shorter readings" in this article. To be sure, haplography and other dynamics could lead to elimination of material (especially in certain traditions, e.g., Chronicles in Vaticanus), but not as frequently as Freedman and Miano suggest.

101. Wevers asserts that it is an error in the LXX produced by homeioteleuton of נפלים without consideration of other potential processes (*Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, SBLSCS 46 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1999], 209).

102. Cf. Wevers, *Numbers Notes*, 270, 272, which argues that the LXX translator was dealing with awkwardness in the texts here. This would not explain the continuing special interest in Dathan and Abiram seen in the non-LXX versions of Num 26:9.

103. As frequently elsewhere, Wevers explains this as an inner-Septuagental development, this time trying to smear Balaam with the accusation that he offered a sacrifice on a pagan altar (*Numbers Notes*, 384). It would seem that Balaam is already implicated, however, by having ordered such a sacrifice, and Wevers does not consider other evidence for the secondary addition of this pair of names in the MT/SamP/4Q27, such as the singular verb, the awkwardness produced by now having Balaam execute his own command, and the fact that Balaam then has Balak stand by "his" burnt offering (Num 23:3). Note that Num 23:3 LXX and probably 4Q27 have a plus, which adds a compliance report to the divine order seen in 23:3a.

104. On this, see Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, FAT 68 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 145, note 122, which argues that this verse is non-Priestly and notes the textual issue regarding עדה here.

contains an additional mention of הדר הרע הזה that makes Moses's review of the spy story in that verse conform more precisely to the mention of that generation in the review of the story in Num 32:13. The list could go on,[105] including a number of instances outside the portion of Numbers and Deuteronomy from which this sampling is taken.

Sometimes one can trace a constellation of harmonizations across several textual traditions. For example, the version of the divine command found in the 4QExod^{m} version of Exod 32:7 just has a command for Moses to "descend" רד ("because the people you brought out of Egypt have acted ruinously"). This brief command then contrasts with the more extensive version of this command found in Deut 9:12, where Moses reports that God said "get up and go down quickly from here" (קום רד מהר מזה). The MT (as well as SamP and probably 4Q30) version of 32:7 comes a bit closer to Deut 9:12 by having God say "go and descend" (לך רד), while the LXX version of the command comes yet closer to Deut 9:12 by adding equivalents to "quickly" and "from here": "go quickly, descend from here."[106] In this way, we can trace a gradual process of accommodation of a Tetrateuchal text to more closely parallel the Deuteronomistic review of the event it describes.

These sorts of harmonizations/coordinations continue in 4QRP and related traditions of the Pentateuch.[107] 4Q158 mixes elements from God's blessing to Jacob in Gen 28:3 into God's blessing on him at the Jabbok (cf. Gen 32:27–30). 4Q364 (4QRP^{b}), in addition to having some coordinating additions seen also in the Samaritan tradition (e.g., inserting the dream that Jacob reports in Gen 31:11–13 after Gen 30:36), has some unique harmonizations, such as its inclusion of a plus in its equivalent to Deut 1:17—לוא תקן]חו שחד—that assimilates Moses's charge to the judges to God's instructions for judges in Deut 16:19 (see also Deut 10:17).[108] Similarly, 4Q365 (4QRP^{c} frg. 23) conflates portions of laws on Sukkot from Num 29:32–30:1 and Deut 16:13–14 into the law on Sukkot found in Lev 23:42–44.

Scholars have noted the similarity between these harmonizations across the proto-Samaritan, 4QRP, Temple Scroll, and related traditions,[109] but occasionally have been limited by stematic models for the development of manuscript traditions, trying to determine whether a given manuscript was part of the Temple Scroll, 4QRP, or another tradition. As Eshel and Eshel have argued, the evidence

105. For example, Tov's study of harmonizations in Deuteronomy finds only two harmonizations exclusive only to the MT tradition (Deut 1:35; 23:12), but another forty-four instances where the MT shares a harmonization with the SamP vis-à-vis a shorter reading reflected in the LXX and eight more instances where the MT and LXX share a harmonization vis-à-vis the SamP (Tov, "Deuteronomy Harmonizations," 19–26).

106. Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 56.

107. See, for example, Emanuel Tov, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," *DSD* 5 (1998): 334–54 and David M. Carr, "Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34,11–26 and Its Parallels," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, Vol. 18, ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum, Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie (Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 115–22.

108. On all this, see now the more nuanced discussion in Molly Zahn, "*Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*."

109. See, for example, Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 56, 97, 101–102, especially pp. 266–69, and Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}."

now suggests that the stematic relationships, whatever they are, are more complex than the typical "proto-Samaritan" and similar labels would suggest. Based particularly on the study of various harmonizations of the Ten Commandments, they identify at least three groups of ever-increasing levels of harmonization, starting with a low level of harmonizations primarily focused on the Sabbath command found in a couple of phylacteries (XqPhyl 3, 4QPhyl J), moving to a second group of manuscripts that more completely harmonize the two Sabbath commands (Nash, 8QPhyl, 4QMezA, and 4QPhyl G), and concluding with a yet fuller harmonization found in 4QDeut^{n}. The Samaritan Pentateuch version of the Decalogue is closest to the second group.[110] These sorts of probes help establish the existence of yet more harmonizing traditions than the Samaritan Pentateuch, thus indicating that the Samaritan Pentateuch is not the destination in relation to which all other harmonizing manuscripts are "proto" forms. Yet the above discussion of evidence of harmonization in the LXX and MT (often combined with SamP) establishes that things may be yet more complex than this. Apparently harmonization and other forms of coordination, both micro-contextual (within a given episode) and across books (e.g., Tetrateuch and Deuteronomy), were widespread in the textual transmission of the Torah and other Hebrew Bible books, as we saw in other ancient Near Eastern traditions. Therefore, it is possible that patterns of similar and divergent harmonizations/coordinations could happen through a variety of modes (dependence, parallel development) that then produces the complex picture now evident in the Qumran and other older manuscript evidence.

It is more difficult to identify cases of harmonization/coordination in texts about Israel's monarchal past (e.g., Chronicles and Samuel-Kings), since many potential cases of assimilation can be explained in another way. For example, the 4QSam^{a} version of 2 Samuel 24 features details of David's vision and the aftermath to it that are quite close to elements in 1 Chronicles (21:16 and 20b–21bβ). McCarter and Cross argue that the longer version found in 4QSam^{a}, along with Chronicles, is earlier, while the MT of Samuel is a later abbreviation.[111] Others, such as Pisano, argue that the longer reading found in 4QSam^{a} is expansionist, harmonizing the text of Samuel to its parallel in Chronicles.[112] Some other elements

110. Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40; for additional detail, see Esther Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing in the Pentateuch in the Second Temple Period [Hebrew]," unpublished master's thesis, Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1999.

111. P. Kyle McCarter, *2 Samuel*, AB 9 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 507; Cross, et al., *Cave 4, Samuel*, 193.

112. Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts*, OBO (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1984), 113–16. For a comparison of these approaches, see Robert P. Gordon, "The Problem of Haplography in 1 and 2 Samuel," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)*, ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 131–58, especially p. 152 which uses statistics from the Leiden Peshiṭta to argue that haplography generally is limited in extent and characteristic of specific manuscripts.

that 4QSam[a] shares with Chronicles can be explained as harmonizations with Chronicles *or* as ancient portions of the particular version of the Samuel tradition (possibly similar to 4QSam[a]) that was used by the author of Chronicles. For example, in its version of 1 Sam 6, 4QSam[a] features a gloss about Baalah in 2 Sam 6:2 that links with 1 Chr 13:6 and an explanation at 6:7 of the death of Uzzah that matches 1 Chr 13:10. It is difficult to know whether these links to Chronicles in 4QSam[a] were produced by the adoption by the Chronicler of a manuscript tradition that included these glosses or whether they were added later to 4QSam[a] (or its ancestor tradition) by an author harmonizing Samuel at these points with its Chronistic parallel.

Sometimes, however, cases are clearer. Take, for example, the sole attestation in 1QIsa[a] of the reading באזני האנשים היושבים (cf. באזני העם אשר in other traditions) in Isa 36:11. This reading is only weakly attested textually, and it assimilates this verse to the following one (36:12//2 Kgs 18:26). Another example, noted by Zakowitch in his article on assimilation in biblical narratives, is the Chronicler's apparent coordination of the story of David's purchase of land in Jerusalem (1 Chr 21:22–25//2 Sam 24:21–24) with the already similar story of Abraham's purchase of the cave at Machpelah (Gen 23:8–20).[113] Generally, 4QSam[a] and other manuscript traditions for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles provide a number of additional *potential* cases of documented harmonizing expansions.

One promising avenue for identification of this dynamic lies in a survey of the more fluid, oral qere tradition for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. As found in the discussion in chapter one of parallels in Proverbs, the qere tradition for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles likewise often harmonizes the two books in comparison with the less fluid ketib tradition for both books. For example, Samuel and 1 Chronicles diverge in whether פלשתים (2 Sam 5:19) or פלשתיים (1 Chr 14:10) is spelled, but the qere tradition for Chronicles harmonizes to the reading seen in Samuel. 1 Chr 18:3 features a mention of the Euphrates lacking in its parallel in 2 Sam 8:3, a difference resolved in the addition of the Euphrates into the qere tradition for 2 Sam 8:3. And we see similar harmonizations of the tradition in Kings to parallels in Chronicles, such as the following:

תמר ketib in 1 Kgs 9:18 versus תדמר qere as seen in 2 Chr 8:4
ויבאו ketib in 1 Kgs 12:3 versus ויבא qere as seen in 2 Chr 10:3
הממותים ketib in 2 Kgs 11:2 versus המומתים qere as seen in 2 Chr 22:11
המאיות ketib in 2 Kgs 11:4 versus המאות qere as seen in 2 Chr 23:1

113. Yair Zakowitch, "Assimilation in Biblical Narratives," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 181. Zakowitch also proposes that 2 Kgs 20:7, intrusive in its context, its equivalent appended onto the end of the majority tradition for Isa 38 (38:21) and only added in a margin of the 1QIsa[a] scroll, is a harmonization of the story of Hezekiah's recovery with Elisha (pp. 181–85). The links with the Elisha story, however, are not as firmly established as the coordination with Genesis 23 in his other example. On pp. 185–96, he ventures two more examples of more extensive assimilation, coordination of the story of the rape of Dinah in Genesis 34 with the otherwise similar rape of Tamar in 2 Samuel 13, and secondary assimilation of the story of Manoah's sacrifice (Judges 13) with the story of the angel's visit to Gideon (Judg 6:11–24). In all of these cases, he notes how existing similarities between narratives may prompt further assimilation, harmonization, and/or coordination.

Such oral contamination across tradition can happen elsewhere as well, such as the following:

ותאמר ברכב ketib in 2 Kgs 19:23 versus ותאמר ברב רכבי qere as seen in Isa 37:24
ואכול ketib in Isa 37:30 versus ואכלו in the qere as seen in 2 Kgs 19:29

Similarly, a ketib reading in Jer 52:32 מלכים is given as המלכים in the qere tradition for that verse, in agreement with המלכים in 2 Kgs 25:28. More rarely, the qere preserves a divergent reading, as in the qere reading of חורם in 1 Chr 14:1 where the ketib for both 1 Chr 14:1 and 2 Sam 5:11 reads חירם. Nevertheless, the general trend in the qere readings is to offer a version that assimilates one of a parallel pair to the other. To some extent, of course, these seeming assimilating readings may represent the drift of texts toward a more common spelling or a grammatically correct or otherwise easier reading. Nevertheless, some may testify to a cognitive process in which particularly difficult texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles may be assimilated, perhaps partly through the conduits of memorization and oral performance, toward one of the two versions.

Scholars have long suspected that such assimilation of historical traditions to each other may have occurred on a broader level as well. For example, McKenzie argues on the basis of wording and placement that the wording of 2 Chr 1:14–17 may have been borrowed from 1 Kgs 10:26–29.[114] Similarly, at a later stage of the Chronicles tradition, the Vorlage to the OG of 2 Par 35:19a–d contains a parallel to 2 Kgs 23:24–27 that is missing from the MT of 2 Chronicles 35.[115] Assimilation could go in the other direction as well. It seems quite clear that material regarding Reubenite cities dropped out of the material on Levitical cities in Joshua 21, only to be reinserted via the Masorah from 1 Chr 6:63–4 at what is now Josh 21:36–7.[116] And these examples—along with the assimilating qere variants discussed above—are just a few of the clearer cases of assimilation of the Chronicles tradition to the tradition seen in Joshua and Samuel-Kings. Clearly, however parallel these traditions may once have been, these traditions, particularly those seen in Chronicles, have been conformed in some ways to each other.

Finally, though the preceding discussion has focused on examples of harmonization/coordination in narratives, we have documentation of the same tendency in other sorts of material as well. Perhaps the prime example is the set of divergent recensions of Jeremiah reflected in the MT on the one hand and Old Greek (and, to some extent, 4QJer^{b} and 4QJer^{d} as well) on the other. As Stipp in particular has argued, the majority of the distinctive characteristics of *both* recensions are not systematic redactions. Instead, the (proto-)MT recension and (to a lesser extent) Old Greek recensions (hereafter often OG) are characterized by a variety of additions that assimilate the wording of one passage to another in Jeremiah, import parts of Jeremiah into other parts, smooth over differences, and otherwise

114. McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 94, 152–53.
115. McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 160.
116. Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 162.

conform parts of Jeremiah to each other and to other parts of the biblical Hebrew corpus.[117]

In sum, from ancient Mesopotamia through parallel biblical traditions and forward to Second Temple manuscript traditions for the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible, we have widespread documentation of scribal coordination and harmonization of various texts with each other.[118] Some such interventions happened on a micro level, linking texts separated only by a sentence or two, while others coordinated widely disparate but related texts, such as Tetrateuchal narratives with the reviews of those narratives in Deuteronomy. Moreover, it is not always clear that such harmonizations/coordinations were part of a systematic effort to resolve all contradictions between a set of texts. To be sure, the textual tradition later used by the Samaritans seems unusually characterized by widespread importation of Deuteronomistic textual traditions into the Tetrateuch (and some in the reverse direction), but many other changes are as easily explained by slight memory slips by the scribes transmitting the tradition. After all, memory studies have documented the tendency for people unconsciously to assimilate parallel narratives to each other, and the closer that the narratives are, the more difficulty people often have in distinguishing them. This natural process of mutual contamination almost certainly led to numerous minor alterations in the biblical witness, some of which appear now in the minor discrepancies between textual witnesses for biblical books. As a result, it often is impossible to determine whether a given harmonizing plus is the result of intentional or unintentional scribal coordination.

■ VARIETIES OF ORAL-WRITTEN CULTIVATION OF THE TRADITION

In conclusion, the surveys in this and the preceding chapter have shown the varieties of ways that ancient tradents revised the tradition in the process of preserving and cultivating it. To be sure, the massive verbatim agreement between different recensions testifies to the probable use of writing to support the transmission of these traditions, since the transmission of textual tradition through exclusively oral means produces wider forms of variety than most examples seen here. Yet the presence of memory variants testifies to the use of memory—at least at times—to reproduce the traditions as well. In some cases, such memory variants may have been produced when scribes reproduced an entire text from memory, having mastered it as students or teachers. Yet other dynamics may have been involved as well.

117. See Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*, OBO (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), especially his summary comments (regarding the proto-MT) on pp. 137–40, along with his discussion of smaller-scale assimilations and harmonizations evident in the Old Greek (pp. 146–51).

118. This continues in the textual history of the New Testament gospels, where manuscripts of Mark, Luke, and John contain a particularly large number of assimilations to Matthew (probably because of the prominent use of the latter in many churches), but where the gospel traditions more generally appear to have been assimilated to each other in a variety of ways.

In the case of the Temple Scroll and other texts, we have seen a particular density of memory variants in places where a scribe inserts elements of another text—possibly from memory—into a broader context, for example, elements of laws from Leviticus into a context in Deuteronomy. In other cases, a scribe may draw on memory of another text to clarify the one being reproduced, replacing an archaic or otherwise odd term in the given text with a more contemporary or understandable term from its parallel. And then there may be cases where memory variants in a section of text, such as the Ten Commandments, betray a scribe's use of memory to reproduce certain portions of text, while copying other parts of the text graphically.

Though the focus of this chapter has been on documented revision of ancient texts, one finding is the overall focus of ancient tradents on overall *preservation* of written words from the past. Usually, this meant that scribes reproduced traditions they appropriated with virtually no change. To be sure, as we have seen, such reproduction "with virtually no change" could include a variety of memory variants: changes of wording, order, or insignificant shifts in grammar or syntax. And graphically copied traditions could include various copyist errors. Nevertheless, if we are to look empirically at the documented transmission of ancient texts, the first and most important thing to emphasize is the following: The vast majority of cases involve reproduction of earlier traditions with no shifts beyond the memory or graphic shifts surveyed so far. At the least, tradents aimed for preservation of the semantic content of traditions. Often with time, scribes, such as those working in the later Mesopotamian and Jewish contexts, developed various techniques for ensuring more precise preservation of their traditions, often through processes of graphic copying and various techniques of proofing copies.

Amidst this overall trend toward preservation of ancient written tradition, three main trends of revision have emerged. First, we have seen how, as a general rule, ancient scholars who were producing a new version of an ancient tradition (or portion of an ancient tradition) either preserved it unchanged (aside from memory or graphic variants) or expanded it. In particular, the boundaries of a composition often proved particularly opportune loci for such expansion, whether through the strategic recasting of an existing composition through the addition of new introductory materials or the (often less strategic) appending onto the end of additional/supplementary materials. Nevertheless, we saw numerous examples where later authors transformed earlier compositions, sometimes into completely new wholes, through a mix of expansions across their various parts (but especially beginnings and endings).

Conversely, it is also clear that—aside from a few examples (mostly concentrated in second- to first-century BCE Judaism)—ancient scribes rarely appropriated earlier compositions in their entirety. In particular, they often eliminated their beginning and/or end in the process of strategically redirecting them. In many cases, they chose not to reproduce material in the middle as well. This restricts somewhat the above "trend toward expansion." On the one hand, scribes seem to have shown their reverence for and mastery over earlier chunks of tradition by reproducing them whole and even expanding them. On the other hand, they do not seem to have shown the same regard for compositions as discrete

literary wholes with their own integrity. Where contemporary literary critics and/or biblical scholars might focus on compositions as literary wholes, ancient scribes often seem to have felt free to appropriate fragments, chunks, and blocks of earlier material. They might focus across a certain stretch of the tradition (e.g., Samuel-Kings in Chronicles; Deuteronomy in the latter part of the Temple Scroll), but do not seem to have felt bound to reproduce, absolutely completely, an overall text of that tradition.

Finally, the other major sort of preservation amidst revision is the tendency of many ancient scholars to harmonize and/or otherwise coordinate ancient written traditions with themselves and other texts. Scholars reproducing ancient traditions had learned them well enough to recognize inconsistencies and divergences between different parts of them. Commands given early in the epic might not be executed precisely later in the story, or the execution might not be reported at all. Speeches might be partially, but not completely, parallel to one another. Laws on a given topic might be scattered broadly across a given work and/or be inconsistent. As we have seen, some scholars reproducing these traditions dealt with these phenomena by combining and/or harmonizing the divergent traditions. Commands and executions would be made to match (or insertions made to provide the relevant complement); speeches made parallel; laws joined and conformed to each other; narrations of events conformed to the review of those events at a later point; etc.

Sometimes this process of harmonization/coordination led to contraction of traditions, thus contradicting the above-described tendency of scholars to preserve and expand traditions. Nevertheless, this scribal phenomenon can be seen as another sort of preservation of traditions. Indeed, I suggest that such harmonization involved what might be understood as a "hyper-memorization" of tradition where different parts of a textual tradition (or broader corpus) were understood to be so sacrosanct that they were not allowed to contradict each other.

Thus, ancient transmission of tradition seems to have involved an intricate balance of preservation and revision. On the one hand, the oral-written tradition (as a whole, not its individual compositional parts) was regarded as a holy, precious set of messages from an otherwise inaccessible past, to be preserved and passed on to future generations. One's virtuosity as a student and scholar was proven by one's ability to cite and reproduce portions of the tradition, generally from memory. On the other hand, documented cases of transmission history show that ancient scholars did revise such traditions in multiple ways, generally expanding the tradition, but sometimes omitting parts, inserting additional traditions deemed relevant, and/or harmonizing/coordinating one part of the tradition with another.

Even when revision happened, many such revisions could be seen as ways to preserve the tradition. In cases of memory variants, the shifts probably were seen as reproductions of what was essentially the "same" tradition. In cases of harmonization/coordination, the tradition was being made more true to itself. In cases of expansion, the bulk of the tradition was preserved, but enriched through additional exclusively oral traditions, theological updates, or other elements perceived as enhancements to the sacred deposit of more ancient material. To be sure, as

mentioned above, we see scattered warnings across Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Israelite literature not to add to or subtract from a given text (e.g., Erra 11:43–44; Satire on the Trades 10; Deut 4:2; 13:1; Prov 30:6), indicating the premium put on preservation and the judgment that could attend the alteration of a given tradition, even through expansion. Yet these warnings are indirect testimony to the fact that scribes did alter their tradition, a phenomenon that is well documented in the cases discussed in this chapter. Overall, even when scribes creatively innovated in the process of reproducing a given tradition, they maintained a stance of preservation and cultivation of it.[119]

All that said, these cases also document that scribes *did* innovate at times in their transmission of tradition, including broader innovations that appear to be intended to address the concerns of contemporary communities. We should be careful not to assume that all changes were oriented toward the specific needs of such contemporary communities. For example, the bulk of documented changes in the MT of Jeremiah appear to be small-scale coordinations and harmonizations of different parts of Jeremiah (particularly prose portions) with each other and other texts in the Hebrew Bible.[120] Yet other documented revisions, both in Jeremiah and other ancient texts, do seem to reflect broader interests of the scribes transmitting them. I will discuss some potential examples from the Hebrew Bible in the latter half of the next chapter.

119. An analogy to this would be places where modern scholars have suggested conjectural emendations of biblical manuscripts based on what they reason is a more original reading, sometimes introducing readings that probably never before existed in the textual tradition.

120. On this, see especially Stipp, *Sondergut*.

4 From Documented Growth to Method in Reconstruction of Growth

The previous chapter ended with reflections on the overall emphasis on preservation in ancient textual transmission, even in instances where texts were modified. Indeed, if it were not for the frequent focus among ancient tradents on preservation of oral-written traditions, scholars now would probably have few clues with which to reconstruct the history of composition of documents where we lack copies of earlier sources. Ancient scholars could have been much more consistent and thorough in covering their tracks—eliminating shifts in chronology, character-names, doublets, etc. Yet in at least some cases, such as the insertion of the flood narrative into the standard Babylonian edition of the Gilgamesh epic, tradents did not smooth out the differences between the traditions they preserved and combined. In that case, the author(s) of the Gilgamesh epic preserved unique elements of the inserted tradition—including the name of the flood hero—alongside competing elements in the tradition being enriched.

At the same time, the previous chapters have highlighted the fluidity of Ancient Near Eastern textual transmission. In particular, the early stages of textual transmission of both Mesopotamian and Judean literary documents seem to have allowed for relatively substantial changes, especially around the edges of compositions (e.g., prologues and appendices) but also in the middle. We even saw some probable documented cases of the combination of originally separate documents, such as the addition of the flood story to the Gilgamesh epic or the combination of a Nehemiah memoir with a Rebuilding-Ezra narrative to form the book of Ezra-Nehemiah. In both the Mesopotamian and Judean examples, the scribal system seems to have ceased making such major textual changes at a certain point, at least for documents that became central parts of the authorized literary corpus. Nevertheless, in the case of some biblical manuscripts at least, we still see minor memory variants and harmonizing/coordinating expansions well into the Second Temple period. Indeed, it appears that each of our earliest manuscript witnesses to the Torah—the Samaritan Pentateuch, MT, LXX and Qumran manuscripts—contains at least some such expansions and shifts. *All* such manuscripts, and all biblical manuscripts in general, are a product of a centuries-long process of oral-written textual transmission that has blurred the contours of earlier recensions. However much we might wish for a data set that is pristine, the transmission-historically complex manuscripts with which we must work do not completely preserve the marks that might help us reconstruct their prehistory.

The importance of this reality for qualifying transmission-historical work can be highlighted initially by two cases where scholars' hypotheses have been undermined by their dependence on indicators probably introduced in the latest documented

stages of textual growth. The first example is relatively early and comes from Nöldeke's classic 1869 discussion of the Priestly document. He opens his discussion by arguing that Deuteronomy is later than P (partly) because the review of the spy story in Deut 1:19–46 mixes summary of non-P elements with a quotation of the description of the land-entry generation ("whom you said were booty" אשר אמרתם לבז יהיה; Deut 1:39) that occurs in the P version of the Numbers 13–14 spy story (14:31).[1] What he overlooks, apparently, is the fact that this very phrase in the MT/SamP of Deuteronomy is a plus vis-à-vis the LXX and is likely a harmonization of the D text of Deut 1:39 to its parallel in Num 14:31. The original, nonharmonized form of the spy story in Deut 1:19–46—as likely reflected in the LXX—lacks any such specific reflection of the Priestly spy story, and thus this part of Nöldeke's argument for a pre-D Priestly document collapses.

The other case occurs in Exodus 32, a chapter with parallels to Deuteronomy 9–10 that seem to have prompted a variety of harmonizations, some of which (relating to Exod 32:7) were discussed in the previous chapter. In a recent discussion attempting to establish the chronological priority of Exodus 32 over its parallel in Deuteronomy 9–10, Joel Baden names as a key argument the idea "that D contains what has long been felt to be an oddity of the E text: the repetition of the speech introduction formula in vv. 7 and 9."[2] Here, he does not show awareness of the fact that the verse in Exodus featuring this extra speech introduction, Exod 32:9, does not occur in the LXX version of the passage.[3] Given the evidence for harmonization, especially of Exodus and Numbers with Deuteronomy (and especially in this section of Exodus), the most likely explanation of this discrepancy between the MT/SamP and LXX is that the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch have a harmonizing plus in Exod 32:9 that better conforms the narrative in Exodus 32 to its parallel in Deut 9:13.[4] Thus, the earliest text of Exod 32:7–14*

1. Theodore Nöldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (Kiel: Schwers'sche Buchhandlung, 1869), 2, note 1.

2. Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, FAT 68 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 162, note 156.

3. Though remarkably, he cites a significant study of exactly this phenomenon: Benjamin Sommer, "Translation as Commentary: The Case of the Septuagint to Exodus 32–33," *Textus* 20 (2000): 43–60 (though notably not the specific pages where this passage is discussed, especially p. 46).

4. Cf. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 523, which tentatively postulates a push to heighten drama in the LXX's excision of 32:9, despite the lack of a general tendency of the LXX to introduce such changes across the board in other passages. Sommer ("Translation as Commentary," 46) argues that the LXX omitted 32:9 in order to avoid the problem that God orders the destruction of the people in Exod 32:10 to whom Moses has been commanded to descend in Exod 32:7. Yet, as Sommer admits, the excision of 32:9 does not solve that problem (excision of the mention of the people in 32:7 would have been a better solution!). Indeed, it brings the mention of destruction of the people in 32:10 yet closer to the command to descend to the people in 32:7. Furthermore, Sommer's suggestion that the excision of 32:9 was an attempt by the LXX to avoid doubling of speech reports postulates an impetus not demonstrated in the LXX versions of far more repetitious speech reports than the case of 32:7, 9 (e.g., triple speech introductions in all versions, including the LXX, of Gen 16:9–11 and Exod 3:13–15). Far more plausible than such ad hoc postulates (by Wevers and Sommer) of tendencies in the LXX that are otherwise poorly documented is the idea that the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch exhibit a well-documented tendency toward harmonization especially of Tetrateuchal passages with Deuteronomy.

probably had just one speech introduction—that found in Exod 32:7—before it was enriched relatively early in the textual tradition (i.e., before the split of MT and Samaritan Pentateuch), with an Exodus counterpart to Deut 9:13 now found in Exod 32:9 (of MT and SamP). Whatever the arguments for the priority of Exod 32:7–8, 10–14 and Deut 9:12–14, 25–29 (and I will return to this case in Chapter 9), they should not be based on the assumption of parallel speech reports in early forms of Exodus 32.

These two cases are instances where we have *documentation* of a probable earlier textual stage that undermines certain literary-critical arguments. But what we must keep in mind is the extent to which the documented fluidity of the textual tradition is but the tip of the iceberg of broader phenomena of scribal coordination, memory variants, and the like that occurred over centuries of transmission of biblical texts and that add a significant degree of imprecision to any attempt to reconstruct their transmission history. The tabernacle account in Exodus is a good example of how the coordination of command and compliance apparently documented in the textual history is but a late stage of a process that appears to have extended backward into the formation of our earliest witnesses. To be sure, there is significant debate about the history of the translation of this section and the role of translation technique in the discrepancies between the LXX and other versions of the tabernacle narrative. Nevertheless, Aejimelaus and (now) Bogaert, among others, have presented good arguments that many of the distinctive aspects of the fuller MT/SamP text can be seen as various sorts of coordination of different parts of the tabernacle narrative with each other.[5] These include various additions to the list of "all the things that Yhwh commanded") in 35:16–19 that seek to collect more comprehensively the items commanded in Exodus 25–31 (cf. also parallel lists in 31:9–11; 39:39–42), and additions to the list of offerings in Exod 35:23 (MT) to make sure that the textiles and skins required for the construction are also contributed by the Israelites. Yet this does not mean that the LXX reflects a non-harmonized version of the account. Rather, it still includes some harmonizing elements, such as the materials now found in (LXX) 36–38 that conform the building report to the instructions given in 25–31—even elements such as the incense altar and bronze laver (Exod 30:1–10, 17–21) that are appended to the main body of those instructions and appear to be later additions to them.[6] In other words, the process of scribal

5. Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)*, ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 381–401; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "L'importance de la Septante du *Monancensis* et la *Vetus Latina* pour l'exégèse du livre de l'Exode (chap. 35–40)," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction-Reception-Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, BETL 126 (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 1996), 399–428; idem., "La construction de la Tente (Exod 36–40) dans le *Monacensis* de la plus ancience version latine: l'autel d'or et Hébraux 9,4," in *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque. L'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament à la lumière des recherches récentes*, ed. Adrian Schenker, Le Monde de la Bible 54 (Geneva: Labor & Fides, 2005), 62–76. Note also the unpublished dissertation, Jefferson H. McCrory, "The Composition of Exodus 35–40," PhD diss. (Claremont, CA: Claremont Graduate University, 1989).

6. See, for example, Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexatuechs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963 [orig. 1876]), 137–39 on the secondary

coordination apparently documented in divergences between the LXX (in its various forms) and MT is merely the latest stage in a longer process of *partly undocumented* coordination of parts of the tabernacle account with each other.[7]

The aim of the rest of this chapter is to build beyond these examples to a more general consideration of method in the study of transmission history, with an initial and primary focus on how the study of documented cases of transmission history might inform the consideration of past proposals regarding the formation of the Hebrew Bible and guide the formation of new theories. How might these cases of documented transmission history raise questions about broader theories regarding the (undocumented) transmission history of biblical texts? What sorts of criteria for uncovering transmission history are particularly problematic or helpful? Finally, in light of the fluidity of the process that produced our available evidence, what sorts of goals are realistic for hypothetical reconstruction of stages of transmission history for which we lack any documentation?

■ TEXTUAL FLUIDITY AND SOURCE CRITICAL INDICATORS

In one sense, the study of documented cases of transmission history supports the project of attempting to discern the presence of separate sources behind the various indicators (doublets, chronological and other contradictions, marked shifts in terminology, etc.) of textual growth in the Hebrew Bible. Analysis of documented cases of transmission suggests that—lacking copies of earlier stages of a document—the main cases where scholars might be able to reconstruct an earlier stage are places where tradents have *combined* originally independent, written traditions rather than cases where tradents have expanded older traditions with new material. The above-mentioned case of the insertion of the flood tradition into the later Gilgamesh epic is one such case, as is the addition of the Enkidu and Netherworld tradition to the conclusion of Gilgamesh, and probably the combination of the Rebuilding-Ezra and Nehemiah traditions in Ezra-Nehemiah. Especially in the cases of growth in the Gilgamesh epic, we still see signs in the combined text (e.g., shifts in the name of the flood hero) of the existence of two, originally separate traditions. The presence of such indicators in combined texts is probably best explained by the orientation of scribes toward the preservation of written traditions. Apparently, the scribe(s) who produced such texts were loyal enough to the preexisting texts that they used, that they preserved elements of each source in the combined product. This phenomenon would suggest that if scholars have a hope of finding sufficient indicators to reconstruct any stages in the formation of biblical texts, that hope would be greatest for finding indicators of whatever separate documents were incorporated in some form into present biblical books.

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character of these materials, and for broader discussion, see McCrory, "Exodus 35–40," 138–41 and 153–99.

7. For arguments regarding different levels of harmonization reflected in the Greek tradition, see Aejmelaeus, "Tabernacle Account," 396–98 and especially Bogaert, "L'importance."

At the same time, documented cases of transmission history also suggest that such indicators are easily lost in the process of gradual growth of texts, both in the initial processing of separate documents and in subsequent scribal smoothing of the marks that once indicated their separate existence. Take, for example, one of the criteria often listed as key for Pentateuchal source criticism—the designation of the God of Israel as Yhwh or Elohim. In 1753 Astruc named this variation as the second of his proofs that Moses used different sources to write the book of Genesis.[8] "Divine name" has been listed in studies and teaching materials as a major reason for distinguishing sources ever since. Yet already in 1787 Michaelis raised questions about Astruc's dependence on this criterion when he noted that the LXX of Genesis 2 (in contrast to the MT) has only θεὸς (God) well into Genesis 2 (2:4, 5, 7, 9; cf. 2:8), thus apparently reflecting a text with just אלהים where Astruc had posited the beginning of his Yahwistic source.[9] In subsequent years, doubts raised about source analysis on the basis of textual criticism were answered by assertions that the divergences in the LXX were produced by a special impulse of the translator (or the producer of its Pentateuchal Vorlage) toward θεὸς as a divine designation, while the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch agreed on what was taken to be the original set of divine designations.[10] Nevertheless, there are several instances where the Samaritan Pentateuch preserves a different divine designation from that seen in the MT and LXX, for example, Yhwh for Elohim (LXX has θεὸς) in Gen 7:9; 28:4; 31:7, 9, 16; and Exod 6:2 and Elohim for Yhwh (LXX has κύριος) in Gen 7:1; 20:18; and Exod 3:4. Furthermore, several Qumran manuscripts surveyed by Russell Hobson preserve different divine designations, for example, Gen 22:14 (Elohim in 4QGen-Exod^{a}; Yhwh other traditions), Exod 9:30 (Adonay Yhwh in 4QExod^{c}; Yhwh Elohim in other traditions), Exod 18:21 (Yhwh in 4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}; Elohim in other traditions), Num 23:3 (Elohim in 4QNum^{b}, SamP, LXX; Yhwh in MT), Deut 5:24 (Yhwh in 4QDeut^{n}; Elohim in other traditions), Deut 15:14 (Adonay in 1QDeut^{b}; Yhwh in other traditions).[11] Finally, parallel biblical texts show some tendency to treat divine designations as interchangeable. There are the well-known variations (in both directions!) in psalms: for example, Elohim in Ps 70:2, 5//Yhwh in Ps 40:14, 17, but Yhwh in 70:6b//Elohay in 40:18b (also Elohim 70:6a//Adonay 40:18a). In addition, the MT, 4QSam^{a}, and LXX witness to variation in divine designations in the tradition for Samuel, for example, Elohim in MT and Yhwh (or equivalents) in 4QSam^{a} and/or the LXX at 1 Sam 2:25; 10:26; 23:14, 16; the reverse in 1 Sam 2:1aα (reconstructed in 4QSam^{a}; θεω in the LXX of 2:1aβ//יהוה in MT); 2 Sam 12:15 (אלהים in

8. Jean Astruc, *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genése* (Paris: Chez Fricx, 1999 [1753 original]), 138–40 [original 10–13].

9. The reference to Michaelis comes from Johannes Dahse, *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1912), 14–15 (not available to this author).

10. For a broad survey of early questions surrounding the textual transmission of divine names, see Dahse, *Textkritische Materialien*, 13–52.

11. Completed as Russell Hobson, "The Exact Transmission of Texts in the First Millenium BCE: An Examination of the Cuneiform Evidence from Mesopotamia and the Torah Scrolls from the Western Shore of the Dead Sea," PhD diss. (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2009), to be published by Equinox Press as *Written and Checked According to Its Original: Six Studies on the Transmission of Authoritative Texts in the Ancient Near East*.

4QSam[a]; יהוה MT, LXX).[12] Finally, there seems to be a frequent (though not comprehensive!) tendency toward replacement of the Tetragrammaton at a number of loci in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 14:10, 11, 14, 15, 16//2 Sam 5:19, 20, 23, 24, 25; 1 Chr 16:1//2 Sam 6:17; 1 Chr 21:8//2 Sam 24:10; note also 1 Chr 16:35//Ps 106:47 [ET 105:47]), even as quite rarely the relationship is the reverse (1 Chr 17:1//2 Sam 7:2; see also 1 Chr 16:36//Ps 106:48 [ET 105:48]).

To be sure, such instances are the minority among the hundreds of cases of preservation of divine designation in these textual witnesses. Our existing manuscripts only give insight into the last stage of the textual transmission process. Nevertheless, these examples show that at least some ancient scribes treated divine designations as equivalents and substituted, whether consciously or unconsciously, the one for the other. In such circumstances, divine designations were the sorts of interchangeable elements that were prone to memory variation and other sorts of unintended textual fluidity. Furthermore, insofar as Chronicles, the Septuagint (Vorlage), and some parts of the Elohistic Psalter document a broader scribal trend toward substitution of Elohim for Yhwh, one must ask whether any instance of Elohim found in the MT, SamP, and other ancient Hebrew witnesses also resulted from the same trend. It may well be that the bulk of the divine designations preserved in the MT/SamP reflect those of precursor documents incorporated into them. Nevertheless, it is impossible to know in individual instances whether a given example of a divine designation in a particular text is original or switched with an equivalent designation in the process of textual transmission.

This uncertainty is produced by a strange juxtaposition: The very semantic equivalencies that allow a certain pair of words to serve as identifiers of separate sources also can lead to the substitution of one word for the other in the process of oral-written textual transmission. Terminological indicators are only minimally useful in cases where one cannot contrast the usage of a given word in one literary strand with the usage of a different word *in the same or similar way* in another such strand. In such cases, it is difficult to know whether a given term that occurs in various texts, for example, נכרי, משכרת and נצל in Gen 31:4–16 (used by some as markers of E), betrays the hand of a particular writer or is present in that text simply because the text happens to discuss these items. In contrast, when one has contrasting terms (e.g., שפחה "J" and אמה "E" for maidservant) or different names for the same character (e.g., "Israel" in "J" and "Jacob" in "E" for Joseph's father in the Joseph story) in different texts, *which cannot be explained on contextual grounds,* a better case can be made that variation is caused by the presence of each term in different literary strata. Yet again, the very equivalence that allows for such substitution/contrast also allows for later fluidity in textual transmission. For example, the SamP reads שפחות in Gen 31:33 where the MT has אמהות, and the LXX reads "Jacob" in Gen 37:3 where the MT and SamP have "Israel." In both cases, these terms/names have been used for source attribution in these and other

12. On these loci, cf. Donald W. Parry, "4QSam[a] and the Tetragrammaton," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks (Leiden: New York, 1996), 106–25, who posits a general tendency in MT Samuel toward avoidance or replacement of the tetragramaton.

passages, yet the SamP and LXX readings show that, at least occasionally, they could be switched in the process of textual transmission.

In some cases, however, context and literary patterning can mean that use of a given term is *not* neutral in a given locus. This is a particular issue with uses of divine designation, many of which are conditioned by usage or context. For example, the only places where אלהים might serve as a literary indicator are those in which יהוה also could appear. This rules out cases where אלהים occurs in construct or with an object suffix (both loci where a proper name could not occur).[13] Furthermore, many of the remaining occurrences of אלהים in the non-P Tetrateuch are themselves conditioned by context. For example, one reason parts of Jacob's Bethel theophany are assigned to E is the occurrence of אלהים in 28:12, 17, 20, and 22. Yet much of this theophany is oriented around an etiology of Beth-*El*, and thus the resulting theophany features messengers of *El*ohim (28:12), who help establish that the place is a "house of *El*ohim" (בית אלהים; 28:17, 22) and a vow to the "God" (*El*ohim) discovered there.[14] Thus, these occurrences of אלהים are context-bound and not significant for the assignment of parts of Gen 28:10–22 to a specifically Elohistic source. Similarly, insignificant are occurrences of Elohim in what are probably fixed expressions, such as Jacob's rhetorical question "Am I in place of Elohim?" and Rachel's statement that "God has vindicated me" used by many source critics to assign Gen 30:2 and 30:6 to the Elohist.

This does not mean, of course, that terminological indicators are useless for the reconstruction of transmission history. For example, it is noteworthy when the divine designation Elohim is used exclusively over major stretches of text in loci (e.g., absolute forms) where Yhwh also could be used, for example, Genesis 1:1–2:3, especially when that stretch of text is characterized by a set of other distinctive terms and phrases, in this case characteristic of what we call the Priestly stratum. Furthermore, such indicators, particularly in combination, can be useful in grouping texts that have been distinguished from each other by doublets, contradictions, and other sorts of breaks. Thus, for example, the P and non-P flood narratives are distinguished not only by divine designation, but also by a series of

13. For an excellent overview discussion, see the essays in Ingolf U. Dalforth and Philipp Stoellger, eds., *Gott nennen: Gottes Namen und Gott als Name*, Religion in Philosophy and Theology 35 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), particularly those by Blum ("Der vermeintliche Gottesname Elohim," pp. 97–119) and DePury (pp. 127–29 of "Wie und wann wurde 'der Gott' zu 'Gott' "). For the purposes of this discussion, little turns on whether we designate אלהים a "name," only that אלהים was understood to be substitutable for יהוה (and vice versa) in some contexts by some scribes transmitting some biblical texts.

14. Even if parts of this Bethel text are later, as likely seems the case for much of the speech by Yhwh (28:13–15) and Jacob's response to it (28:16; cf. 28:17), these "Yahwistic" materials presuppose the surrounding Elohim-oriented Bethel materials. Moreover, Yhwh's appearance fits with those materials as part of the existence of "Elohim" at the place where Jacob will establish a "house of Elohim." If it was not clear in the early version of the Bethel epiphany that Yhwh (in particular) was at Bethel, it is made clear with the addition of 28:16 and additional parts of the speech in 28:13–14 that Yhwh is the "Elohim" to whom Jacob makes his vow (28:20–22).

Note that these etiological considerations linked to Bethel probably also play a role in the occurrence of אלהים in the etiology for Penuel in Gen 32:29, 31 [ET 32:28, 30]; the etiology of Mahanaim based on "messengers of God" there in 33:2–3; and the etiology of Bethel (following on Gen 28:10–22) in Gen 35:1, 7.

other terminological and phraesological indicators that occur in a sustained way across a set of over ten doublets spanning the narrative.[15]

As one works further across Genesis and the rest of the Tetrateuch, such *groups* of terminological indicators are useful in identifying a broader set of Priestly texts that are distinguished from surrounding non-P texts by other indicators, such as doublets (e.g., Gen 17:1–22//15:1–21; 18:1–16; 35:9–15//32:29–30 [ET 32:28–29]; 28:10–22) and contrasting concepts of events (e.g., Gen 26:34–35; 27:46–28:8 versus 27:1–45).[16] In this case, it has proven possible for source-critics to achieve repeatable results using such terminological indicators because so much of the Priestly narrative material shares a distinctive profile.[17] It is much like the case of potential reconstruction of Johannine material in the *Diatessaron*. Over a century ago George Foote Moore pointed out that it would have been possible using the *Diatessaron* alone to distinguish at least parts of the gospel of John both because that gospel featured a number of unique scenes when compared to the synoptics and because it was/is characterized by a particular set of expressions and theological concepts.[18] John in the *Diatessaron* would be the equivalent to "P" in the Pentateuch. In both cases, the given "source"—John or P—can be distinguished from surrounding material in the *Diatessaron* or Pentateuch respectively partly because the texts in these strata are saturated with a variety of terminological and conceptual elements that are different from the surrounding material.

Not all material, however, features such a distinctive and relatively homogenous profile. For example, in the same article Moore observed that it would have been virtually impossible for a later scholar to depend solely on the *Diatessaron* and successfully distinguish between material derived from Matthew, Mark, and Luke.[19] There are probably two reasons for this relative lack of distinguishing features in the synoptic material found in the *Diatessaron*. First, the synoptic gospels depended more on a variety of prior traditions whose diverse profiles they preserved. Therefore, the material drawn from each synoptic gospel was not homogenous enough to share a distinctive overall profile. Second, the parallel fragments from the different synoptic gospels that were adapted into the *Diatessaron* often were so similar to each other that it would be virtually impossible to distinguish them in the final, mixed product.

The conclusion to this discussion of textual fluidity and language is the following: In *some* cases, a later document may contain a strand with such a homogenous and distinctive profile that scholars can use terminological and like indicators to reconstruct that strand *despite* the vagaries of textual transmission. I have suggested that the identification of a Priestly source in the Tetrateuch

15. See the summary in David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 52–56.

16. Again, these data are summarized in Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 78–113.

17. These points do not hold to the same extent for P's legal materials, which appear to have had a more complex and often earlier prehistory.

18. George F. Moore, "Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 9 (1890): 214 (reprint "Tatian's *Diatessaron* and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey Tigay [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985], 255).

19. Again, Moore, "Tatian's *Diatessaron*," 214 (reprint "Tatian's Diatessaron," 255).

would be an example of this in Pentateuchal scholarship. Indeed, scholars have achieved a virtual consensus on identification of Priestly material over a period of almost one and a half centuries.[20] Similarly, good arguments can be made that the material in Genesis 20–21 containing a number of unconditioned uses of "Elohim" and paralleling other traditions surrounding Abraham (12:10–20 [//20:1–18]; 16:1–14 [//21:8–19]) and Isaac (26:1, 7–11 [//20:1–18]; 26:12–33 [//21:22–31]) represents a distinctive block of generally "Elohistic" Abraham traditions, albeit one now thoroughly shaped in relation to and presupposed by non-P texts in Genesis 12–13, 16, and 26.[21]

The same cannot be said, however, for attempts to establish a broader, cross-Pentateuchal "Elohistic" strand to be distinguished from a similarly cross-Pentateuchal "Yahwistic" strand. Scholars reconstructing E in other portions of Genesis have had to work with substantially weaker batches of criteria. For example, two key texts used as a basis to assign other texts to E in the Jacob and Joseph stories, Gen 31:4–16 and 46:1b-5, are themselves placed in E on quite slender grounds, starting with the fact that both contain references to dreams (a common genre in the Ancient Near East) and open with a pattern of address and statement of presence (הנני "here I am") that is attested as a more general Hebrew pattern outside the Pentateuch (see, e.g., 1 Samuel 3 and Isa 65:1). Another key criterion for assigning Gen 31:4–16 to E, the divine designation Elohim in 31:7, 9, 11, and 16, is actually attested as Yhwh in three of the four instances in the Samaritan Pentateuch (31:7, 9, 16). Otherwise, this section lacks specific terminological or phraseological connections to "Elohistic" materials outside the Jacob story.[22] Similarly, fluid terminology stands behind the assignment of Gen 46:1b-5 to E—in this case, one instance of the divine designation Elohim in 46:2 and the naming of Joseph's father "Jacob" in 46:2b (though note "Israel" in 46:2a!) and 5. In sum, the terminology (and broader formal characteristics) often used to establish Gen 31:4–16 and 46:1b-5 as pillars of an "Elohistic" source are isolated, fluid, and unstable grounds on which to found such a theory. Moreover, this problem becomes yet more acute as one proceeds to other parts of the Pentateuch, such as Numbers, where source critics are far more divided on the identification of sources, the divine designation appears less frequently in non-P texts (e.g., only one Elohim outside the Balaam story), and texts (and parts of texts) are assigned to J or E on the basis of a single term or phrase.[23]

20. The work of Nöldeke (*Untersuchungen*) is the marker point for the beginning of a general consensus on the contents of the Priestly strand, though there have been a number of variances in detail and a recent controversy, in particular, about the original end of an independent Priestly document (for a summary of this, see Nihan *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*, FAT 25 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007], 20–58, especially pp. 20–30).

21. On this latter point, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 196–200.

22. The few other terminological indicators, for example, משכרת, נצל and נכרי, do not have an opposing alternative expression in "J" or P texts. On the posited E-affiliations of these terms, see the discussions on pp. 185–86 of H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1893).

23. A few examples can be given here from a recent treatment (Baden, *J, E and Redaction*) where the whole argument depends on assignment of texts to E or J. For example, on pp. 131–32, Baden diverges from a number of source-critics (including Haran, whom he otherwise often follows) in assigning the whole of Num 20:14–21 (the encounter with Edom) to E because it includes the phrase

■ DOCUMENTED CASES AND THE ISSUE OF PRESERVATION

Study of documented cases of transmission also can inform transmission-historical arguments based on the completeness and continuity of reconstructed source materials. In earlier times, this type of argument often took the form of assuming that both "J" and "E" must have had a narrative of a given event, such as Isaac's birth or Jacob's theft of Esau's firstborn blessing, and then used a variety of criteria to try to extract out of single non-P stories more or less readable "J" and "E" stories of that event. In more recent years, this criterion has been lifted to a yet higher level. On the one hand, a particular school attempting to revive traditional source criticism, termed here the neo-Documentarians, have used the potential readability of a given strand as a significant criterion for assigning texts to it.[24] On the other hand, many scholars who have discarded the source approach nevertheless have continued to reconstruct early strata based on the potential readability of the

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כל־התלאה אשר מצאתנו (20:14), which otherwise occurs only in Exod 18:8, and because it refers in 20:16 to a "messenger who brought us out of Egypt," a statement that links to materials at the end of the Covenant Code that Baden likewise assigns to E (Exod 23:20–22). This source assignment on the basis of two phrases then is the sole basis for Baden's assignment of the similar story of the encounter with Sihon (Num 21:21–32) to E, along with connected elements of the preceding itinerary (p. 136), the encounter with Og (Num 21:33–35, p. 137), and (non-Priestly portions of) the apportionment of conquered Transjordanian lands (Numbers 32*). So also, Baden diverges from many prior source-critics in assigning all of the non-P story of Dathan and Abiram's rebellion in Numbers 16* to E because of the text's depiction of Moses as a prophet, the occurrence in 16:14 of the phrase שדה וכרם (cf. the same pair, differently expressed in Num 20:17; and Exod 22:4), and the way its picture of rebellion fits well between the initial murmuring of Aaron and Miriam in Numbers 12 and the murmuring leading to the plague of serpents in Num 21:4–9 (both stories that Baden assigns to E, again diverging from many prior source critics; see his p. 183). In each case, the certainty of Baden's language in assigning sources is undermined by the fragility of the criteria by which he justifies his source-critical decisions. Given this fragility, the chances of success for his proposed identifications of J and E in these and other instances seem no higher than for those he replaces.

24. For the term, see its use in Jeffrey Stackert's essay: "Distinguishing Innerbiblical Exegesis from Pentateuchal Redaction: Leviticus 26 as a Test Case," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch Schwartz, FAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 369–70. Though this approach is prompted in large part by Menahem Haran's Pentateuchal work (published in part in *The Canonization of the Scriptures and Formation of History: The Deuteronomic Torah and Deuteronomistic Tradition [Hebrew]*, Vol. 2, *The Biblical Collection: Its Consolidation to the End of the Second Temple Times and Changes of Form to the End of the Middle Ages [Hebrew]* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2003]), developed examples of this include Baruch J. Schwartz, "What Really Happened at Mount Sinai? Four Biblical Answers to One Question," *BR* 13, no. 5 (1997): 20–30, 46; idem., "The Visit of Jethro: A Case of Chronological Displacement? The Source-Critical Solution," in *Mishneh Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*, ed. Nili Sacher Fox, David A. Glatt-Gilead, and Michael J. Williams (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 29–48; idem., "The Sabbath in the Torah Sources" (2007), http://www.biblicallaw.net/2007/schwartz.pdf; and the reconstructions ventured in Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, for example, pp. 132–72. This focus on readability and other (related) criteria sometimes take precedence over older criteria for source assignment. Note, for example, Schwartz's critique of Noth's "odd decision to attribute [the Amalek narrative in] Exod 17:8–16 to J" as stemming "presumably" from "the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the narrative" (p. 46, note 47). Divine designation obviously plays a different sort of role in Schwartz's analysis than that of Noth and other earlier source-critics.

texts assigned to them, arguing that the original contours of such strata were obscured by successive layers of compositional expansion.

The problem with all these approaches is documented evidence that scribes did *not* preserve their source documents unaltered and without gaps, *particularly* in cases of conflation of parallel sources. To return to the case of the *Diatessaron*, Moore found that the *Diatessaron* contained 96 percent of the verses in the gospel of John, but only 76.5 percent of Matthew, 50 percent of Mark, and 66.2 percent of Luke.[25] Thus, the *Diatessaron* preserved the least amount of its most parallel sources—the synoptic gospels—and did not even contain a complete version of its best-preserved source, John. In the last chapter, I discussed several cases not involving conflation (e.g., Chronicles, the Temple Scroll, Matthew, and Luke) that likewise document the tendency of ancient scribes to draw selectively on the ancient traditions they appropriated (even as they might expand on the particular chunks selected).

A similar process of source elimination seems to have occurred in the combination of P and non-P materials. Take the death notices for the ancestors in Genesis as an example. It would have made little sense for the scribe composing the P/non-P narrative to have Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob die twice. For this reason, it appears that we have only the P versions of each notice (Gen 25:7–8; 35:28–29; 49:33), while the non-P versions of such death reports have been eliminated. In other places, P appears to be missing material. It is likely that Rp did not include P's description of the killing of the firstborn (cf. P in Exod 12:13) in addition to the non-P version (Exod 12:29–30) for similar reasons. In addition, the Priestly mention of God's rebuke of Moses for crying out against God (Exod 14:15 [P]) seems to presuppose a Priestly text regarding that cry that has not been preserved by Rp either. Furthermore, one thing the current discussion about the "end of P" may suggest is that the end of an original P document may not be well preserved either. In these and other cases, scribes combining originally separate P and non-P texts appear to have acted like other ancient scribes surveyed in the previous chapter. They only partially preserved the texts that they were appropriating. The result was that we now lack complete versions of the sources that they used.

These sorts of dynamics then raise questions about both older and newer transmission-historical arguments that orient themselves around the presupposition that prior sources are completely, or virtually completely, preserved in present biblical books. To be sure, on first glance, it might appear attractive that one can join a sentence here and there across a stretch of biblical books and produce what appears to be a readable text. For example, Reinhard Kratz reconstructs a pre-Deuteronomistic ("E") Hexateuch out of a tissue of biblical passages separated from each other by large swathes of purportedly later layers of additions. He assigns the following verses to the earliest layer of the section spanning from victory over the Egyptians in Exodus to the beginning of Joshua:[26]

25. "Tatian's *Diatessaron*," 203 (reprint 245–46).

26. See especially his discussion in Reinhard G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments: Grundwissen der Bibelkritik*, UTB für Wissenschaft (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 129–30, 290–91 (ET *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, trans. John Bowden [London; New York: T&T Clark, 2005], 125, 282–3).

(Exod 15:22a) ויסע משה את־ישראל מים־סוף ויצאו אל־מדבר־שור

(Num 20:1aβb) וישב העם בקדש ותמת שם מרים ותקבר שם

(Num 22:1) ויסעו בני ישראל ויחנו בערבות מואב מעבר לירדן ירחו

(Num 25:1) וישב ישראל בשטים

וימת שם משה... ויקבר אתו בגי בארץ מואב מול בית פעור ולא־ידע איש את־קברתו עד היום הזה (Deut 34:5a*, 6)

וישלח יהושע־בן־נון מן־השטים שנים־אנשים מרגלים חרש לאמר לכו ראו את־הארץ ואת־יריחו וילכו ויבאו וילכו בית־אשה זונה ושמה רחב וישכבו־שמה... (Josh 2:1ff.)

(Exod 15:22a) And Moses led Israel out from the Red Sea, and they went out to the wilderness of Shur; (Num 20:1aβb) And the people settled in Qadesh, and Miriam died and was buried there. (Num 22:1) and sons of Israel left and camped in the plains of Moab across the Jordan from Jericho; (Num 25:1) and Israel settled at Shittim (Deut 34:5a*, 6) and Moses died there, and he was buried in the valley in the land of Moab next to Baal Peor and no one up to this day knows his burial place (Josh 2:1). And Joshua, son of Nun, covertly sent two spies from Shittim, saying "go and spy out the land and Jericho," and they went and came to the house of a prostitute whose name was Rahab, and stayed there.

Various questions could be raised about the extent to which this cluster of clauses spanning over one hundred chapters of material really can stand on their own as a narrative,[27] but the main issue to be raised in this context is the following: Just how plausible is it to suppose that the scribes who produced the massive amounts of material between these verses would have preserved these (~) fifteen clauses completely intact while adding (in successive layers) over one hundred chapters of text? To be sure, Kratz provides grounds for thinking that substantial portions of the intervening text were not always there, and in this respect he can build somewhat on established scholarship regarding isolation of Priestly materials and the complex relation of Deuteronomy to its context. Nevertheless, his proposal is also relatively innovative in some respects, for example, in connecting Exod 15:22a directly to Num 20:1aβb or linking Num 25:1 to fragments of Deuteronomy 34 and then (skipping all of Joshua 1) Josh 2:1. Is it not the case that—given the choice of hundreds or even thousands of clauses spanning the Hexateuch—there are a variety of ways one could clip a clause or story here and there and produce a relatively readable text, albeit one that never existed except as the *collage* of text produced on the scholar's desk? And I would raise similar questions about other abbreviated, reconstructed base texts proposed by Kratz, such as his Ur-Deuteronomy (Deut 6:4-5; 12:13-28; 14:22-29; 15:19-23; 16:16-20; 17:8-13; 19:1-13, 15-21; 21:1-9; 26:1-16), an opening to Chronicles encompassing 1 Chr 2:1-2, 3a, 4-5, 9-15 then 11:1-9; and a highly abbreviated early Nehemiah Memoir

27. See, for example, Erhard Blum, "Pentateuch-Hexateuch-Enneateuch? Oder: Woran erkennt man ein literarischer Werk in der Hebräischen Bibel?" in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque*, ed. Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid (Leuven, Belgium: University of Leuven Press, 2007), 79–81.

(Neh 1:1a; 2:1-6, 11-18; 3:[1-32] 38; 4:4, 6a, 9b; 6:15; 12:[27], 31-32, 37-40, 43).[28] Not only do these slices represent highly particular ways of reconstructing a semi-readable text out of broader biblical materials, but these hypothetical texts have been reconstructed by Kratz with the apparent presupposition that layer upon layer of later redactors so carefully preserved the hypothesized base text that it can be reconstructed, with relative precision, behind centuries of supplements.

Most extensive texts are quite complex (e.g., this book), and given enough time, it should be no surprise that scholars can produce shorter, readable versions of them, perhaps yet more readable than the original. Indeed, just the past few decades of scholarship are littered with various theories proposing more and less readable earlier strata standing behind existing biblical texts. Yet the documented variety of readable sources that can be produced out of Pentateuchal and other texts militates against the probability that such reconstructed sources ever existed in an earlier time. Instead, given what we know about partial preservation and modification of prior traditions by ancient scribes, it is more likely that most (semi-)readable texts produced by contemporary transmission-historians are nothing but the inventions of their creators. The idea that successive groups of scribes would have preserved earlier strands of material so precisely that we could reconstruct them in complete, readable form involves a category mistake regarding different forms of textual transmission. At a relatively later stage of textual transmission, perhaps already in the late second or early first century BCE, some Jewish scribes preserved biblical texts with ever-greater, verbatim precision. Yet our existing evidence for scribal transmission for earlier periods, both within Israelite-Judean contexts and further afield, overwhelmingly suggests that such precision was not characteristic of scribal transmission in the Second Temple period and before. Though scribes certainly inclined toward overall preservation (albeit with memory variants, harmonizations/coordinations, and a general trend to expand rather than abbreviate), they did not yet treat the texts in the same way that, say, the later Masoretes did. To presuppose otherwise is to project anachronistically into earlier periods a form of textual transmission that is not characteristic of them.

This critique is particularly pertinent to a recent school, centered particularly now on Baruch Schwartz and several of his students, which aims to assign virtually all of the Pentateuch to the four sources (J, E, D, P), and claims as a significant affirmation of its analysis the lack of gaps and readability of each of its sources. For these neo-Documentarians, a major criterion for the assignment of a given text to a source is the extent to which its assignment to that source produces an overall readable text. In this way, the potential readability of the reconstructed source elements becomes a criterion that often takes precedence over other criteria used by scholars, such as terminology or even divine designation, which have led to other source assignments.[29] The result of this push for continuous written sources is a

28. Kratz, *Komposition*, 14–26, 62–8, 117–18.

29. This is particularly evident in Joel Baden's reassignment of several passages in Numbers (see above, note 23). On divine designation, note the assignment by Baden and Schwartz of Exod 24:9–11 to J and Baden's assignment of 3:6b-8 to J, despite the use in these texts (in 24:11; 3:6b) of אלהים in the

potentially attractive reconstruction of source documents, one that suggests that scholars no longer need settle for mere fragments of earlier sources. Moreover, its combination of older source-critical criteria with a focus on readability reduces the number of sources and compositional layers that must be posited. Nevertheless, this approach produces only illusory precision, based as it is on an otherwise undocumented tendency of early redactors to preserve, complete and unaltered, their source materials. For the neo-Documentarians, the author of the Pentateuch is something like an early Masorete, collecting and precisely preserving J, E, D, and P as if they were already biblical documents themselves. This is an anachronistic projection that fails to match even the evidence of textual fluidity still documented in Second Temple textual witnesses, let alone the (likely more substantial) textual fluidity that characterized earlier periods of textual transmission.

Finally, older source criticism, whose cautions and qualifications the neo-Documentarians have aimed to replace, has also been plagued by problematic pushes for complete sources. Though open to the idea that their reconstructed sources might have some gaps, past source critics often have been led astray by the attempt to identify fragments of J and E across most major narrative episodes in the Pentateuch.[30] This push toward partial completeness, then, has resulted in strange and unnecessary divisions of essentially unified narratives. For example, attempts to find remnants of both J and E in the story of the birth of Jacob's sons (Gen 29:31–30:24) replaced the balanced design of the existing passage with two incomplete fragments, neither of which comes close to narrating (along with 35:16–18) the birth of Jacob's twelve offspring.[31] Uncontrolled use of terminological criteria (e.g., אלהים in fixed expressions in 30:2, 5) and the push to produce relatively complete J and E source strands, in this way, have replaced an existing, easily readable (non-P) biblical text with a couple of implausible torsos.[32] Similarly, studies over the last eighty years have shown the essential unity of many other

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absolute (Baruch J. Schwartz, "Four Answers," 26–27; Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 160 [esp. note 153], 234–35). Cf., for example, the early analysis of Exod 24:9–11 by Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 88–89, 94–95 which saw this as part of E.

30. This critique of traditional source-criticism, it should be noted, is made by Baden (*J, E and Redaction*, 77).

31. To be sure, scholars both past and present have made a virtue of this necessity in arguing for an otherwise unattested tradition of Jacob's having fewer than twelve male offspring. According to this approach, the tradition of Jacob's twelve offspring is Priestly and later (e.g., Christoph Levin, *Der Jahwist*, FRLANT 157 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993], 221–31; Kratz, *Komposition*, 271 [ET 266]). Nevertheless, we do not have literary testimony, early or late, to the idea that Jacob had a number of sons other than twelve (even if the listing of which sons are included in this number varies). The creation of such a tradition is an artifact of transmission-historical arguments.

32. Blum's analysis here (*Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984], 105–10; building on earlier studies) remains an excellent source for an overview of divergences between previous failed source-critical analyses of this text and outline of the patterns in the present text that such analyses ignored. The one element in Gen 29:31–30:24 that does appear secondary is the addition of the birth of Dinah in 30:21, the one birth narrative of that section which lacks an etiology and is not reflected in the final numbering of Jacob's offspring (Gen 32:23 [ET 32:22]). This notice of Dinah's birth was probably inserted at some point to anticipate the narrative concerning her in Genesis 34. For more discussion and references, see my *Reading the Fractures*, 252.

parts of the non-P Jacob story, including the story of Jacob's marriages (Gen 29:1–30),[33] the birth of his flocks (30:25–43),[34] and his reunion with Esau (32:4–22 [ET 32:3–21] and 33:1–17).[35] The same can be said for the bulk of the non-P Joseph story, aside from some probable glosses (e.g., one about Midianites in Gen 37:28 and a harmonization with 43:12 in 42:35),[36] the insertion of promises at Gen 46:1b-5,[37] and some additions concentrated at the end of the Joseph story (Genesis 48 and 49:1–28).[38] Finally, the assignment of materials to E and J in the Moses story has depended on criteria derived from the above-listed questionable assignments of passages in Genesis to E and J.[39] Though the non-P Moses story is transmission-

33. The major studies here are Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, BKAT I/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977 [English translation 1985]), 565–66 [ET 464] and Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 98–105.

34. The unity of this section was argued effectively in Paul Volz and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Der Elohist als Erzähler ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik? An der Genesis erläutert*, BZAW 63 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1933), 90–92; but note also additional observations in B.D. Eerdmans, *Die Komposition der Genesis*, Vol. 1 of *Alttestamentliche Studien* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1908), 53–55; Benno Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Tora: Genesis* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1934), 603–609; Hermann Eising, *Formgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Jakoberzählung der Genesis* (Emsdetten: Heinr. and J. Lechte, 1940), 193–202; Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 112–16.

35. See in particular Eising, *Jakoberzählung*, 143–46, along with observations in Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, HAT 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917), 355–56; Rainer Kessler, "Die Querverweise im Pentateuch: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der expliziten Querverbindungen innerhalb des vorpriesterlichen Pentateuchs" (Heidelberg: Heidelberg Universität, 1972), 132–33; Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 142; and Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 270.

36. The proposal regarding the Midianites comes from Kessler, "Querverweise," 149–50. The idea that the doublet in 42:35 was caused by harmonization with 43:12 originates from Donald B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)*, VTSup 20 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 150–52, which gives a survey (on pp. 28–32) of other candidates for such harmonization in the Joseph story.

37. A sampling of studies isolating Gen 46:1b-5 from its context includes Volz and Rudolph, *Elohist als erzähler*, 149, 165; Eising, *Jakoberzählung*, 336; Redford, *Joseph*, 19. See my *Reading the Fractures*, 211 (note 70) for a fuller list. A decisive blow to the traditional assignment of this text to E (in addition to above-surveyed weaknesses of terminological and other arguments used to associate 46:1b-5 with E) was Erhard Blum's observation (*Vätergeschichte*, 246–49, 297–301) of how this text is an integral and concluding part of a series of promises and travel commands starting with (traditionally "Yahwistic") Gen 12:1–3 and 26:2–3.

38. The basic study for isolation of these materials associated with Genesis 48 and 49:1–28 is Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 209–63 (summarized in Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 249–56). Though studies over the last century have attempted to sort the core of the Joseph story into J and E strands or a basic Joseph story with either a Reuben or Judah redaction, none of these attempts have achieved plausible, repeatable results. Rather, as more recent literary studies have shown (e.g., Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* [New York: Basic Books, 1981], 107–12, 137–40; Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985], 285–308, 394–404; W. Lee Humphreys, *Joseph and His Family: A Literary Study*, Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988], 32–117), the Joseph story (aside from the above-listed more obvious additions) stands as an intricate story of brotherly destiny and animosity where Joseph tests his brothers by putting them in a position where they would be sorely tempted to repeat the betrayal of a son of Rachel (Benjamin), a test that they ultimately pass.

39. This starts with the use of divine designation (e.g., [ה]אלהים in Exod 1:17, 20, 21; 3:1, 4b, 6, 11–14; etc.; יהוה in Exod 3:2, 4a, 7, 15, 16, 18), but extends to other indicators as well (e.g., [the midwives] "feared God" in Exod 1:17, compared with variants of this common expression in Gen 20:11;

historically complex, and may even contain an "Elohistic" block of Moses materials reflected in Deuteronomy (see the following excursus with its qualifications), whatever block of "E" materials that can be found in the Moses story does not show demonstrable and specific links to the most plausible "Elohistic" traditions in Genesis (especially Genesis 20–22).

There is one main context, however, where arguments from potential readability of an identified stratum of materials *can* be helpful: the identification of the given stratum as once having existed independently of the materials with which it is now connected. For example, both the P and non-P materials in the primeval history, Abraham story, and early Moses story (Exodus 1–14) are remarkably readable. Despite some gaps (which, as argued above, would be expected in textual transmission), they are far more readable than a pure compositional extension (e.g., Deuteronomistic portions of Joshua-2 Kings) would be. Someone revising and expanding a text has no need to repeatedly *re*narrate details in the text to be expanded, for example, creation of plants and living creatures, justification for and announcement of the flood, entries into the ark, post-flood promises not to bring another flood, etc. Even if the reconstructed strata have significant gaps, their relative readability stands as a significant argument that they once existed separate from their present context in some form.[40]

Given the documented *partial* preservation and adaptation by scribes of earlier materials (which is particularly partial in conflation of parallel documents), and given the variety of ways scholars can lift portions of a complex text from their context to create a new whole, the mistake comes in making potential readability of a given stratum a significant criterion for assigning a text to that stratum. On the contrary, *after* texts are placed into a given stratum *on other grounds*—doublets, contradictions, and (as much as possible) a *group* of phraseological or truly parallel terminological criteria—*then* the relative readability of the resulting strand (e.g., P) becomes relevant, particularly in determining whether it once was a separate document (as opposed to always being a compositional layer). This is an important limitation. The wreckage of texts and source theories over the last two centuries of *Literarkritik* testifies to the problems of seeking to reconstruct relatively complete source strands from the existing biblical texts on the idea that ancient scribes preserved virtually all (according to the neo-Documentarians along with many present non-Documentarians) or most (in the view of older source critics) of their source materials.

22:12; 42:18 in Werner H. Schmidt, *Exodus*, BK [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988], 21–22, 43–44 with earlier literature). For example, the exchange between Moses and God found in Exod 3:4—an exchange identified above as a more general pattern seen in Hebrew culture (see 1 Samuel 3 and Isa 65:1)—has been seen as an "Elohistic" marker linking that portion of Exodus 3 to the similar exchanges between ancestors and God found in Gen 22:1; 31:11, and 46:2.

40. This criterion is a main prompt for Blum's nuancing of earlier arguments for P as a redactional layer to include more explicit openness to the idea that the P compositional layer built on some previously separate and independent compositions (*Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990], e.g., 250, 259–60, 282–83).

■ EXCURSUS: THE PRE-D MOSES STORY—POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS IN RECONSTRUCTION

Some of the possibilities and problems raised by the above considerations can be illustrated through a digression at this point on how one might reconstruct originally separate non-P source strands in the Moses story. To begin, some of the most prominent indicators of growth in the non-P materials of Exodus are found surrounding the call of Moses in Exod 3:1–4:18, a block that interrupts the potential connection between the preceding non-P materials about Moses's sojourn in Midian (concluding in Exod 2:23aα) and God's order for him to return from Midian to Egypt (Exod 4:19). To rely on this fact alone would be to depend on a problematic argument from potential continuity, but there are a couple of other indicators that Exod 3:1–4:18 was not originally composed in relation to the material surrounding it. Exod 3:1–4:18 also contrasts with the surrounding material in naming Moses's father-in-law "Jethro"/"Jeter" (Exod 3:1; 4:18; cf. "Reuel" in 2:18; also Num 10:29) and in providing an additional account of Moses's leave-taking from Midian (Exod 4:18; cf. Exod 4:19).[41]

Based on these indicators, we can tentatively distinguish between Exod 3:1–4:18 on the one hand and non-P material preceding and following on the other. For now, let us neutrally term Exod 3:1–4:18 as strand 2 and the material surrounding it as strand 1. Whereas the account of Moses's return in Exod 4:19 (strand 1) describes him as returning with his family, the version in 4:18 (strand 2) portrays him as returning more temporarily to Egypt to "see if his brothers are still living." Strand 1, with its picture of Moses returning with his family, is continued at least in the story of the attack in Exod 4:24–26 and probably further. Later, however, we see the reappearance in Exodus 18 of materials with an affinity to strand 2 (Exod 3:1–4:18), with Jethro's meeting of Moses in the wilderness and bringing his family back to meet him (18:1–7; cf. strand 1 in Exod 4:19, 24–26). Moreover, Jethro in Exodus 18 brings a son of Moses with him, Eliezer, whose birth was not narrated in strand 1 (cf. 2:22) and Exodus 18 includes an explanation of the other son's name (Gershom 18:3) that has already been given in strand 1 (cf. 2:22). These are preliminary indicators that, alongside the one non-P narrative strand (strand 1) depicting (at least) Moses's sojourn in Midian (2:16–22) and return to Egypt (4:19–20, 24–26), we have the remains of another strand (strand 2) extending from (parts of) Exod 3:1–4:18 to Exodus 18. Moreover, the different, non-homogenized concepts of Moses's trip to Egypt (with family in 2:16–22; 4:19–20, 24–26; without family in 4:18 and 18:1–5) are pointers to the fact that these are not supplementary strata, but originally independent Moses stories.[42]

One other distinctive feature of the strand (no. 2) seen in Exod 3:1–4:18 and 18 is its focus in both instances on Moses's presence at the "mountain of God" (3:1;

41. For a discussion and citations of earlier literature, see Blum, *Studien*, 20–21.

42. The above is not original, but corresponds to standard source-critical analyses that assign Exodus 18 to "E" ("strand 2" so far in this discussion) and the competing concept of Moses's trip back to Egypt with his family (Exod 4:19–20, 24–26) to "J" ("strand 1").

18:5), which is identified in 3:1 with the "Horeb" focused on in Deuteronomy (note also Exod 33:6!). Though this "mountain of God" is at least tangentially identified with Mount Sinai in some contexts (e.g., 24:16, following on mention of "the mountain" [24:12, twice in 15, 17, twice in 18] and "the mountain of God" [24:13]), this strand seems—at least in Exod 3:1 and 18:5—to feature a less direct connection of the Exodus 18–24, 32–34 events to Sinai (at most in word-play with the bush in 3:2–3) than the remaining non-P materials in Exod 18–24, 32–34 that more straightforwardly and repeatedly mention Sinai (19:11, 18, 20–25 and 34:2, 4b, 29, 32). Moreover, most of the texts focusing on "the mountain" or "mountain of God" without explicit identification of this mountain with Sinai seem to show a tendency to refer to "God" alongside of/or instead of Yhwh as well (e.g., 18:1, 12, 16, 19, 21; 19:3a, 17, 19; 20:1, 19, 20, 21; 32:16).[43]

As one puts these sorts of observations together, one may be able to detect—below some layers of harmonization and coordination—a series of (strand 2) texts in Exod 18:1–27; 19:3a, 17, 19; 20:1–21; 24:12–15a, 18b; and the bulk of 32 (without 32:8–14, which will be discussed in Chapter 9) that share this tendency toward more general references to "the mountain" or "mountain of God" and designation of the deity as "God." These strand 2 materials then contrast with portions of the surrounding texts that explicitly and repeatedly identify the mountain of revelation as Sinai and/or refer to the God revealed there as Yhwh: for example, the instructions for purification in 19:10–15 (also 20–25), the volcanic portion of the theophany description in 19:18; the gradated theophany and meal in 24:1–2, 9–11; most of Exodus 33 and 34:2–3 (which parallel elements of 19:10–15), part of 34:4, and then the beginning and end of 34:5–9.

Moreover, some of these other non-P Sinai texts show other conflicts with the God/mountain (of God) strand (e.g., the command for Moses to ascend the mountain again in 24:12, when he and the elders are already on the mountain in 24:9–11). In certain cases, these other non-P Sinai texts feature a distinctive conception of events, such as preparations in 19:10–15 (also 20–25)//34:2–3 for a dangerous, volcanic theophany in 19:18, as opposed to the auditory theophany in 19:16–17, 19 and reflected in (most of) 20:18–21.[44] In addition, the "mountain of God" strand (strand 2) depicts Moses as receiving tablets (לחת אבן) on the mountain written by God (24:12; 31:18; 32:16; 34:1, 4, 28), a picture that contrasts (in the second report of the giving of tablets) with the command to Moses in 34:27 to write down the words of the preceding covenant (now on לחת אבנים) himself.

To be sure, it is dangerous (as emphasized above) to distinguish strata on the basis of often slight variation in the use of such divine and geographical designations. Nevertheless, in this case various layers of Deuteronomy provide a potential additional control. In particular, materials in Deuteronomy 1, 4–5, and 9–10 show some striking links to the strand of texts in Exodus 18–24, 32–34 that tend toward

43. In Exodus 18, one might explain the prevalence of Elohim by the fact that this designation appears in interactions with non-Israelites. Nevertheless, the usage continues into other scenes of the following chapters where only Israelite characters are involved.

44. ואת ההר עשן in 20:18aβ may be an assimilation to 19:18. It appears in 20:18 after the קול שופר that appeared in Exod 19:19 after the smoking mountain (19:18) in the preceding scene.

designation of the location as either the "mountain" or "mountain of God" and frequently refer to the deity as just "God," while they do not show direct connections to the other materials (whether non-P or P) in Exodus 18–40.[45] Deuteronomy 1:9–18 shows multiple and specific links to the story of Moses's delegation of authority in Exodus 18:13–27; Deuteronomy 4–5 includes a picture of an auditory theophany of God, including the Ten Commandments (Exod 19:16–17, 19) that led the people to be afraid and ask Moses to receive other commands alone (Exod 20:18–21); and then Deut 9:8–21, 25–29; 10:1–5 reviews a story of how the people made a golden calf while Moses was alone on the mountain for forty days and nights to receive the tablets of law (Exod 32:1–6), and his subsequent angry destruction of the calf and the tablets as well as prayer on the people's behalf and ascent for a second forty days and nights to get a second set of tablets (Exod 32:7, 15, 19–20, 30–35; 34:1, 4, 28). Though these materials in Deuteronomy show differences among themselves and have their own literary history, they share a selective focus on the above-discussed strand of God/mountain (of God) non-P materials. That strand seems to have included (at least) an initial theophany that frightened the people (Exod 19:16–17, 19; 20:18–21//Deut 5:23–31; cf. Deut 4:33–36), possibly the intervening Ten Commandments (Exod 20:1–18//Deut 5:1–21),[46] probably some form of the Covenant Code (20:[21]22*-23:33; cf. especially Deut 5:28–31) and a corresponding conclusion to that code embedded in parts of 24:3–8,[47] an ascent of Moses on the mountain for forty days and nights to receive tablets written by God (24:15a, 18b; 31:18* [in some form]//Deut 9:9–11) while the people made a golden calf (32:1–6//Deut 9:12), followed by Moses's descent and destruction of the tablets (32:7a, 15–19//Deut 9:15–17) and the calf (32:20//Deut 9:21), an interchange featuring Moses's petition on the people's behalf (32:30–5; cf. Deut 9:18–20; also 9:25–29), and Moses's ascent of the mountain to receive a second set of tablets (34:1, 4, 28//Deut 10:1–5).[48]

45. In this respect, Baden's use of Deuteronomy as an initial key for the source analysis of Exodus 19–34 is evocative and helpful (Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 153–71), even if it produces circularity in his argument (designed to demonstrate Deuteronomy's exclusive dependence on either J or E, but not a combined JE).

46. Note the reflections by Blum (*Studien*, 95–98; including especially note 244 and p. 187, note 388) on the potentially complicated relationship that is possible between Deuteronomy and Exodus, especially with regard to the presence of the Ten Commandments in Exodus, which may be a secondary insertion into 19:19; 20:18–21 to harmonize with the concept in Deuteronomy 5. (Note also the insertion of a Deuteronomic concept of the theophany in 20:22.) As he notes, 20:18–21 is fully understandable as a reference exclusively to the theophany in 19:16–19, and one need not presuppose that the specific contents always were identified with the Ten Commandments, or that a citation of the commandments was required to understand the one reference to their presence on the tablets (only specified late in the narrative, in Exod 34:28).

47. See here the reflections by Blum, *Studien*, 91–92, 99. As he points out, insofar as one reckons with the Covenant Code as part of the pre-D narrative (something supported both by Deuteronomy's dependence on the Covenant Code and its evident presupposition of such being given at this point in the narrative in 5:28–31), one then expects some sort of conclusion of that part of the narrative involving Moses's rejoining the people following the Covenant Code before the following instructions to ascend (24:12ff) open a new set of episodes involving the tablets and the golden calf.

48. Largely because of the common use of Deuteronomy texts as a cue, this list of verses corresponds particularly closely to those isolated as "E" in Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 153–72 (note the

The review in the (diverse) materials found in Deuteronomy is selective and does not cover all of what I have been designating "strand 2" or the "mountain of God strand." It does not reflect knowledge of Moses's call in Exod 3:1–4:18 or the meeting with Jethro in 18:1–12 or some other potential mountain of God/Elohim texts in Exodus 19–24, 32–34 (e.g., 24:3–8). Nevertheless, the correlation of various texts in Deuteronomy with certain parts of Exodus showing a preponderance of general terminology for the mountain and God *may* provide confirming evidence for a distinction between a strand of God/mountain (of God) texts in Exodus 18–24, 32–34 that focus on a fearsome theophany and the double writing of the tablets on either side of the apostasy of the golden calf and other non-P texts in this part of Exodus.

These sorts of observations have led Baruch Schwartz and Joel Baden (building on earlier work by Menahem Haran and a broader source-critical tradition) to posit the existence of parallel J and E source strands across Exodus 19–24, 32–34, with E consisting in large part of the above-discussed "mountain of god"/Elohim texts and "J" consisting of the remaining non-P texts, for example, Exod 19:10–16aα, 18; 24:1–2, 9–11; (some sort of nonpreserved misdeed) and 33:1–23; 34:2–3, 5–27.[49] At first glance, the "J" document in this reconstruction is somewhat readable (though it lacks a beginning and a narration of something bad that would prompt the interactions in Exod 33:1ff). Nevertheless, the beginning of this hypothesized "J" document in 19:10 builds on supposedly separate E materials in Exod 19:3–8(9), and its later continuation in Exod 33:1–23; 34:2–3, 5–27 builds on and specifically links back to issues and wording found in the supposedly separate "E" description of the golden calf incident. For example, Exod 33:1, 13 continues treatment of the issue of *who* brought whose people out of Egypt raised in 32:1, 4, 7. Note also the shared theme of Joshua as the משרתו of Moses in 24:13 ["E"] and 33:11 ["J"] and the way the promise that Israel will be a distinct people in 33:16 ["J"] reinforces, on the other side of the golden calf incident, the supposedly E promises (according to Schwartz and Baden) along similar lines in Exod 19:5–6.

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almost identical assignment previously in Baruch J. Schwartz, "Four Answers."). Baden, strangely, identifies his analysis as parallel to that by Booij (Baden 153, note 135; Booij does not deal with Exodus 19–23 or 34). In fact, Baden and Schwartz's identification of "E" is closest to the early Sinai narrative implicitly identified by Blum by way of subtraction of "KD" and other late elements (*Studien*, 91–99), a group of texts close to the "basic narrative" (Exod 24:12–15a, 18b; 31:18; 32:1–6, 15–24, 30–35; 34:1–8, 10–28) later discussed by Boorer (*The Promise of the Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch*, BZAW 205 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992], 228–61). Schwartz's identification of "E" (preceded by Blum and Boorer's identification of a pre-D narrative) is distinguished from past source analyses of Exodus 19–34 in not associating the "tent of meeting" (Exod 33:7–11) and other fragments of Exodus 33 with this group of "E" texts ("Four Answers," 27; though cf. Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 109–10). Both Schwartz (p. 27) and Baden (pp. 166–69) identify as E parts of Exodus 34 (previously assigned by most to J, though cf. Baentsch) that parallel Deuteronomy 10. In doing so, they follow Menaham Haran's early arguments (e.g. *Deuteronomic Torah and Deuteronomistic Tradition,* 130, note 48 and literature cited therein) based in part on parallels between Exod 34:1, 4, 28 and parts of Deuteronomy 10. This produces a certain circularity when Baden in turn uses Haran's source identification in Exodus 34 to argue that D only relies on one source at a time (in this case E).

49. Baruch J. Schwartz, "Four Answers"; Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 153–71.

Moreover, even if one excises probable later portions of the "J" narrative, such as the late mix of legal regulations and paraenesis in Exod 34:11–26, many other probable later elements still remain in the supposed "J" material, such as the D-like promise of the land by oath in Exod 33:1 and the reference to the land as flowing with milk and honey in Exod 33:3.[50]

It may be that the mountain of God/Elohim materials seemingly reflected in the above-mentioned parts of Deuteronomy was once paralleled by another, originally independent non-P narrative. That such originally independent materials were combined and yet preserved in Exodus 19–24, 32–24 would help explain the lack of coordination between the mountain of God/Elohim and other non-P texts regarding issues such as Moses's ascent of the mountain in 24:12 when already present there in 24:9–11 and the issue of who wrote on the tablets in 34:1, 28 versus 34:27. Nevertheless, it seems that the above mix of indicators (including late elements in the postulated "J" strand and the ways it links to "E") would be better explained by a later author supplementing an "E" strand, perhaps using some earlier traditions (e.g., in Exod 24:1[2], 9–11; 33:7–11; etc.) in the process rather than as the conflation of two originally independent strands. Such a model will be pursued further in Chapter 9 of this book.

This case raises the question of whether materials in Deuteronomy might be helpful in identifying other potential pre-D materials in the Tetrateuch. Certainly, we find detailed reviews of events after Horeb in one of the latest strata of Deuteronomy, Moses's survey of events in Deuteronomy 1–3. For example, Deut 1:19–46 (note also Deut 9:23) appears to review and reconstrue an earlier version of the non-P spy narrative preserved in parts of Num 13:17–14:45, in its inclusion of now blind motifs in Deuteronomy, such as the role of the fruit in Num 13:20, 23–24 (see Deut 1:25) and the exclusion of Caleb from punishment in Num 13:30 (see Deut 1:36). The report in Deut 2:26–37 (note also 4:46–7; 29:6) of Israel's interactions with Sihon of the Amorites can also be seen as verbally paralleling and blending elements of narratives in Numbers regarding the background to Israel's detour around Edom (Num 20:14–21) and Israel's interactions with Sihon (Num 21:21–25, 31–32).[51] Finally, Moses's review of the distribution of the land to

50. For further discussion of the late character of Exod 34:11–26 and citation of earlier studies, see Chapter Nine of this book, p. 264 note 22. With regard to Exod 33:1, etc., many traditional source critics would take the D-like references to the land and land promise in this and nearby texts (e.g., Exod 32:13) as pre-/proto-Deuteronomistic, presupposed by parallel texts such as Deut 9:27–28. The most extensive recent argument for this position appears in Suzanne Boorer's dissertation (published as *Promise of the Land as Oath*; summarized in Ernest Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1998], 178–81), which unfortunately does not seriously consider alternative directions of dependence. For example, in her discussion of this specific text, Boorer notes (p. 320) that the mention of a promise of the land by oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Exod 33:1 is expressed more concisely in Deut 10:11. Yet the trend toward expansion discussed in the previous chapter would suggest that Exod 33:1 is a later and more expansive version of Deut 10:11 rather than vice versa. Her most pertinent arguments relating specifically to the land oath promise and related texts will be addressed in a discussion of those texts in Chapter 9 of this book.

51. For this perspective, see Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 138–40 (also John R. Bartlett, "The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Re-Examination," *JBL* 97 [1978]: 347–51). As Baden notes, Deuteronomy seems to offer a theological solution to an embarrassing problem, diverging from its

the Reubenites and Gadites in Deut 3:12–20 parallels a strand of Num 32:1–32 that likewise portrays Moses as giving those two tribes land and allowing them to leave their wives, children, and livestock in the Transjordanian towns while they went at the vanguard of the other tribes across the Jordan as shock troops.[52] In these cases, Deuteronomy 1–3 provides (more and less) extended overviews of materials found in the non-P Tetrateuch, containing enough verbal parallels to support the hypothesis that the author of these materials knew some sort of literary form of the corresponding Tetrateuchal narratives prior to their combination with P.

All this would seem to point to a revised source hypothesis for non-P Moses materials, one positing some kind of "E" strand (presupposed by some layers of Deuteronomy) that contrasts with other non-P materials in concepts related to Moses's family (Exod 3:1; 4:18; 18:1–7; cf. Exod 2:16–23aα; 4:19–20, 24–26), timing of Moses's ascent of the mountain (24:12; cf. 24:9–11), and the idea that the tablets which Moses received were written by God (Exod 24:12; 31:18; 32:16; 34:1, 4, 28; cf. Exod 34:27). The starkness of such conceptual contrasts, along with the potential readability of some portions of these two blocks of material (e.g., in the Sinai narrative), could be taken as evidence that these blocks once existed separately, before being combined and perhaps fluidly coordinated with surrounding texts over time, so that materials originating in one strand were bound to materials in the other (e.g., Exod 33:1, 13 relating to 32:1, 4, 7). Moreover, given the centrality of Moses in the history of Israelite tradition, it would come as no surprise that various traditions, including written traditions, circulated about him, before being combined into a non-P Moses story.

Nevertheless, this foray into source-criticism of non-P materials may only be an illustration of the hazards of such attempted reconstructions, particularly of strata so far removed from the present text. The texts in the respective "J" and "E" hypothesized sources discussed above are linked with each other only by the most slender of threads—their two concepts of whether Moses traveled back to Egypt with his family and a tendency, or lack thereof, to refer to God as "Elohim" and to the mountain of theophany as the "mountain of God." These are the very sort of terminological criteria identified above as risky when used in isolation,

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Tetrateuchal parallel in explaining the detour around Edom as the result of divine command (Deut 2:2–7) not Edomite refusal to let Israel pass (Num 20:18–21). Obviously, considering the materials about Sihon in Num 21:21–5, 31–2 and (by extension) about Edom in Num 20:14–21 as potentially pre-Deuteronomistic is contrary to some recent treatments of these passages as post-Priestly (e.g., Wolfgang Oswald, "Die Revision des Edombildes in Numeri XX 14–21," *VT* 50 [2000]: 218–32). Some broader issues surrounding the trend toward such post-Priestly dating are discussed later in this chapter. Further discussion of the Sihon (and Og) materials more specifically will come in Chapter 9 of this book.

52. In this respect, Baden's reconstruction of a non-Priestly strand of Numbers 32 parallel to Deut 3:12–20 (*J, E and Redaction*, 141–48), though overly confident in its precision, is attractive. As Baden argues, this postulated strand of Numbers 32 then would contrast with a layer of P or P-like materials where Moses commissions Joshua and Eleazar the priest to assign Transjordanian lands to Reuben and Gad *after* the conquest was complete. Note that Deut 29:7 knows of a version of the chapter where the half-tribe of Manasseh (a fairly clear secondary element in Numbers 32) has been added.

and they mainly link together the hypothesized Moses-E materials. The other non-P Moses materials lack significant connecting characteristics. Additionally, and more importantly, this methodological dependence on Deuteronomy for delimitation of the Moses "E" source, though potentially evocative, could also represent a form of contemporary scholarly harmonization of the Tetrateuch with Deuteronomy far more radical than any ancient harmonizations surveyed in this chapter or the previous one. For whereas earlier scribal tradents contented themselves with *supplementing* Tetrateuchal texts with elements that would anticipate Deuteronomy (and sometimes supplementing Deuteronomy to match Tetrateuchal texts), this transmission-historical argument identifies a potential early Pentateuchal source by *eliminating* all material in the Tetrateuch lacking an identifiable counterpart in Deuteronomy. In this way, the above-sketched reconstruction of a Moses "E" source could be seen as a form of twenty-first-century hyper-harmonization, creating a new supposedly early source document that has no more claim for originality than the Second Temple harmonizations that preceded it. And no claims whatsoever are being made here for the existence of any coherent non-E Moses source, let alone "J."

■ CONCLUSION ON SOURCE CRITICISM

In the face of such ambiguities, it might seem safer to retreat to the simplicity, seeming precision, and security of the older documentary hypothesis. After all, even the discussions in this chapter have raised at least the possibility of the presence of some (distinct and apparently independent) blocks of non-Priestly "E" Abraham (Genesis 20–22*) and Moses materials (Exod 18:1–27; 19:3a, 17, 19; 20:1–21; 24:12–14, 18b; and the bulk of 32:1–7, 15–35*) to be distinguished from other non-P texts of various origins on these figures and others. Nevertheless, the *overall* argument being advanced so far is that a return to the clarity and simplicity of the documentary hypothesis is no longer possible. However easy to grasp and teach, however clear and delimited its picture of the precursors to the Pentateuch, however long-established the documentary hypothesis once was (and still is, in many English-language discussions), the portion of the documentary hypothesis relating to the identification of cross-Pentateuchal "J" and "E" sources (even aside from questions of dating them) has proven multiply flawed. This portion of the documentary hypothesis depended on isolated and variable terminological criteria to assign texts to J and E, criteria inferior to the distinctive phrases and terms used to identify Priestly texts. Moreover, in the search to reconstruct at least fragments of J and E across the Pentateuch, source-critics unnecessarily divided many non-P texts that were (apart from some minor glosses and expansions) essentially unified. And even the signal examples of supposed doublets in "J" and "E," such as the distinction between the promise to Jacob and response to it in Gen 28:13–16 (assigned by source-critics to J) and the material surrounding it (assigned to E) or the wife-sister endangerment stories (Gen 12:10–20 [J]; 20:1–18 [E]; 26:7–11 [J]), turn out not to be true doublets. Gen 28:13–16 thoroughly presupposes the surrounding dream theophany and cannot stand alone, and the wife-sister stories so emphasized by Noth (in refuting Volz-Rudolph) concern different patriarchs and/or different places and thus narrate

different events.[53] In these ways and others, there is a qualitative difference between the type and amount of evidence used to distinguish Priestly from non-Priestly material and the evidence used to identify J and E. As a result of these differences in the quality of data supporting different parts of the documentary hypothesis, scholars have achieved a much more wide-reaching and durable consensus on the identification of an overall Priestly stratum and its profile than they have in identifying J or E.

This is not to say that the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch) is unified, aside from isolation of Priestly material. The materials not assigned to P *do* show multiple signs of growth, and some of these will be explored in subsequent chapters of this book. The point to be made here is that most such indicators are not best explained by the model of source conflation that worked so well for P and non-P.

■ TEXTUAL FLUIDITY AND OTHER ISSUES SURROUNDING USE OF LANGUAGE FOR DATING

One criterion that has been proposed as a relatively objective basis for historically locating otherwise difficult-to-date biblical materials has been the study of the Hebrew language appearing in such books. For example, almost from the outset of the study of the development of the Hebrew language, scholars have noted possible links between the language seen in the Song of Songs and Qohelet and examples of relatively late stages of Hebrew, both in late biblical books (e.g., Esther, Chronicles) and in Mishnaic Hebrew (MH). Starting around 1800, scholars noted late aspects of the language of Qohelet, which were catalogued in commentaries by Delitzsch and Siegfried. Early scholarly works on the Song of Songs noted similar features in the language of that book as well: grammatical and syntactic features shared with late biblical Hebrew (LBH) and/or Mishnaic Hebrew (MH), vocabulary shared with LBH and MH, and the presence of words, expressions, or phrases better documented in Aramaic—with such possible "Aramaizing" being another feature of LBH and MH.

On one level, it is obvious that certain biblical books known to be late on other grounds contain Hebrew that is manifestly later than most other books in the Hebrew Bible. For example, the vocabulary and grammar of the books of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, and Daniel (dated on other grounds to the post-exilic period) show a broad influence from Aramaic likely stemming from the Aramaic-speaking environment in which they were written. Indeed, two of the books, Ezra and Daniel, contain substantial portions actually written in a biblical variation of Imperial Aramaic. In addition, the books of Chronicles in particular contain a number of words deriving from Persian, again likely reflecting a linguistic environment fairly exclusively limited to the late sixth century and later.[54] Other

53. Cf. Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt/Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960 [original 1948]), 23 [ET 23].

54. In some cases, for example, the various words for spices in the Song of Songs, one might argue that such words were transmitted by way of trading vocabulary and used in the literary work for exotic effect. Such an argument, however, is more difficult to apply to the range of Persianisms in Chronicles.

features of the vocabulary and language of these books are shared with demonstrably late stages of the Hebrew language, as attested both in Second Temple Jewish texts and Mishnaic Hebrew. In this sense, the linguistic profile of these biblical books conforms with their dating on other grounds to the Persian or later period of Judean history.

That said, documented cases of textual transmission raise some questions about the extent to which distinctive linguistic features, *even some such features found in books like Chronicles* and other late biblical books, may reflect the original date of the given work. As we have seen in previous chapters, writing supported textual transmission was prone to exactly the sorts of shifts that could affect the dating of a text on the basis of linguistic features. Scribes reproducing texts could and did substitute one word for another, insert or subtract minor grammatical particles, replace one grammatical structure with an equivalent one, rearrange the order of words, and otherwise alter the linguistic profile of the text they were copying. Indeed, insofar as late elements in Chronicles parallel relatively early linguistic elements in Samuel-Kings, Chronicles itself documents this process of fluid scribal updating of a textual tradition.

The problem is that our very earliest biblical manuscripts date from the latter half of the Second Temple period at the earliest, which means that *all* of them, even Samuel-Kings, contain linguistic features that result from the scribal transmission process. This may be one reason that Young and Rezetko were able to find a portion of Kings (1 Kgs 22:6–35) that featured a comparable number of late linguistic features to a similar-length portion of Chronicles (2 Chr 18:5–34).[55] Such does not mean that this portion of Kings is later, nor does it necessarily mean that it was written in a particular "style" of biblical Hebrew. Rather, it likely points to the variable effect of the scribal transmission process, particularly the above-discussed phenomenon of memory variants, across a broad range of biblical texts. What we have in biblical texts is not the sort of spoken speech that is most amenable to diachronic and other distinctions.[56] Rather, we have a medieval codification of a textual tradition originating in the late Second Temple period, a tradition that is contaminated to a greater or lesser extent by dialects of the successive generations of (Second Temple and earlier) scribes who produced them.

See Mats Eskhult, "The Importance of Loanwords for Dating Biblical Hebrew Texts," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 12–14.

55. See particularly the table in Ian M. Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, Vol. 1 (London: Equinox, 2008), 134–35 and the corresponding discussion.

56. This observation also applies, in my view, to Frank Polak's attempt to use linguistic studies of possible differences between oral and written speech to argue for a diachronic distinction between two "styles" of written Hebrew: the generally earlier "rhythmic-verbal (oral)" and the later "complex-nominal (written)." (For a relatively recent and extensive formulation, see Frank Polak, "Style Is More Than the Person: Sociolinguistics, Literary Culture, and the Distinction Between Written and Oral Narrative," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young [New York: T&T Clark, 2003], 38–103, to which the following references are keyed.) Though Polak notes (pp. 59–60) that biblical narrators themselves appear to have varied between these styles (e.g., inserting "rhythmic-oral" features in quoted speech), he argues nevertheless that one might use the oral-rhythmic style to identify traditions

Furthermore, there are reasons to think this linguistic updating and contamination happened to divergent extents for different biblical texts, thus affecting the different linguistic profiles of different parts of the Hebrew canon. Within the cuneiform tradition, certain texts understood to be part of a semi-"canon" were subject to different rules for scribal transmission than texts outside this "canon." Moreover, on a broader level, Chapter one discussed ways in which both the cuneiform and biblical traditions appear to have been treated as more amenable to large-scale changes early in their development and fixed ever more firmly in later periods of scribal transmission. As we will see in the following chapters of this book, there is good reason to believe that books such as those in the Pentateuch enjoyed a special status from the mid-Persian period onward, at least in certain circles. Insofar as the Pentateuch and books such as Samuel-Kings were seen as more textually fixed than books like Chronicles or Song of Songs, the books of Chronicles and Song of Songs would have been subject to greater levels of linguistic updating and their linguistic profile would reflect this.

Indeed, we have some evidence from Second Temple Judaism for divergent attitudes toward textual preservation of books in the Hebrew Bible. The relatively early Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch shows a greater fidelity to the probable Hebrew Vorlage than translations of other books, such as Isaiah or Song of Songs. I suggest that this reflects the fact that the textual tradition for the Pentateuch was fixed relatively earlier than for other parts of the Hebrew Bible, and thus considered less amenable to free reproduction. A similar attitude may be

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originating before the eighth to seventh centuries (e.g., Genesis, which does not refer to writing), while the complex nominal style is a mark of texts created from the eighth century onward in the centers of bureaucratic administration in a society characterized by increased literacy (e.g., Deuteronomistic History, Chronicles).

Whatever the virtues of Polak's approach in identifying oral or written registers within written Hebrew, his diachronic conclusions from this are problematic in several respects. First, most of the sociolinguistic studies on which he bases his work have nothing to do with drawing diachronic distinctions between different stages of *written* language. Indeed, many, if not most, studies cited by Polak deal with the features of spontaneous spoken language, not the impact of such spoken language on texts. Second, those sociolinguistic studies that Polak uses that do include a focus on the diachronic development of spoken and written registers (e.g., Y.-Y. Kim and Douglas Biber, "A Corpus-Based Analysis of Register Variation in Korean," in *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, ed. Douglas Biber and Ruth Finnegan [New York: Oxford University Press, 1994], 179; also Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, "Drift and the Evolution of English Style: A History of Three Genres," *Language* 65 [1989]: 487–517 and Douglas Biber and M. Hared, "Linguistic Correlates of the Transition to Literacy in Somali: Language Adaptation in Six Press Registers," in *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, ed. Douglas Biber and Ruth Finnegan [New York: Oxford University Press, 1994], 182–216) tend to stress the simultaneous co-existence of oral and written registers, with *late* texts often marked by an intermixing of oral and written elements. Third, the diachronic basis of Polak's discussion unreflectively takes the text of Genesis (particularly the ancestral accounts) as reflective of pre-eighth-century writing in contrast to the more complex syntax of texts discussing the monarchy. Yet it is far from clear that the texts from Genesis or the Elisha cycle can be taken as a whole as a secure reflection of pre-eighth-century textuality, certainly not just because they purport to describe ninth-century or earlier cultures and events. In sum, Polak's work may provide tools for identifying the presence of specifically written registers in certain forms of biblical Hebrew, but it is not adequate to the diachronic task of differentiating between early and late texts.

manifest in the fact that the recension of the Pentateuch preserved in the Masoretic tradition is *relatively* nonharmonizing and nonexpansive, when compared to the LXX, SamP, and other recensions preserved at Qumran, while the Masoretic tradition includes more expansionist traditions of the books of Jeremiah, Psalms, and Ezra-Nehemiah. Insofar as these other recensions are also later (a matter discussed briefly in the previous chapter), it would point to the fact that the stream of authorized tradition that ended up with the MT allowed less modification for the manifestly central Torah of Moses than it did for other biblical books. Meanwhile, we have at Qumran the evidence of the highly Aramaized Song of Songs excerpted manuscript (4QCant[b]). In this case, the linguistic profile of this Qumran manuscript is not an indicator of the original date (early or late) of Song of Songs itself.[57] Rather, it appears that the scribe producing that manuscript (or its Vorlage) felt relatively free to adapt the text, perhaps partly because of its relatively lower status in comparison to the Pentateuch.[58]

All this then raises the question of whether *part* of the late linguistic profile of books such as Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, Song of Songs, and other relatively marginal books in the Hebrew Bible results from the freer way that they were transmitted, while the relative lack of late linguistic isoglosses in the Pentateuch might result from the extra care taken in its textual transmission. Certainly in cases such as Chronicles or Ezra-Nehemiah, where we have other reasons to suppose such texts were written relatively late, we must reckon with the reality that such scribal linguistic updating probably only *enhanced* an already late linguistic profile in the original texts.[59] Nevertheless, in cases of other texts, such as Song of Songs, that lack clear nonlinguistic indicators of Persian or Hellenistic period dating, we must reckon with the possibility that their relatively later linguistic profile (compared, e.g., to books of the Pentateuch and former prophets) may be a result of their transmission rather than their production. In other words, *insofar* as such books contain a greater proportion of late linguistic features than a similar portion of comparable material (e.g., from the Pentateuch), that later linguistic profile may have been produced by the more fluid character of the scribal transmission process for those books.

The problem of linguistic dating is further complicated by the complexity of the relationship between the sort of literary Hebrew found in our texts and the various Hebrew dialects spoken in the environment in which they were produced. In Chapter 12, I will argue for the emergence of a standardized scribal system, including both standardized script and a form of classical literary Hebrew, sometime early in the pre-exilic period and shared between North and South. Both Hebrew epigraphs and the texts of the Hebrew Bible itself reflect the training of scribes in this literary Hebrew, a form of the language likely distinct from the

57. Ian M. Young, "Notes on the Language of 4QCant[b]," *JJS* 52 (2001): 122–31.

58. Only a few copies of the Song of Songs were found at Qumran, and it is notoriously difficult to find clear citations or allusions to the book in Second Temple Jewish literature.

59. Given the variability of writing-supported textual transmission history, talk of an "original text" in the singular is somewhat problematic. Nevertheless, it is used here as a necessary shorthand to contrast with ongoing scribal transmission.

various regional/colloquial dialects that were native to them. At the same time, as we can see from the letter of the "literate soldier" at Lachish (Lachish 3), this training was successful to divergent extents, and this included the extent to which a given scribe aimed for or could write pure literary Hebrew without mixing in a portion of the Hebrew of their own dialect.[60] Furthermore, such training was not available to the same extent across the stretch of Hebrew history. With the collapse of the monarchy, much of the bureaucratic apparatus to sustain classical literary Hebrew almost certainly disappeared, and there no longer was any state (or pair of states) in which such literary Hebrew would function as a social construct. Though we still see relatively pure forms of classical Hebrew appear in works that otherwise appear to date from the Persian period (e.g., Isaiah 40–66, Joel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi),[61] by the late fourth and early third centuries the ability to write such Hebrew appears, in large part, to have been lost. Learned scribes such as Ben Sira might attempt to write in classical Hebrew, but they would be betrayed at points by a range of pseudo-classicisms.[62] Only the rare scribe, such as apparently the author of Pesher Habakkuk, could write a document in classical Hebrew with virtually no contamination from the spoken Hebrew of the time, thus lending an air of classical authority to an otherwise late document.[63]

This brief digest of the social history of Hebrew then has significant implications for the understanding of many features understood to be markers of "late" biblical Hebrew. In at least some cases, isoglosses thought to be "late" actually may have existed in various nonliterary Hebrew dialects from the pre-exilic period onward. The reason for the greater prevalence of such isoglosses in very late biblical books stems, *in part,* from the extent to which the literary Hebrew of those books was less standardized than Hebrew of earlier periods and more subject to colloquial influence of the dialect of the scribe (and his audience). Such isoglosses, then, might be markers of a relatively "colloquialized" or dialectal Hebrew, but not necessarily in each case *later* Hebrew. We even have documentation of this in cases of words used by past scholars to date books to the post-exilic period, which are now attested in earlier Hebrew inscriptions, for example, אסם for "stored" (cf. אצר in classical Hebrew),[64] בוץ for linen (cf. שש),[65] and the shortened יה (cf. יהו) as a

60. On this, see in particular William Schniedewind, "Sociolinguistic Reflections on the Letter of a 'Literate' Soldier (Lachish 3)," *ZAH* 13 (2000): 157–67.

61. Martin Ehrensvärd, "Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 164–88.

62. On this, see Jan Joosten, "Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew," in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages*, ed. T. E Muraoka and J. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–59.

63. Ian M. Young, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Qumran Pesher Habakkuk," *JHS* 8 (2008): [Article 25].

64. Ian M. Young, "Late Biblical Hebrew and Hebrew Inscriptions," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 294 notes the occurrence of this verbal form in Meṣad Ḥashavyahu 1:5, 6–7.

65. Cf. Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1910), 28; Avi Hurvitz, "The Use of שֵׁשׁ and בּוּץ in the Bible and Its Implication for the Date of P," *HTR* 40 (1967): 120–21; idem., "Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology," *RB* 81 (1974): 33–35; Mark F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*, in JSOTSup

theophoric.[66] In cases such as these, a feature that appeared to be characteristic of late biblical books turns out to have been in existence much earlier. They are not marks of lateness. Rather, their predominance in late biblical Hebrew works results from the fact that Second Temple Hebrew was less standardized than Hebrew of earlier periods (or just attested new words in some cases). As a result, scribes writing documents such as Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah may have infused them with words and grammatical expressions common in their dialect but that had nonetheless existed long before them.

This does not mean that Hebrew as a whole did not undergo change, but it does suggest multiple origins for the divergent linguistic profiles of books such as Chronicles and Esther on the one hand and books such as Samuel-Kings on the other. A given isogloss (e.g., שׁ as the marker of a relative clause) could appear more often in a given context than others (1) because it was a new late (Aramaic/Aramaized) expression replacing another expression used in earlier Hebrew; (2) because the scribe who wrote the given passage opted to use an expression that existed prior to that point, but was not typical of literary Hebrew; or (3) because a later scribe replaced an earlier form with the later one in the especially fluid transmission of such relatively marginal books in the Hebrew corpus. Only in case one would the given isogloss be useful for dating. Nevertheless, in the vast bulk of cases we cannot know if the linguistic elements that distinguish late biblical books from earlier ones stem from the less standardized character of Second Temple Hebrew and the more fluid transmission of certain books or exclusively because certain books reflect the sort of Hebrew characteristic of the late Second Temple period.

The main potential exception to this rule would seem to be evidence in late biblical Hebrew books for influence by languages such as Persian or (to a lesser extent) Aramaic. Eskhult, for example, points out that the six books most clearly datable to the Persian period—1–2 Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Daniel, and Esther—all feature a significant number of probable Persian loan words.[67] This almost certainly is not a coincidence. The use of Aramaic for dating is more difficult, since Hebrew and Aramaic are far more similar languages and there is good documentation for close contact between Hebrew and Aramaic speakers from the ninth century onward. To be sure, the advent of the Persian Empire seems to have brought about a new level of Aramaic influence in Hebrew and the dialects of other peoples dominated by Persia (e.g., Ethiopic, Akkadian, Arabic, and Persian), an influence reflected in the particularly high concentration of Aramaic features in the clearly late books of Esther, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and

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90 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 159–61; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "An Assessment of the Alleged Pre-Exilic Date of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch," *ZAW* 108 (1996): 514–15, but already attested in Kilamuwa (KAI 24, no. 1:12–13), as pointed out in Young, "Late Hebrew and Inscriptions," 283 (see also Eskhult, "Loanwords," 21).

66. Sara Japhet, "The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew," *VT* 18 (1968): 338–41. Young, "Late Hebrew and Inscriptions," 297 points out that it occurs fourteen times in pre-exilic inscriptions.

67. On this, see Eskhult, "Loanwords."

Daniel.[68] Nevertheless, as those who advocate linguistic dating of Hebrew acknowledge, Hebrew texts that otherwise appear early (e.g., Judges 5) also contain Aramaic features. This has led to lists of various criteria for use of Aramaisms in dating, some of which are circular, for example, an "Aramaism" is useful for dating if it occurs in a book otherwise dated to a late period, but should be disregarded as an indicator of dating if it occurs in poetry (e.g., in the Pentateuch or Judges 5) that is believed to be early on other grounds. In the end, Eskhult, in his argument *for* the use of loan words for dating biblical Hebrew, concludes that the use of Aramaic loan words is generally useless because of the relatively close proximity of Aram and Aramaic to Israel and Hebrew.[69] Some forms may be useful for dating, he argues, but only when they are preserved in their Aramaic form, correspond precisely to a much more often used Hebrew equivalent, and are well documented in Persian-period or later Aramaic texts. Even then, he maintains, arguments based on "Aramaisms" risk circularity and often fail to reckon with sufficient diversity within early biblical Hebrew and the possibility that many originally Hebrew forms of words in certain books may have been modified in an oral-written, Aramaic-primary environment to their Aramaic spellings and/or vocalizations.[70] To these considerations now could be added the above considerations about the impact of the Aramaic environment on transmission of biblical works, particularly relatively marginal biblical works such as Esther or Chronicles. As we saw, precisely this Aramaic environment helped produce a form of the Song of Songs (4QCant[a]) featuring more Aramaisms than the recension preserved in the MT. If we had only this Qumran Song of Songs manuscript to go on, we could assume (on the basis of language) that the Song of Songs had been composed in an even more thoroughly Aramaic environment than many present scholars believe.[71]

Thus, the language of biblical books is a much less stable and objective criterion for dating than it might first appear. To be sure, it is almost certainly not a coincidence that the biblical books most clearly datable to the fourth century or later (Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, 1–2 Chronicles) also feature an unusually large number of Persianisms, a *concentration* of Aramaisms (including loci where they cannot be explained as a literary trope), and other features characteristic of late biblical Hebrew. Moreover, it seems clear that the ability to write flawless (or virtually flawless) classical biblical Hebrew, though persisting in some quarters into the early Persian period (e.g., Haggai and Zechariah), became extremely rare in the Second Temple period; rather as more centuries separated literary Hebrew from the state structure that spawned it, written Hebrew became more colloquialized, that is, infused with an increasing range of isoglosses formerly characteristic of various dialects (including old dialects) of colloquial Hebrew (and Aramaic). Insofar as this is true (especially given the rarity of pure classical Hebrew in the later

68. See especially Avi Hurvitz, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Biblical Period: The Problem of 'Aramaisms' in Linguistic Research on the Hebrew Bible," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 33–35.

69. Eskhult, "Loanwords," 11.

70. Eskhult, "Loanwords," 14–18.

71. Young, "Notes."

Second Temple period), the relative absence of otherwise late and colloquial isoglosses in a given stretch of text *could* be taken as an index of its possible origins in the mid-fourth century or earlier.[72]

Nevertheless, the presence of otherwise lately attested isoglosses in a given text is more difficult to evaluate: Such features in late biblical texts could be but late literary attestations of much earlier colloquial/dialectal Hebrew features, and their presence in the text in question also could be explained by the fluid transmission of a given text, especially if it is relatively marginal text in the Hebrew corpus (such that it was thus more rarely cited or copied, freely translated, transmitted in excerpts or expansionary form, etc.). As mentioned before, on a surface level, *all* our biblical manuscripts feature Hebrew that was copied in the latter half of the Second Temple period. Insofar as their Hebrew matches that time, to some extent, it only confirms the date of the recension before us.

In sum, if there is a particular density of late biblical expressions (with early biblical Hebrew equivalents) in a central text of the Hebrew corpus, for example, part of the Pentateuch, that *might* be a marker of the relatively late date of that text. Conversely, the almost total lack of such features across a significant stretch of Hebrew biblical text (as measured by the density of late-attested-forms per units of a text) *could* be an indicator of a date in the early post-exilic period or earlier. In general, however, given the fluid character of scribal transmission and the ways in which literary language was interpenetrated by various dialects of Hebrew *across* the stretch of Judean and Israelite history, linguistic features are only an approximate and precarious tool in the historical placement of Hebrew texts. As is implicitly recognized in the criteria proposed for the use of Aramaisms for dating, they can be used to correlate with dating suppositions on other grounds, but they are rarely a sufficient indicator on their own for dating of the original form of a given biblical document.

■ TEXTUAL FLUIDITY, HARMONIZATION, AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF POST-PRIESTLY NARRATIVE MATERIAL

One model that has risen to prominence in recent years is the hypothesis that the Hexateuch contains multiple layers of post-Priestly materials. This approach builds on an older trend in scholarship to identify a limited number of texts as

72. In this respect and some others, my conceptualization of linguistic diversity in Hebrew diverges from that of Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (see especially Ian M. Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, Vol. 2 [London: Equinox, 2008], 96–99), which posits early and late biblical Hebrew as "coexisting styles of literary Hebrew" (especially p. 96). Rather, I posit that most scribes writing the sorts of texts found in the Bible strived to write a standardized and (from the perspective of later periods) archaic literary dialect that corresponds to what many have termed "early biblical Hebrew." As discussed above, this dialect was mixed with a variety of features—colloquial, geographical, late—in various contexts and times, particularly as there was increasing distance from the pre-exilic monarchical structures that originally housed the training of scribes in classical Hebrew. The resulting mix of features, however, cannot, in my view, be termed a coherent "style" alongside early/archaic/classical Hebrew, even in cases, such as later periods of biblical Hebrew, where

post-dating P or the combination of P and non-P because of a mix of Priestly and non-Priestly expressions in those texts. For example, Gunkel and others following him argued for the post-Priestly origins of Genesis 14 based in large part on the presence in that chapter of certain expressions (e.g., רכוש, נפש for members of the household, and ילדי ביתו) seen as markers of a relationship to the Priestly layer. In recent decades, these assignments of biblical narratives to post-Priestly layers have multiplied. Scholars have argued that Genesis 15 (linked in multiple ways to Genesis 14); Joshua 24; and an increasing number of other texts are post-Priestly, often because of ways these texts have been understood to mix Priestly and non-Priestly characteristics.

The dangers of this approach are already suggested through review of the sort of textual fluidity discussed in this and the previous chapter, a fluidity that often led to the enrichment of non-Priestly texts with Priestly materials and vice versa. One example was mentioned at the outset of this chapter, where the MT/SamP version of Deut 1:39 appears to have been expanded through the harmonizing addition of a portion of the P version of the spy story from Num 14:31. Another example, discussed in the preceding chapter, is the possible harmonization of Num 32:4 with Num 32:2 in inserting Priestly language (עדה) into a passage that may well have lacked it (reflected in the LXX). Note also the probable addition to Deut 32:52 (seen in the MT and SamP, but not LXX) of the phrase אל־ארץ אשר־אני נתן לבני ישראל ("to the land which I am giving to the sons of Israel"), a phrase otherwise found only in two holiness texts (Lev 23:10; 25:2). As Nöldeke's discussion of Deut 1:39 demonstrated, it is easy to use such Priestly elements in the MT (and SamP) version of these verses as evidence that they post-date the Priestly layer, but there is reason to believe that these "Priestly" elements were added to non-P texts in a gradual process of scribal assimilation and were not original parts of the passages where they occur.

Moreover, we have documentation that the process could also run in the other direction: the enrichment of Priestly texts with non-Priestly elements. In the previous chapter, I noted the case in Num 13:33 where a portion of the Priestly spy story appears to have been coordinated with the Deuteronomic review of that story through the addition of a gloss identifying the נפלים featured in the Priestly text with the ענקים mentioned in Deut 1:28. Another possible example of documented insertion of non-Priestly elements into Priestly (and post-Priestly) contexts would be the MT/SamP pluses that include (the non-Priestly characters of) Dathan and Abiram in several loci where the LXX version of the Priestly passages only mentions Korah (Num 16:24, 27a; note also a similar MT/SamP plus in Num 26:9bα).

Most of the above examples would have been undetectable as secondary harmonizations without the aid of divergent manuscript witnesses. This raises the

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one might suppose scribes held a "less conservative attitude" (p. 97) and thus adopted linguistic forms untypical for literary Hebrew. The most we might speak of is the increasing predominance (in the late fifth century onward) of Aramaized and colloquialized Hebrew in literary documents dating from that period (and corresponding increasing rarity of relatively pristine classical Hebrew).

likelihood that even the most refined literary critical method is unable to uncover the full range of undocumented harmonizations and other scribal coordinations present in our earliest textual witnesses. We are lucky to have documentation of a wide range of otherwise undetectable coordinations and harmonizations in the proto-MT, LXX, SamP, and other early manuscript traditions (e.g., Qumran), but it is highly unlikely that such changes started in these traditions suddenly without being preceded by earlier (undocumented) harmonizations and coordinations in the textual traditions on which these manuscripts build. After all, as discussed in the previous chapter, we see such scribal coordination/harmonization in virtually every case of parallel text available to us: Samuel-Kings/Chronicles, parallel psalms and prophecies, documented revisions from Mesopotamia to the late Second Temple period, etc. Given the breadth and depth of this evidence, the burden of proof lies not on someone who sees such changes as typical of the scribal process more generally, but on one who would posit something radically different for earlier stages of development (likely even more fluid!) that are not documented.

In sum, the above-discussed handful of examples of documented harmonization of Priestly passages with non-Priestly ones (and vice versa) can hardly constitute the sum total of all such harmonization that occurred between these two strands. Rather, the above-discussed documented harmonizations of P and non-P almost certainly stand toward the end of a longer process of such harmonization to which we have no documented access. Moreover, given the fact that most documented harmonizations and coordinations of P and non-P would have been undetectable without the use of manuscript witnesses, we must reckon with the probability that the bulk of prior harmonizations and coordinations (held in common between existing textual witnesses) are likewise unmarked as secondary additions and undetectable through methodologically controlled literary-critical methods.[73] We must simply grant the likelihood that such additions exist at some points in our existing manuscripts.

To make this point in a more specific way, let us take Joshua 24 as a test case, since it illustrates many of the issues surrounding this trend and will be an important text in Chapter 9 of this book. A growing consensus has developed among many European scholars that this chapter is post-Priestly, based largely on its mixture of an overall non-Priestly character with a few (purported) Priestly elements. These elements include the occurrence of the "land of Canaan" ארץ כנען in Josh 24:3, mention of the הר שעיר (Mount Seir) as the home of Esau (Josh 24:4; cf. Gen 36:8–9), the mention of Aaron in Josh 24:5, and especially the P-like description of the Reed Sea event in Josh 24:6–7a (רדף, רכב/פרש, כסה "pursue, chariots/horses, cover").[74] Yet none of these indicators can bear the weight being put on it. The

73. It is possible that one might, in retrospect, identify this or that indicator that might have pointed to the secondary quality of some of the additions discussed above, yet my contention is that a method sensitive enough to detect the bulk of such changes would also be so sensitive as to also identify as probable additions a number of elements that probably were not secondary.

74. For a developed form of this argument, see Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments*, WMANT 81 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999), 226 [ET 209–10] and Christophe Nihan, "The Torah between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy

"land of Canaan," though occurring in a number of P contexts (e.g., Gen 13:12; 16:3; 17:8; 23:2; etc.), also occurs in contexts with no clear relation to P (e.g., Gen 42:5, 7, 13, 32; 44:8; 45:25).[75] The mention of Mount Seir as Esau's home in the Esau genealogy of Gen 36:8–9 is hardly distinctively Priestly, but rather an isolated reflection of a broader tradition about Esau in marginally Priestly material.[76] As will be argued later in this chapter (and further in Chapter 9 of this book), the mention of Aaron in a locus such as Josh 24:5 is not distinctively Priestly either. Moreover, this indicator is doubly problematic since this portion of Josh 24:5 is an MT plus vis-à-vis the LXX and likely a harmonizing addition of both Aaron and Moses into Joshua's review.[77] Finally, there are signs that the cluster of P-like language about the Reed Sea in Josh 24:6 is likewise part of a harmonizing addition (albeit one present in all our manuscript witnesses). As Fritz noted, Josh 24:6–7aα is distinguished from the rest of Joshua's speech in speaking of those in the historical review not as "you" (pl.; see 24:5, 8, 9, 10, 11, etc.), but in the third person as "your fathers."(24:6)[78] In addition, this (largely third person) description of the Reed Sea event in 24:6–7aα duplicates and expands on the prior notice in 24:5b, ואוציא את־אבותיכם ממצרים//... אחר הוצאתי אתכם ("and afterwards I brought you out"... "and I brought your fathers out of Egypt" 24:6aα). These are indicators that 24:6–7aα probably is not an original part of the chapter, but instead a post-Priestly harmonization of Joshua 24 with the preceding history it was meant to review (adding an echo of the Reed Sea narrative, a pivotal event in biblical tradition).

Besides the (probable) addition of Aaron and Moses into Josh 24:5 and the addition of an echo of the Reed Sea narrative in Josh 24:6–7a, we see documentation of a similar impetus toward harmonization in both the LXX and MT. Candidates for such harmonizing expansion in the LXX include an additional mention of Israel growing into a "great, powerful and strong nation" in Egypt in Josh 24:4 (an approximate echo of Exod 1:7)[79] and a plus adding the (Priestly!) tabernacle at the conclusion of Josh 24:25 ("before the tabernacle of the God of

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and Joshua," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 194–97, both building on earlier literature that they cite (note especially Moshé Anbar, *Josue et l'alliance de Sichem [Josue 24:1–28]*, BET 25 [Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992], 69–88).

75. This was realized already in the time of the lexicons of words characteristic of each source. See, for example, Holzinger, *Einleitung*, 340.

76. Of all the Priestly genealogies in Genesis, Genesis 36 has prompted the most hypotheses of inserted non-P material (see, e.g., Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 49; Gunkel, *Genesis*, 340 and 389). To be sure, most such hypotheses have focused on 36:9 or 10ff. Nevertheless, this chapter is a problematic locus for the identification of Priestly material, particularly an indicator as isolated as the double mention of הר שעיר in 36:8 and 9.

77. See discussions in William T. Koopmans, *Joshua 24 as Poetic Narrative*, VTSup 93 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 244–46 and especially Anbar, *Josue et l'alliance*, 33.

78. Volkmar Fritz, *Das Buch Joshua*, HAT (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 238.

79. The terminology in Josh 24:4 is different from that of the LXX of Exod 1:7, but the overall content of both verses is quite similar. On this plus in the LXX, cf. Anbar, *Josue et l'alliance*, 31–32, which argues that this is an error in the tradition behind the MT produced by homeioteleuton. Koopmans, *Joshua 24*, 244 notes the reasons to suppose that the plus, though based on a Hebrew Vorlage, is secondary.

Israel").[80] In addition to the above-mentioned MT plus regarding Aaron and Moses in Josh 24:5, the MT of Joshua 24 also includes a plus identifying Balaam as "son of Beor" in 24:9 and an extensive plus in 24:17 adding a description of Egypt as "the house of bondage" (Exod 13:3, 14; 20:2 [//Deut 5:6]; Deut 6:12) and mentioning the signs and wonders that Yhwh worked in Egypt (Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; etc.).[81] Overall, standing as a major narrative climax and relatively comprehensive review of preceding events, Joshua 24 appears to have been particularly prone to harmonization and other enrichment, including the addition of distinctively Priestly elements (e.g., the tabernacle in the LXX of Josh 24:25).

In sum, I suggest that Joshua 24 has been identified as post-Priestly on insufficient grounds. Many supposedly post-Priestly elements, for example, the expression ארץ כנען, are not specific to the Priestly layer. Another, the appearance of Aaron in Josh 24:5, appears to be part of a plus exclusive to the MT/SamP tradition that harmonized Joshua 24 to the preceding Tetrateuch. Moreover, the indicator with the most potential to link with Priestly material, the words used to describe the Reed Sea event in Josh 24:6–7a, occur in a section that is marked as secondary through its duplication of 24:5b and divergence from its context (including 24:5b) in speaking of the Israelites in the third person. Indeed, as argued above, we see widespread documentation in the manuscript tradition of Joshua 24 for harmonization of various sorts with the preceding Pentateuch. Meanwhile, as will be argued in more detail in Chapter 9 of this book, the basic character of the chapter is non-Priestly. Aside from MT and LXX pluses (e.g., 24:25), the apparently secondary addition of the Reed Sea harmonization in Josh 24:6–7aα, and a P-like appendix in Josh 24:33, the chapter lacks links to specifically Priestly texts and is, instead, broadly and deeply linked to a later layer of non-Priestly compositional elements spanning the Hexateuch.

In the case of Joshua 24, we are fortunate, since we have fairly broad documentation for its harmonization with other texts (both Priestly and non-Priestly). Moreover, one of its apparent undocumented harmonizations, Josh 24:6–7a*α*, is marked as secondary through its doubling of and divergence from texts in its immediate context. Nevertheless, I suggest that this brief study of Joshua 24 has wider implications for the trend toward identification of large amounts of post-Priestly narrative material in the Hexateuch. Broader study of harmonization in the Bible and elsewhere has shown that many, if not most, such harmonizations and coordinations are undetectable in the final form of the text. We must reckon with the real possibility that such *undetectable* harmonization has happened with far more biblical texts, especially insofar as such texts review (e.g., Joshua 24), are reviewed (e.g., the Tetrateuch in relation to Deuteronomy 1–3, 9–10, etc.), or are otherwise linked to other biblical texts. Does this mean that any observations of

80. In this case, probably a harmonization by the Greek translator, who also shifted focus to Shiloh, see Koopmans, *Joshua 24*, 259; Anbar, *Josue et l'alliance*, 43.

81. See Anbar, *Josue et l'alliance*, 41. In addition, the MT of Josh 24:22b features a brief report that the people accepted Joshua's description of them as witnesses (ויאמרו עדים "and they said, '[we are] witnesses'") that provides a sort of compliance to Joshua's speech missing in the LXX. This is exactly the sort of coordinating material typically added by tradents in the transmission process.

mixed P and non-P characteristics are useless? Hardly. For example, as has long been recognized, P and non-P elements are so thoroughly mixed in the review of the spy story in Num 32:8–15 that it is difficult to explain this speech as the result of the secondary harmonization of Priestly with non-Priestly material (or vice versa).[82] In other cases, such as the P-like toledot superscription in Gen 2:4a introducing Gen 2:4b-4:26 (non-P), or the resumptive repetition of Priestly material regarding the death of Moses in Deut 32:48–52 (//Num 27:12–14) after the insertion of Deuteronomy, a sustained block of unmistakably P-like material is revealed as post-P by the ways in which it is coordinated with (Gen 2:4a) and/or inserted into and dependent on (Deut 32:48–52) non-Priestly material (or vice versa). Nevertheless, most arguments for the post-Priestly character of biblical texts are far weaker, involving isolated words without specific links to Priestly texts (and/or without a non-Priestly counterpart) and/or the sorts of isolated links to Priestly materials easily added in the process of scribal harmonization/coordination. As a result, the case for the post-Priestly character of a broad spectrum of texts, such as Genesis 14 (in the past)[83] or Josh 24:1–32 (more recently), should not be considered successful.

■ TEXTUAL INFLUENCE AND DETERMINATION OF DEPENDENCE

One other factor that has played a major role in recent scholarship is the relative dating of biblical texts based on suppositions about their dependence on each other. For example, based in large part on his (re-)assignment of Joshua 24 to a post-Priestly layer, Erhard Blum has also assigned to the same layer a broader array of texts in Genesis and Exodus that he terms the "Joshua 24 redaction." This layer includes texts such as Gen 33:19; 35:1–7*; 48:21–22; 50:24–26; Exod

82. Baden, *J, E and Redaction*, 143 makes an attempt to establish Num 32:8–15 as a P text harmonized by a redactor to the non-P text through the addition of עד־נחל אשכול in 32:9 and כי לא־מלאו אחרי (אחרי יהוה) in 32:11 and 12. The result, Baden argues (note 116), reads more smoothly and matches the corresponding P narrative in Num 14:29–30. This proposal seems to overlook the broader presence of non-P terminology in this section, such as the reference in Num 32:11 to the divine promise that the people will not "see" (ראה) the land (Num 14:23; cf. בוא ["enter"] in P Num 14:30), occurrence in the same verse of the typically non-Priestly theme of the oath promise of land to the fathers—albeit uniquely formed in this case with the noun אדמה rather than the usual ארץ (see Gen 50:24; Exod 33:1 [also 32:13 differently formulated]; Deut 34:4)—and other expressions otherwise exclusively found in non-P contexts (e.g., ויחר־אף יהוה בישראל Num 32:13 and texts such as Num 25:3; Judg 2:14, 20; 3:8; 10:7; 2 Kgs 13:3).

83. For Genesis 14, the terminological indicators are especially weak. ילדי ביתו ("sons of his house") is a social term only occurring in a couple of Priestly texts (Gen 17:13, 23; Lev 22:11), and thus hardly constitutes a marker of specifically Priestly character. The word for members of household (נפש) appears across Joshua 10–11 (e.g., 10:30, 32, 35, 37, 39; 11:11), as it does in Genesis 14, as a term for captured living beings. It, too, is not a specifically Priestly term. That leaves the word רכוש as the remaining potential marker of post-Priestly status for Genesis 14, a word for wealth occurring six times across Genesis 14–15, six times in Priestly contexts (Gen 12:5; 13:6; 36:7; 46:6; Num 16:32; 35:3), and another fifteen times in various late texts (Ezra 1:4, 6; 8:21; 10:8; 1 Chr 27:31; 28:1; 2 Chr 20:25; 21:14, 17; 31:3; 32:29; 35:7; Dan 11:13, 24, 28). This distribution would suggest that the word was prevalent in late biblical Hebrew, but not that anyone who used it had to be aware of and dependent on a Priestly source.

1:5b-6, 8; and 13:19.[84] Konrad Schmid suggests that the whole of Judges was not inserted into its present position until a post-Priestly stage because of its apparent presupposition of the end of salvation history in Joshua 24 (which Schmid locates in a post-Priestly stage) and its orientation around the problem of forgetting that salvation history as thematized in Judg 2:8–10.[85] In this way, a growing bundle of texts otherwise lacking clear reflections of Priestly elements has been assigned to a post-Priestly layer on the basis of an identification of Joshua 24 as post-Priestly.

This assignment is problematic on at least two grounds. First, as argued above, the bulk of Joshua 24 does not appear to be post-Priestly. Second, at least some of the texts that these scholars associate with Joshua 24 are not necessarily dependent on that chapter. For example, Blum assigns Gen 48:21–22 to his Joshua 24 layer based on its parallels with Gen 50:24 and resonance with the language of Josh 24:12 (//Gen 48:22) and allusion to Shechem (שכם in 48:22).[86] Though this is possible, such links could be explained by other models as well, such as Gen 48:21–22 preexisting Gen 50:24 and Joshua 24, and serving as a model and reference point for those texts.[87] The more such problematic claims of textual dependence multiply, the more uncertain the results become.

Let us take another example, this time from arguments concerning the original end of the Priestly document. An increasing number of scholars have used cumulative claims of textual dependence to argue that a number of texts once assigned to P at the end of Numbers and Deuteronomy originate instead from layers of redaction that post-date the combination of P and non-P. Thus, some recent formulations have argued against finding the original end of P in Deut 34:1*, 7–9 (where many in the past have found it) because of a posited dependence of 34:7 on Gen 6:3 on the one hand (120 years of life) and a combination of Moses's age at the exodus (Exod 7:7; P) and the D figure of forty years in the wilderness on the other.[88] Furthermore, the appointment of Joshua in Deut 34:9 is taken to be dependent on Num 27:15–23 (which also reports the appointment of Joshua), which in turn is seen as extremely late because the passage of which it is a part (including Num 27:12–14) is seen as dependent on Deut 32:48–52.[89] Even if one held with the alternative position that Deut 32:48–52 is a late resumptive repetition of Num 27:12–14 linking Deuteronomy with a narrative strand in Numbers, several authors have still argued for the late

84. See preliminarily his Blum, *Studien*, 363–65 and now his most recent discussion in "Die literarische Verbindung von Erzvätern und Exodus. Ein Gespräch mit neueren Endredaktionshypothesen," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, BZAW 315 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 153.

85. Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 252–53 [ET 235].

86. Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 257; idem., "Verbindung," 153 (note 161).

87. This is the approach taken in Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 210–11.

88. Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 22. See also Konrad Schmid, "The Late Persian Formation of the Torah: Observations on Deuteronomy 34," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 248–49.

89. Reinhard Achenbach, *Vollendung der Tora: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch*, BZAW 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 557–67; Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 24.

character of Num 27:15–23 because it features phrases otherwise seen only in a series of other texts that are held (by those authors) to be late, a series that includes Num 16:22 (אלהי הרוחות לכול הבשר, "god of the spirits and of all flesh"); Num 31:16 and Josh 22:16–17 (עדת יהוה), and 1 Kgs 22:17 (כצאן אשר אין־להם רעה; Num 27:17).[90] Another ground for regarding Num 27:15–23, along with the report of Aaron's death in Num 20:22–29, as late is because both are seen as dependent on the story of rebellion at Qadesh in Num 20:1–13, and *this* text, in turn, is held to be late because it is seen as referring in Num 20:13 to a showing of Yhwh's glory that presupposes a post-P H in Lev 22:32 and because it features use of the H-stem of אמן, which is a leitmotif of Exodus 4.[91] Exodus 4, in turn, is seen as late, particularly because of its supposed dependence on P's depiction of the first two plague-signs.[92]

In light of both the previous chapter and this one, I see several problems with this line of argument. First, it presupposes that we still have the end of an original Priestly document, something that is not typical of documented cases of such large-scale appropriation and/or conflation of documents. Second, the basis for these claims of textual dependence is often quite slender, for example, a divine epithet, single construct phrase, or motif (such as the showing of Yhwh's glory). Merely noting that we do not happen to have the phrase or motif in question "anywhere else" in our limited and gapped biblical corpus is not, in my view, a sufficient argument that one biblical text is dependent on another.[93] Third and finally, as the chain of posited textual dependencies grows, the overall argument grows progressively weaker. In this respect, it would be good to recall the methodological cautions raised by Thomas Krüger in an inconspicuous footnote toward the end of his remarks on the redactions of the larger narrative works. There, he points out the risks of such piling of one redactional hypothesis on another, in this case, the assignment of one series of texts to a literary layer based on their presumed dependence on another. Even if the redaction-critical arguments with regard to each stage are quite plausible and the judgment 70 to 80 percent probable, the likelihood of dependent judgments being true decreases as arguments are piled on top of each other.[94] Thus, even if the chance of Deut 34:9 being dependent on Num 27:15–23 is 70 percent probable, and the dependence of Num 27:15–23 on Num 20:22–29 is 70 percent probable, one must also reckon with the 70 percent probability of Num 20:22–29 being dependent on Num 20:1–13 and that text, in

90. Christian Frevel, *Mit Blick auf das Land die Schöpfung erinnern: zum Ende der Priestergrundschrift*, Herders biblische Studien 23 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 281; Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 23–24 (also note 19 on pp. 24–25).

91. Thomas Römer and Marc Zvi Brettler, "Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch," *JBL* 119 (2000): 407; Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 25.

92. The arguments for this will be reviewed in more detail shortly.

93. I develop this point at greater length in The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Old Testament Studies: Actual and Potential," in *Helsinki IOSOT Conference Volume 2010,* ed. Martti Nissinen (VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 519–49.

94. Thomas Krüger, "Anmerkungen zur Frage nach den Redaktionen der grossen Erzählwerke im Alten Testament," in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque*, ed. Thomas Römer and Schmid, Konrad, BETL 203 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 66 (note 47). Krüger's reflections expand on similar thoughts given in a paragraph in Ernst Axel Knauf, "Der Text als Artefakt," in *Das alte Testament und die Kunst*, ed. John Barton, et al. (Münster: Lit. Verlag, 2005), 61.

turn, having a 70 percent probability of being dependent on Exod 4:1–9, 27–31. Cumulatively, this leads to only a 1 in 4 (24 percent) chance that the overall argument regarding this chain of dependencies) is accurate.

Even when one is working with only one level of claims of textual dependence and a good case can be made for *some* kind of relationship, there often is a significant problem with determining the direction in which such dependence goes. Let us take as a case study the non-Priestly commissioning of Moses, part of a block of text (Exod 3:1–4:18) mentioned above as a probable secondary insertion into its surrounding non-P context. In an earlier era, most scholars worked on the presumption that any specific similarities between this text and Priestly materials about Moses and Aaron could be explained by the dependence of Priestly materials on Exod 3:1–4:18. Now, a significant group of scholars argue that the relationship is the reverse, with all or part of the non-P call of Moses taken to be a post-Priestly adaptation of Priestly motifs. Yet the accumulated observations have done little more than develop a list of resonances between the two texts, such as their common focus on the issue of divine designation (albeit in quite different ways; Exod 3:13–14 [non-P]; 6:2–3 [P]),[95] their common picture of Moses overcoming the people's disbelief (Exod 4:1–9, 30b-31 [non-P]; 6:9, 12 [P]) and demonstrating his link with divine power through similar signs (staff into snake in Exod 4:2–5, 30b [non-P]; 7:8–13 [P]; water into blood in Exod 4:9, 30b; also 7:14–18, 20–21, 23–24 [non-P]; 7:19–20aα, 21b, 22 [P]),[96] along with their parallel introductions of Aaron as an answer to Moses's problems with speech (Exod 4:10–17 [non-P]; 6:12–13 [P]), including the prophetic conceptualization of Moses and Aaron's relationship where Moses is the counterpart to God and Aaron is the mouth (4:16 [non-P]) or prophet (7:1 [P]). As lists of specific parallels between this and other such P and non-P texts grow, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain—as recently by Schwartz and some of his students—that these sources developed without either having any knowledge of the other.[97] The lack of verbatim agreement, to be sure, requires explanation.[98] Nevertheless,

95. On the difference, see Blum, "Verbindung," 126–27.

96. Gertz (*Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*, FRLANT 186 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 314) argues for a particular closeness to P in the description of the transformation of blood in Exod 4:9 (והיו המים אשר תקח מן־היאר והיו לדם) to P in Exod 7:19 (ויהיו דם), 21b (ויהיו דם בכל־ארץ מצרים) versus non-P in 7:17b (ונהפכו לדם), 20 (ויהפכו כל־המים אשר־ביאר לדם). Nevertheless, as is evident in the quotations below, there are similarities in both directions. The expressions in Exod 4:9 and 7:20 (non-P) are of more similar length and share the preposition ל, while the expressions in Exod 4:9 and 7:19, 21b (P) are both formed from the verb "to be" (היה). No special relationship between 4:9 and its P counterparts is evident. This then relativizes Gertz's arguments in the same locus for the priority of the water-into-blood plague over the anticipation of it in Exod 4:9 as a sign of Mosaic authority, based (so claims Gertz) on the fact that the water-into-blood sign is more naturally situated in Egypt at the Nile. The anticipation of turning water into blood in Exod 4:9 could as easily have been prompted by the non-P water-into-blood plague narrative as the P version.

97. See, for example, Blum's persuasive arguments that Gen 35:9–15 responds specifically to features in Gen 28:10–22 (*Vätergeschichte*, 267–69, though cf. my *Reading the Fractures*, 89–90, note 26 on Blum's arguments that P's response was designed from the outset to stand in the same literary context). For a broader survey, see Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 263–67; idem., *Studien*, 229–85.

98. See later in this book, Chapter 9, pp. 292–4, for one suggestion.

the extent of agreement across multiple aspects of the two commissionings of Moses, including the blind motif in P (discussed below) of the fuller prophetic presentation of Moses and Aaron in non-P, renders more probable the idea that the P version of the episode is dependent on non-P than that they both developed independently or depend on a common tradition.[99]

Yet how might one determine which episode is dependent on the other? Much in this case turns on how one interprets the relationship between the call of Moses in Exod 3:1–4:18, the non-P material with which it now is combined, and the P material that it often parallels. For example, Valentin, Weimar, Blum, Schmid, Gertz, and others have argued that two of the non-P signs in 4:1–9 (staff into snake in 4:2–5 and water into blood in 4:9) along with the introduction of Aaron in Exod 4:10–16 are post-Priestly accommodations of the non-P Moses story to similar P materials that follow.[100] After all, they point out, several of the features in Exodus 4 (Aaron, Moses's staff, the status of Aaron as Moses's brother) are frequently attested across the Priestly stratum, whereas they are peripheral at best in non-P materials. Thus, it seems as if Exod 3:1–4:17 contains a number of motifs at home in the Priestly stratum, but isolated in this non-P context.

A closer look, however, raises questions about the idea that Exod 3:1–4:17 is a post-Priestly introduction of many properly Priestly themes. After all, the text does not share major verbal parallels with any of the P materials it supposedly anticipates,[101] and it disagrees with those P materials in numerous respects, such as doubling the Priestly introduction of Aaron (cf. Exod 7:1) and introducing him (4:10–16) *after* the signs in which he is thoroughly involved in P (4:2–5//7:8–13; 4:9//7:19–22*), lacking any role for the staff in turning water into blood (Exod 4:9; cf. 7:19, 20aα, 21b, 22), introducing an additional sign—the hand turning leprous and back again in Exod 4:6–7—without a counterpart in P, and focusing all of these signs on the potential problem of the people's disbelief rather than the Egyptians'.[102]

99. There is nothing here to indicate the existence of yet a third, otherwise unknown source that was the origin of the similarities between P and non-P materials.

100. Heinrich Valentin, *Aaron: eine Studie zur vor-priesterschriftlichen Aaron-Überlieferung*, OBO (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 65–66, 75; Peter Weimar, *Die Berufung des Mose: literaturwissenschaftliche Analyse von Exodus 2,23–25,5*, OBO 32 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 350, 353–54; Ferdinand Ahuis, *Der klagende Gerichtsprophet: Studien zur Klage in der Überlieferung von den alttestamentlichen Gerichtspropheten* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1982), 44–45; Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 203–206 [ET 187–90]; Gertz, *Exoduserzählung*, 307–27; Blum, "Verbindung," 127–30 (cf. idem., *Studien*, 27–28).

101. My article on the direction of dependence ("Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34,11–26 and Its Parallels," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, Vol. 18, ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum, Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie [Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001], 107–40) proposed some criteria particularly appropriate for cases where two texts share extensive wording.

102. For one thorough attempt to exegete the present text, see Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 204–205 [ET 189], which points out the parallel between Exod 4:6 and the plague on Miriam in Num 12:10. Schmid does not, however, explain why the Miriam plague would be singled out here, nor does he account for the doubling of the introduction of Aaron.

This sort of doubling (of the introduction of Aaron) and disagreement with P (on these points and others) is not typical of later scribal coordination/harmonization of one strand with another. These contrasts, however, would be natural in materials that originally were conceived to stand separately as written works (albeit, one likely written with some knowledge of the other).

But how might one explain the way Exod 3:1–4:17 features themes (e.g., Aaron [as Moses's brother and fellow teacher], Moses's staff) that are so much more prominent in P than in the non-P materials that follow it? I suggest building on the above-mentioned insight that Exod 3:1–4:18 is secondary to its context. Thus, this text *secondarily* introduces themes into its non-P context (e.g., Moses's staff, the prophetic/intermediary role of Aaron) that were developed in a different and more thoroughgoing way by P's separate narrative (probably in dependence on a non-P narrative containing Exod 3:1–4:17 and some related additions). In light of this, it is no surprise that the following non-P materials do not develop the themes of Exod 3:1–4:17 systematically. These other non-P materials might feature some of the themes developed in another way by Exod 3:1–4:17 (e.g., Aaron in Exod 32:1–6), but they were not originally written with Exod 3:1–4:18 in mind.[103] Meanwhile, this model also accounts for the complex relationship of Exod 3:1–4:18 to P materials. This non-P story of the commission of Moses and Aaron doubles and disagrees with P materials because it was originally part of a separate non-P strand, indeed a strand that played some role in the composition of P itself (hence the parallels).

Finally, let us consider what sorts of criteria might establish that the parallels between these texts were caused by P's dependence on Exod 3:1–4:17 rather than their dependence on a common precursor or the dependence of Exod 3:1–4:17 on P. Sometimes one can decide such cases on the basis of expansion by one text of wording found in its parallel, but Exod 3:1–4:17 lacks the sorts of extensive verbal parallels with P that would allow such an approach. One criterion that can be helpful in this case, however, is the presence of blind motifs in one text that are integral to the other.[104] For example, one element that is integral to Exod 3:1–4:17 as a whole is its presentation of both Moses and Aaron as prophetic figures, both

103. In both older and more recent treatments, Blum (following Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 72; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua*, BZAW 68 [Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1938], 15) has argued that Exod 4:10–17 or Exod 4:1–17 as a whole is later because of the way its introduction of Aaron as an intermediary does not square with the initial instructions in Exod 3:16, 18 for Moses to go to Pharaoh *with the elders*. This argument, however, does not seem to reckon with the possibility of narrative development, where an initial divine plan given in 3:16, 18 is modified (with some divine displeasure in Exod 4:14) to involve Aaron (4:15–16), who is then made the major player in interaction with the elders as well (Exod 4:29; note also 5:2).

104. The elements of Moses's staff and Aaron, in this case, do not constitute true blind motifs in Exod 3:1–4:17, since they are fully integral to the text. Indeed, in Chapter 9 of this book, I link Exod 3:1–4:17 with a series of other texts that likewise focus on Aaron (e.g., Numbers 12), thus indicating that Aaron is far from a peripheral concern *for this specific layer of non-Priestly texts*. The mistake in previous analyses has been to argue as if Exod 3:1–4:17 was originally of a piece with other non-P materials, somewhat along the lines of older source analyses, so that its distinctive features vis-à-vis those materials (e.g., Aaron, Moses's staff) required explanation—one found by some in a posited dependence on Priestly materials.

through the elaboration of the prophetic call-narrative pattern in describing Yhwh's commissioning of Moses and through specific echoes of the late-Jeremiah call narrative (Jer 1:4–10) in describing the commissioning of Aaron.[105] The Priestly material in 6:12–13 shares the idea that Aaron was appointed because of Moses's problems with speech (Exod 4:10b-12; cf. Jer 1:6), and its resumptive repetition in 6:30–7:2 even names Aaron as a "prophet" (7:1). Otherwise, however, the prophetic elements so central to Exod 3:1–4:17 are marginal in corresponding P materials. This is an indicator that, overall, P materials are dependent on Exod 3:1–4:17, rather than vice versa. It is easier to suppose that the otherwise unmotivated themes of Moses's difficulty with speaking (Exod 6:12–13) and Aaron's "prophet" status (vis-à-vis Moses as "God" to him in Exod 7:1; cf. 4:16) in P materials are faint echoes of the thoroughly prophetic presentation of both figures in Exod 3:1–4:17 than that the detailed prophetic elements and resonances with Jer 1:4–10 in Exod 3:1–4:17 unfolded as elaborations on these minor elements in the P stratum.[106]

By itself, this discussion raises questions about a recent trend to consider all or part of Exod 3:1–4:18 to be post-Priestly, but it does not purport to be an overall argument for its pre-Priestly character. That would require a more thorough analysis, including consideration of other non-P texts with a potential relation to Exod 3:1–4:18 and their links to P (something undertaken in Chapter 9 of this book). In this sense, there is no way to avoid the interlinking of arguments regarding textual dependence and relative dating. Exod 3:1–4:18 is a useful case study, however, because its strategic importance has led scholars to argue in a more detailed way for its post-Priestly character than they have in other cases. Indeed, in many cases, scholars' decisions about direction of dependence seem heavily linked to their broader presuppositions about the development of tradition rather than being based on specific arguments. Thus, whereas an earlier generation of scholars (and some present ones) would have assumed that shared characteristics between P and non-P materials could be explained by dependence of the Priestly stratum on the non-P materials (or on common oral traditions), an increasing number of contemporary scholars often assume, without argument, that a feature found in both a non-P text and a P text proves the post-Priestly character of the non-P text. In both cases, the conclusions of each group of scholars are only plausible to others who share the same presuppositions. The results are self-reinforcing theories of

105. On this, see especially Gertz, *Exoduserzählung*, 318–19.

106. Gertz, *Exoduserzählung*, 314–15 brings up a potential counterexample, suggesting that there are particular verbal affinities between the Exod 4:9 description of the third sign, Moses turning water into blood (והיו המים אשר תקח מן־היאר והיו לדם ביבשה) and the specifically Priestly descriptions of water transformation in the first plague (Exod 7:19 והיו דם; 7:21b ויה הדם בכל־ארץ מצרים; cf. non-P Exod 7:17b ונהפכו לדם and 7:20b ויהפכו כל־המים אשר־ביאר לדם). In this case, the material in Exod 4:9 clearly is modeled on and anticipates the water-into-blood plague seen in both P and non-P forms in Exod 7:14–24 (e.g., המים אש תקח מן־היאר 4:9bα), but the verbal affinities could point *either* to a dependence of Exod 4:9 on its P counterparts (so Gertz) *or* to P's narration building on innovations in the description of the water-into-blood wonder that were already introduced into the pre-Priestly exodus context by (the secondary insertion of) Exod 4:9. Thus, this indicator is not helpful for a determination of the direction of dependence.

enclosed and temporary groups of scholars, rather than the gathering of observations that might produce plausible and lasting transmission-historical theories.

In conclusion, much of the superstructure of past and present theories regarding the growth of the Bible is undermined by problematic or nonexistent arguments regarding the direction of dependence. Moreover, as these claims of intertextual dependence proliferate, the implausibility of the overall result expands exponentially. This does not mean, of course, that one can or should ignore potential textual influence in reconstructing the transmission history of biblical texts. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of the risks that claims of textual dependence pose to the plausibility of a broader transmission-historical argument, especially as such claims are built on top of each other. Finally, given these considerations regarding the uncertainties of intertextual analysis and the risks of cumulative error (in chains of posited intertextual connection), it is particularly important to ensure, insofar as it is possible, that the pillars of a given transmission-historical reconstruction (e.g., Josh 24:1–32) are not rooted in the often shifting sands of isolated terminological details.

■ SETTING REACHABLE GOALS FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF TRANSMISSION HISTORY

So far, much of this chapter on method has focused on the critique of arguments and theories prevalent in the past and present study of the formation of the Bible, particularly in the case of Hebrew narrative texts. I have discarded as fatally flawed the distinction between cross-Pentateuchal J and E sources. Moreover, I have raised fundamental questions about trends to identify as post-Priestly texts such as Joshua 24 that have been so described because of supposedly displaying a mix of P and non-P characteristics, and texts such as Exod 3:1–4:17 that have been taken (on inadequate grounds) to be dependent on Priestly precursors. In particular, I have raised questions about the tissue of interconnected intertextual conclusions on which so much contemporary transmission-historical scholarship is built. The basis for many such conclusions, for example, the post-Priestly dating of some texts on which others are then thought to depend, is problematic; the criteria for determining intertextual relations in these studies often are not explicated and/or uninterrogated. As a result, the broader structure of much recent transmission-historical scholarship on the Hebrew Bible, particularly the Pentateuch, must be, in my opinion, rebuilt.

This does not mean that all prior work is without worth. Already I have indicated that the longstanding, widely agreed upon distinction of Priestly and non-Priestly material in the Hexateuch is founded on relatively strong criteria. In addition, there are many other observations made over the last centuries of transmission-historical research that can be quite helpful in uncovering at least part of the largely undocumented process of formation of biblical texts. The following chapters will draw, for example, on scholarship that has shown how several blocks of legal material in the Pentateuch were formed in (overall) sequence one after the other, for example, the Covenant Code, Deuteronomic code, Priestly instructional materials, and Holiness materials. Furthermore, the following analysis benefits

from relatively recent work on the relative independence of the non-Priestly primeval history from the following materials in Genesis, the original separateness of the different non-Priestly ancestral stories from each other, and the gradual joining of those ancestral materials with each other and the Moses story. With regard to other parts of the Bible, I have already critically appropriated a wealth of scholarship on the relation of Chronicles to Samuel-Kings, as well as past and more recent work on the relation of Ezra-Nehemiah to 1 Esdras. In future chapters, I appropriate past and more recent work on gradual growth of the books of the former prophets (Joshua-2 Kings), distinctions of various layers in books of literary prophecy (e.g., Isaiah) and the Psalms collection, the stratification of books of wisdom (e.g., the late epilogue and related materials in Qohelet, various parts of Job), etc. Insofar as it is possible within the scope of this single study, I will build on and presuppose the best observations over the last centuries of transmission-historical work without attempting to reproduce them.

At the same time, there are several ways in which studies of documented transmission-history (from biblical studies and beyond) might inform the construction of both specific and broader new theories regarding the formation of the Hebrew Bible. To start with, studies of documented transmission history prove *that* ancient texts, particularly culturally-central literary theological texts like the Hebrew Bible, were revised over time. It happened. We can see it. Moreover, they show *what* sort of changes such texts underwent over time: compositional expansion, occasional conflation/combination, harmonization and coordination within themselves and with other texts, and the sorts of smaller-scale changes that have been discussed here under the rubric of memory variants. In particular, the study of the documented transmission history of the Pentateuch has revealed an impetus toward scribal coordination of different legal corpora with each other on the one hand (e.g., 4QRP, 11QTemple) and Tetrateuchal materials with their Deuteronomic counterparts on the other (e.g., "proto-Samaritan" manuscripts and other harmonizing Pentateuchal manuscript traditions). As emphasized above, it is likely that our Pentateuchal manuscript traditions contain undocumented scribal coordinations of these corpora as well.

Nevertheless, even the most complex documented cases rarely feature more than two or three stages of major revision of a given text, with "major" being defined here as revisions that go beyond memory variants or minor scribal glosses and harmonizations/coordinations. To be sure, our documented cases of such major revision (e.g., Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras, Etana or Gilgamesh) sometimes seem to be snapshots of more complex processes and they are not always different stages on the same trajectory. Nevertheless, most texts seem to have undergone at most two to three major stages of growth, with the remainder of revision happening in the form of minor glosses, harmonizations, and the like. Scholars who posit ten to twenty layers of revision in some biblical texts are advancing models that have no correlate in the documentation we have, limited as it is, of ancient textual revision.

Study of such documented cases also can revise the goals of current transmission-historical work. For examination of the full range of documented cases shows that certain forms of textual revision are more reconstructible than others. Earlier

in this chapter, it was mentioned that cases of textual combination (e.g., the addition of flood and the Enkidu and Netherworld tradition to the later Gilgamesh epic or the combination of Ezra and Nehemiah materials in Ezra-Nehemiah) often leave enough marks in the final combined text to allow plausible reconstruction of textual pre-stages, even when lacking documentation of those stages. Conversely, an overview of documented cases of transmission history suggests that—in many cases—it would be virtually impossible for scholars to reconstruct earlier stages if they lacked documentation of such stages. This is particularly true for cases where later authors expanded given sections with new material. When we look at the small additions of speeches or lines to the OB version of the Gilgamesh epic in the SB Gilgamesh epic, micro-additions in parallel sections of Chronicles compared to Samuel-Kings, or the apparently new Scriptural proofs and other additions in the expansive versions of the Qumran Community Rule, we realize that the vast majority of these would not have been detectable without actually having a copy of the (probable) earlier version. Indeed, a transmission-historical method sensitive enough to detect these kinds of changes probably would also "detect" a number of additions and expansions that never took place. In sum, the more time one spends pouring over these cases in detail, the more humble one becomes about the possibilities and limits of the transmission-historical method.

There are some important exceptions. For example, as Tov pointed out years ago, some of the probable additions found in the proto-MT recension of the book of Jeremiah are marked by resumptive repetition, and in Chapter 2 we saw another example of such marked expansion in the Temple Scroll viewed in parallel to Deut 17:5 (11QT 55:20–21). Yet this example also points out the limits of transmission history, since others have shown places where such resumptive repetition—though it can be used to resume a thread after an insertion—is also a natural way for writers to resume their own train of thought after a diversion. It is merely a writerly version of natural speech patterns.[107] So also, good arguments can be made that certain kinds of expansion, for example, the apparent Deuteronomistic framing of various historical events and insertion of speeches, have such distinctive vocabulary and ideology that scholars can isolate such later, Deuteronomistic expansions. At the same time, the history of research on Deuteronomistic elements in Deuteronomy-2 Kings, Jeremiah, and elsewhere has also shown how such identification of "Deuteronomistic" elements can expand to the point of lack of methodological control.[108]

Sometimes ancient revision blurs, but does not eliminate the marks of textual growth. For example, in the above-mentioned example of the Community Rule recensions, it appears that an earlier superscription to the whole document that named the document as a "Midrash for the wise leader over the men of the Torah" (מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה) was modified in the apparently later 1QS recension to

107. See especially Raymond F. Person, "A Reassessment of Wiederaufnahme from the Perspective of Conversation Analysis," *BZ* 43 (1999): 239–48.

108. For review of earlier literature and debate on this issue, see Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, eds., *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), especially pp. 22–82.

label a subsection of the text beginning in column V "this is the rule for the men of the community" (זה הסרך לאנשי היחד). Such revision could be understood to obscure an indicator that might be used to reconstruct an earlier stage of the 1QS version of the Community Rule. Nevertheless, at least one scholar (Murphy-O'Connor) reconstructed the beginning of an early recension of the Community Rule (at the outset of what was column V in 1QS) exclusively on the basis of data in 1QS, only to have this hypothesis reinforced by the discovery of such a recension in 4QS$^{b, d}$.[109] Transmission historians must reckon with the probability of the revision or elimination of similar such transmission-historical markers in the manuscripts before us.[110]

Dealing with such uncertainty, it is tempting, but mistaken, to seek simplicity in a simple endorsement or renunciation of the attempt to reconstruct transmission history for compositions where we lack a documented prehistory. The survey of empirical examples of transmission history done here suggests a middle way. Rather than presupposing that we can reconstruct everything or rejecting the enterprise altogether, I urge the pursuit of what might be termed a "methodologically modest" form of transmission history. Such transmission history will recognize that its reconstructions will probably miss many forms of growth—for

109. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la *Règle de la Communauté*," *RB* 76 (1969): 537–44 (his third stage of development). This approach was assumed as the basis by his student Jean Pouilly in his study *La Règle de la Communautè: son évolution littéraire*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 17 (Paris: Gabalda, 1976), especially pp. 10–11.

110. A possible analogy to this process may be found in Deut 6:4, where some have argued on other grounds for the beginning of an early version of the Deuteronomic collection (for an overview, see Horst Dietrich Preuss, *Deuteronomium*, EdF 164 [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982], 19, 100–101). Here, the Septuagint has a superscription lacking in the MT: καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα, ὅσα ἐντείλατο κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ("These are the decrees and laws which Yhwh commanded the sons of Israel in the desert, having brought them out of the land of Egypt"; see already, on this point, Anti Filemmon Puukko, *Das Deuteronomium* [Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910], 149, note 2 and Johannes Hempel, *Die schichten des Deuteronomiums: ein beitrag zur israelitischen literatur- und rechtsgeschichte*, eiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte 33 (Leipzig: Voigtländer, 1914), 124 with note 1). Some have supposed that this reading in the LXX is an adaptation of a similar superscription found at Deut 4:45 (e.g., Eduard Nielsen, *Deuteronomium*, HAT 6 [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995]; John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 39 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1995], 114), but the two superscriptions are quite different in wording (see Wevers, 114 on this as well), and the LXX Deut 6:4 superscription places in God's mouth the laws that Deut 4:1 identifies as Moses's teaching. Rather than being a copy of Deut 4:45 (which LXX Deut 6:4 is not), it seems just as likely, if not more so, that the theocentric Hebrew precursor to the LXX Deut 6:4 superscription served as the model for the Moses-focused superscription in Deut 4:45, but was discarded in non-LXX textual traditions as the book of Deuteronomy was understood ever more to be Moses-speech and the meaning of any theocentric superscription standing at 6:4 was lost. If this is the case, one crucial indicator of the original beginning of the Deuteronomic tradition at 6:4 was lost in a major strand of textual traditions for that book. Cf. Theodor Oestereicher, *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, eiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie 27 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1923), 72, 80, which theorizes that the superscription at 4:44 originally stood immediately before 6:4, and Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 150–52, who might have proposed a fifth stage for the development of Deuteronomy if he had taken the LXX superscription at 6:4 into account.

example, micro-additions of new material—that are difficult to reconstruct (without documentation) in a methodologically controlled way. It would focus on modes of change that are well attested in documented cases of transmission history: for example, the addition of introductory material, harmonizing, coordination, conflation, addition of appendices, resumptive repetition, etc. And it will be sensitive to the different levels of plausibility of transmission-historical arguments and the relative uncertainty of any transmission-historical argument based exclusively on isolated linguistic/terminological indicators in a later text.

Another effect of these reflections should be to focus much of the discussion of the formation of the Hebrew Bible away from an overemphasis on various levels of authorial redaction/expansion *within* biblical texts and toward relative dating and interrelationship between separate scrolls in the biblical tradition and larger strata in such scrolls that are most identifiable. It is a fantasy to think that we could approach precision in reconstructing every stage in the development of the biblical text, however much we might wish to do so. Given the documented fluidity of writing-supported textual transmission, the seeming precision and surety offered by arguments focusing on terminological specifics are—in many cases—a mirage.[111] Rather, the best we can do is to aim for relative plausibility on those stages that—because of various contingent factors (e.g., the mixing of originally independent documents or the addition of an unusually distinctive compositional layer)—can be reconstructed on the basis of indicators left in the text. This means that we must begin with the presupposition that even our best manuscripts only preserve incomplete and often misleading data for the reconstruction of their prehistory. The most we can hope to achieve is partial reconstruction.

An often overlooked portion of Wellhausen's argument in his Prolegomena illustrates some of the potential of a broader comparison of biblical traditions with each other. In Part two of the book *History of Tradition*, Wellhausen begins with a point that had been established decades before (in 1806) by de Wette: that Chronicles represented a late adaptation of the history found in parts of Samuel-Kings. Wellhausen's following argument is that many of the distinctive aspects of late Chronicles derive from its appropriation of specifically Priestly traditions, while the books of Samuel-Kings, generally agreed by others to be earlier, lack such Priestly influence. As he states at the outset, "The mere difference of date fully accounts for the varying ways in which the two histories represent the same facts and events, and the difference of spirit arises from the influence of the Priestly Code, which came into existence in the interval."[112] Later on he demonstrates that the distinctive aspects of the books of the former prophets, in turn, arose from the influence of the book of Deuteronomy.[113] In this way, he utilized the established results on Samuel-Kings and Chronicles to gain insight into the chronology of more difficult to date Pentateuchal strata.

111. For a brief version of this argument, based primarily on textual fluidity documented in Mesopotamian materials, see Mordechai Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues in the Hebrew Bible from an Assyriological Perspective," *Textus* 22 (2005): 1–20.

112. Julius Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels: Erster Band - Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 6th ed. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1905), 166 (ET 171–72).

113. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 292–93 [ET 294].

In this day and age, it is more difficult to find such established results, especially when trying to span the often different scholarly discourses of North America, Europe (especially continental Europe), and Israel. Nevertheless, I suggest that it is possible, using different strategies and building on excellent work done in past and present scholarship, to identify certain biblical texts that can be dated to broad periods in the history of Judah and Israel (e.g., Persian, neo-Babylonian, neo-Assyrian). Furthermore, one can build a noncomprehensive profile using such texts of at least some type(s) of texts that were written in each such period. Thus, the analysis of texts more obviously dating to the Persian period can lead to the Persian dating of less obviously Persian-period texts, the same for texts from the neo-Babylonian exile, and so on. This method, of course, cannot purport to date all biblical texts. Any profiles or other indicators only can provide partial hints of what was being written in a given period, and much of the Hebrew Bible simply does not lend itself to this approach. That said, I suggest that progress can be made by extrapolating from more datable texts to less easily datable texts, at least in some instances.

The starting point of this investigation will be our earliest documented stage in the formation of the Hebrew Bible—manuscripts of the Second Temple period and other data surrounding the possible shaping of the Hebrew Bible during the Hasmonean monarchy. The presentation then moves backward through yet earlier periods in Judean/Israelite history (Hellenistic, Persian, neo-Babylonian, neo-Assyrian), using criteria appropriate to each period to build a profile of a given set of texts and then build outward from that profile to identify other texts that might date from that period as well. The presupposition in moving in this direction is that we have relatively more data with which to work for later periods, while the contours of relatively early tradition are likely blurred by the process of transmission history. One hopes that identifying the profile of relatively late texts might aid in the isolation of earlier bodies of material in the Hebrew Bible, yet one also must reckon with the reality that our ability to reconstruct the Bible's earliest stages is limited. That is one reason why I devote particular attention in the final section of this book, after a survey of the neo-Assyrian to Hasmonean periods, to the question of whether and how one might identify yet earlier pre-exilic materials in the Hebrew Bible.

Again, no pretense of comprehensivity is attempted here. Not all texts in the Bible can or should be dated.[114] Moreover, the survey done here will provide more detail on the yield of this approach for parts of the Hebrew Bible where I have relatively more expertise (e.g., parts of the Pentateuch, Isaiah, etc.) and less detail on other books (e.g., Joshua-Kings, Psalms, Jeremiah) where I know less. The hope is that, insofar as elements of this presentation prove evocative and useful to others, scholars with other competencies can pursue and correct it in their work on these and other books.

Enough qualifications. Let us turn now to the survey-presentation itself.

114. For helpful cautions along these lines, see Benjamin Sommer, "Dating Pentateuchal Texts and the Perils of Pseudo-Historicism," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch Schwartz, FAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 85–108.

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PART TWO

Excavating the History of the Formation of the Hebrew Bible

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5 The Hasmonean Period

Finalization of Scripture in an Increasingly Greek World

We start our journey through the history of the formation of the Hebrew Bible with the period where we first have manuscript attestation of its various books, the Hellenistic period (333–64 BCE), with a focus in this chapter on the Hasmonean period (164–64 BCE). This will be the final chronological period covered in this survey. Though the text of the Hebrew Bible continues to undergo changes in later centuries and the groupings and terminology for its books evolve, the focus here will be on the formation of the Hebrew Bible *up to* the Hasmonean period.

As we will see, the books of the Hebrew Bible were still in a remarkable amount of flux at this point. The Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch, and Dead Sea Scrolls document the presence of different editions of biblical books alongside those found in the proto-Masoretic tradition. Furthermore, we now know that there was no clearly defined and generally agreed upon Hebrew Bible for many Jewish groups during this period. Rather, the diversity of Second Temple Jewish groups was mirrored in a diversity of different corpora of texts that they took seriously. Though most Jews revered some form of the Pentateuch, they diverged significantly on what other books they took seriously and even on the edition of the Pentateuch that they used.

That said, this chapter will advance the argument that an emergent standardization of the Hebrew Bible, both in scope and (textual) form, was under way amidst this documented fluidity. Below I will discuss indicators of this emergent standardization in the books of Maccabees and the prologue to Ben Sira. By the latter part of the Hasmonean period, we start to see documentation not only of the proto-Masoretic text in the Naḥal Ḥever Minor Prophets scroll, but also the authoritative pull of that text type. And a hundred years after the conclusion of this period, around 70 CE, Josephus can list the books included in the Jewish "Torah and allied documents" and make a plausible claim (at least he believes so) that Jews have achieved more consensus on this long standing list than the Greeks have about theirs. Virtually contemporaneously, 4 Ezra assumes the existence of a standardized list of twenty-four books in the Hebrew canon, even as it protests against exclusive attention to it. This list, whether accepted (in Josephus) or protested (4 Ezra), consists of books all the way up to, but not beyond, the period of the Hasmonean monarchy.

Though Scriptural canons are supposed to fall from heaven, such standardization does not happen in a vacuum. Texts and broader corpora are transmitted in standardized form within particular social contexts where such standardization comes to be valued. The thesis of this chapter is that the Hasmonean monarchy is the most plausible sociopolitical context that had both the power and the interest to initiate this process of textual standardization in Second Temple Judaism. In

doing so, the Hasmonean scribes worked with existing Hebrew literary works, many of which are surveyed already in Ben Sira's praise to the fathers (Sir 44–49) and cherished by Jewish communities in Palestine and the diaspora. Yet the scribes of the Hasmonean monarchy, it is maintained here, more sharply defined the difference between a corpus of Hebrew Torah and (pre-Hellenistic) Prophets on the one hand and all other works on the other. They also began the process of standardization of the text of this corpus toward the proto-Masoretic text form. And, in the process of redefining this corpus and standardizing the texts, they apparently also introduced changes, some significant and some less so, to the books in that corpus. Before proceeding to that case, however, let us look briefly at the history of the Hasmonean monarchy itself.

■ THE HASMONEAN MONARCHY

The history of the rise to power of the Hasmonean Priestly family is unusually complicated and not particularly illuminating for the task here. In brief, over a period from approximately 167 to 142 BCE, a series of members of a non-Jerusalemite Priestly family, the Hasmoneans led a successful rebellion against a series of Seleucid rulers preoccupied with power struggles between themselves and military threats on the Western side of their empire. The next chapter will include a brief survey of the Hellenistic crisis. Important here is the understanding that the Hasmoneans rose to power as leaders of armed resistance to the Seleucid dedication of the Jerusalem Temple to Zeus Olympius and measures to prohibit Jewish observance. Key events in that rise to power included Judas's ending of the Seleucid attempt to eradicate Judaism and repurification of the temple (164 BCE), his brother Jonathan's assumption of the high priesthood (152 BCE), his brother Simon's expulsion of the last Seleucid troops from Jerusalem and assumption of full local power as both high priest and *ethnarch* of Judah (142–40 BCE), substantial and continual expansion of the realm of Judah under a series of rulers from Simon through Alexander Janneus, and the adding of the title "king" to the Hasmonean rulers from the short rule of Aristobolus (104–103 BCE) onward.

By the conclusion of the rule of Alexander Janneus (103–76 BCE), the Hasmoneans had conquered most of the coastal plain, the desert south of Hebron, the Galilee, and Transjordan, achieving the status of a mini-empire much like that envisioned for David and Solomon in the narratives of Samuel-Kings. Yet this revival of Davidic glory was not to last long. Though the king's mother, Salome Alexandra, was able to rule another nine relatively peaceful years after the death of Alexander (76–67 BCE), civil war broke out between her sons after her death, each of whom turned to the Roman Empire for support. In 63 BCE, the Roman Empire took full control of the area, appointed one of Salome's sons, Hyrcanus, as high priest in Jerusalem, but redistricted the land and appointed their own political rulers.

For our purposes, the details of these processes are less important than the overall character of the political structure established by the Hasmoneans. Two overall features are particularly worth mention. First, although the Hasmonean

revolt began partly in response to public resistance to a non-Zadokite priest, Menelaus, buying the high priesthood, the Hasmoneans, themselves not Zadokites, eventually assumed the high priesthood. The Zadokites had controlled the high priesthood throughout the Persian and Hellenistic periods, and the high priesthood was a major (if not *the* major) position of power in Judah and broader Judaism. The fact that the Hasmoneans were not part of the Zadokite Priestly lineage pitted them against the Zadokite claimants to that office, some of whom may have ended up at Qumran.[1] In addition, their assumption of the high priesthood probably introduced some question of legitimacy for their reign.

This question of legitimacy may have contributed to the second major dynamic spanning the Hasmonean dynasty: its complicated relationship with Hellenism. On the one hand, the Hasmoneans successfully built on public resistance to the Seleucid persecution of Judaism. Documents that celebrate the Hasmoneans, such as 1 and 2 Maccabees, portray them as defenders of Judean Torah orthodoxy against the attempt by the Seleucids to Hellenize Judaism. Hasmonean coins have paleo-Hebrew inscriptions, and the heroes of Maccabees speak Hebrew, "the language of the fathers," not Greek (2 Macc 7:8, 27; 12:37). On the other hand, numerous indicators point to the fact that the Hasmoneans themselves were quite Hellenized, and many aspects of their kingdom were built on Hellenistic models. These include their development of a fake genealogy linking Judeans to Sparta, their adoption of the Greek practice of display of a public resolution to publish public support for their rule (e.g., 1 Macc 14:25–49), their minting of coins and use of Greek documents—such as the core of 2 Maccabees—as royal propaganda. In sum, the Hasmoneans appear to have been a hybrid Hellenistic regional kingdom that put special stock in their status as *anti*-Hellenistic liberators.[2]

■ HASMONEAN TEXTUALITY

This next section surveys texts that can be dated with high probability to the period of the Hasmonean monarchy. This starts with a discussion of separate texts that show signs of originating in the Hasmonean monarchy or circles supportive of it: 1 and 2 Maccabees along with the book of Judith. These texts help provide a profile for looking at elements of the present Hebrew Bible that might

1. The fact that the first Hasmonean rulers almost certainly had contact with corpses may have contributed as well to questions about their legitimacy as (high) priests.

2. For further discussion, see David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 254–58. Particularly important sources for that discussion include Samuel K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead: Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism 334–31 BC* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 238–44; Jonathan Goldstein, "Jewish Acceptance and Rejection of Hellenism," in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, ed. E. P. Sanders, et al. (London: SCM, 1981), 64–87; Robert Doran, "Jason's Gymnasium," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 106–108; Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 1–40; and Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 33–35.

be linked to the Hasmonean monarchy. In what follows, I will argue that such a focus on the Hebrew Bible in this period is not as anachronistic as it would be for all previous periods. Rather, there are signs that the Hasmoneans played a role in initially defining the contours of the present Hebrew Bible, even if these contours were not recognized by those who opposed them and/or diaspora Jews outside their immediate domain. This discussion of the shaping of the Hebrew Bible will lead to consideration of several cases where we may have manuscript documentation of the final shaping of parts of the Hebrew Bible by the Hasmoneans, through comparison of possible pre-Masoretic text forms with their proto-Masoretic counterparts. In turn, we will see that texts from this period authored by others, for example, from Qumran and by other non-Hasmonean groups, apparently were excluded from the Hebrew Bible that began to emerge at this point.

Books Outside the Hebrew Bible with Apparent Ties to the Hasmoneans

1 Maccabees tells the story of the rise of the Hasmonean family to power, focusing on the time from the rise of Antiochus IV to power in 174 BCE, to the expansion and establishment of the Maccabean kingdom under John Hyrcanus (ruled 134–104 BCE). Following on the father, Matthias', final exhortation to his sons to follow the example of biblical heroes (1 Macc 2:51–60), each of his sons is portrayed in the book as a hero/deliverer after the pattern of the biblical judges and other major biblical figures. They restore the temple after it is defiled, defend the Torah and Torah-observance, and save their people from Antiochus's attempt to eliminate Judaism. Throughout there is not a hint of criticism of the Hasmonean dynasty, and Simon's time of rule is portrayed in 1 Macc 14:4–15 as virtually messianic in effect. The author probably was part of the Hasmonean establishment, utilizing access to sorts of sources—archives, diplomatic correspondence, etc.—that could have been available to someone in that position. Finally, as is true of other cultural products of the Hasmonean reign, 1 Maccabees displays striking cultural hybridity, a document written in Hebrew and thoroughly interlaced with biblical allusions, yet also drawing on the conventions of Hellenistic historiography.

The case of 2 Maccabees is more complicated, but it too probably represents a hybrid product of the Hasmonean establishment, this time with the weight of influence a bit less on the Hebrew-biblical side and more on elements drawn from Hellenistic historiography and culture. Aside from the letters that begin the work, the bulk of the book, chapters 3–15, is an epitome of a longer history written by Jason of Cyrene. In contrast to 1 Maccabees, however, this epitome focuses on the Hellenistic crisis and God's protection of the temple and Torah-obedience, particularly through the military successes of Judas Maccabeus. The book is written in Greek and draws even more explicitly than 1 Maccabees on techniques of Greek narrative and historiography. At the same time, however, the model of the judges again is predominant, in this case, the cyclical pattern of apostasy by the people followed by divine rescue through a righteous judge. Here, the Jews themselves

help to precipitate the Hellenistic crisis through their apostasy, which is then followed by miracles worked by God through Judas to rescue them. As in the case of 1 Maccabees, the perspective on the Hasmoneans is relentlessly positive, though, in this case, the focus is exclusively on the threat to the temple and on Judah's role in repelling that threat. This does not have to do with any critique of other members of the Hasmonean family (there is none), but with the focus of the book as a whole on narrating the defense of the temple and thus (in its present form) providing background for the celebration of Hanukkah in the Greek diaspora.[3] As in the case of 1 Maccabees, the epitomist and/or his source (Jason of Cyrene) seem to have worked from within the Hasmonean administration, utilizing elements of royal archives, albeit using a more fanciful narrative style than that seen in 1 Maccabees.

The third and final separate book with close ties to the Hasmoneans and the period in which they ruled is Judith. Though it does not focus on the Hasmoneans, it too features a biblical-style deliverer, Judith. As in those narratives, wavering Israelites face a fearsome foreign menace, this time the Assyrian army. As in those cases, they lack resources to deliver themselves and are tempted toward apostasy. In this case, however, Judith uses trickery and seductive means of female warfare reminiscent of Jael to kill the Assyrian general, Holofernes (Jdt 10:11a-13:10). Thereafter, she takes on a Deborah-like role in leading Israel to repel the Assyrian army (13:12–16:20). The book anachronistically projects back on this period a picture of the boundaries of Israel that matches the boundaries of the Hasmonean period (specifically 108–107 BCE). Moreover, the book mixes historical elements of the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods in a way that allows the Israelites to restore and purify the (still existing, but defiled) temple after Assyrian attack in a way closely analogous to Judas's restoration and purification of the temple after the Seleucid defilement. And the echoes of the books of the Maccabees continue in the book's narration of the Israelite defeat of a vastly superior Assyrian army, display of the head of the defeated general (Jdt 14:1//1 Macc 7:47; 2 Macc 15:30), and following celebration (Jdt 16:20; cf. 1 Macc 7:49; 2 Macc 15:36). To be sure, certain specific Persian details in the story suggest that parts of Judith may go back to an earlier, Persian-period tale, but the story as we have it now is a product of the Hasmonean monarchy.[4] Moreover, like 1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith is a hybrid cultural product. It probably was originally written in Hebrew, yet Judith also resembles 1 and 2 Maccabees in drawing freely on the conventions of Hellenistic novels and novelistic history. In this case, Judith presents a version of the Hasmonean judge-like deliverer myth projected into the

3. On this point, I thus agree with perspectives such as that expressed in Martha Himmelfarb, "Judaism and Hellenism in 2 Maccabees," *Poetics Today* 19 (1998): 21, note 4 and disagree with the position advocated in Jonathan Goldstein, *2 Maccabees: A New Translation, with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 82.

4. For a discussion oriented toward identifying Persian-period origins for Judith, see Jehoshua Grintz, *The Book of Judith (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), 18–55. Its potential early origins might also explain aspects of the tale (e.g., the fact that Judith remains a widow and dies childless) that could be construed as uncomplimentary of the Hasmoneans.

past, with the deliverer in this case not Judah Maccabeus, but a namesake of his, *Jud*ith.

The Hasmoneans and the Formation of a Hebrew, Torah-Prophets Corpus

In what follows, I will argue that the Hasmoneans did not just sponsor the writing of new works to celebrate their dynasty, with a particular focus on Judas Maccabeus and his purification of the temple, but they also played an important role in defining, circumscribing, and possibly revising the corpus of older works worthy of devotion and study. As mentioned before, Ben Sira's praise of ancient father/teachers (Sirach 44–49) reflects a loose sense of which ancient Hebrew works were worthy of ancient praise and attention. This collection encompassed *virtually* all the books now in the Hebrew Bible (Esther and Ezra are not mentioned). Yet, as we will see in the next chapter, this sort of picture is relatively isolated in Ben Sira's time, and even Ben Sira's ideas of great Hebrew teachers and the scribal curriculum in general do not match later definitions of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Hasmonean role in the shaping of a solidified Hebrew corpus of Torah and Prophets occurred as part of the broader Hasmonean response to the Hellenistic crisis. Not only did they restore and purify the Jerusalem temple after its defilement (a major focus of 1 and 2 Maccabees), but they also defended, restored, and—in a sense—purified the writings that were to be the focus of Jewish piety and study. We see a focus on this kind of role for them already in the above-discussed Hasmonean narratives. 1 Maccabees presents the Hasmoneans as defeating those who would destroy or forsake the Torah (1:56–57) and acting in complete agreement with the "book of the law." The Hasmonean role in organizing Jewish textuality is even more explicitly emphasized in 2 Maccabees, which presents Judas Maccabeus as reconstituting the temple library in the wake of its destruction by the Seleucids:

> The same things are reported in the records and in the memoirs of Nehemiah, and also that he [Judah] founded a library and collected the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and letters of kings about votive offerings. In the same way Judah also collected all the books that had been lost on account of the war which had come on us, and they are in our possession. (2 Macc 2:13-14 NRSV)

To be sure, this description of a library collecting "books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and letters of kings about votive offerings" is emphatically *not* a description matching any known configuration of the Hebrew Bible.[5] Nevertheless, this text joins the various citations from 1 Maccabees in establishing the Hasmonean promotion of themselves as *restorers* of ancient documents

5. On this point, cf. Shnaver Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1976), 28–30; Roger Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 150–52—both of which see this as more direct testimony to the emergence of the Hebrew Bible than the present author.

that were endangered by the Hellenistic oppressors (in this case, the sorts of documents that could be conceived as supporting the particular historical-apologetic agenda of 2 Maccabees).

This Hasmonean emphasis on antiquity and restoration fits with the overall focus in the Hellenistic period—among both Greeks and those they ruled—on revering ancient pre-Hellenistic traditions. Within Greek culture, particularly in the diaspora, this took the form of the celebration of an authorized list of pre-Hellenistic authors and some focus, in scholarly circles in Alexandria, on standardization of the texts of works by authors in that list. This authorized list privileged works of Homer and classical authors such as Euripides and Herodotus, while marginalizing the works clearly attributed to authors of more recent periods. Meanwhile, as will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, scribes in the cultures under Greek domination, including Jewish scribes, often claimed that the literature of their own people was more ancient than and superior to that of the Greeks. Within the context of cultural competition between Greek and other cultures in the Hellenistic world, antiquity was a currency that bought prestige.

The idea of the "end of prophecy" supposedly occurring in the Persian period, an idea that first appears in 1 Macc 9:27, can be seen in this context. With it comes the idea that the prophetic age concluded, at least for the time being, with the time of Haggai and Zechariah (along with Malachi, dated to the same period in Mal 1:1). This excludes all explicitly Hellenistic-period works from counting as inspired prophecy. Pre-Hellenistic Israelite prophets become the Hebrew counterparts to pre-Hellenistic authorized Greek authors, and the corpus of works attributed to such "prophets" is privileged vis-à-vis other works. There is still an expectation in 1 Maccabees and elsewhere that a prophet could come in the future (e.g., 1 Macc 4:44–46; 14:41). Nevertheless, from 1 Maccabees onward, we see an increasing number of Jewish texts that presuppose that prophecy had ceased from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah onward.[6]

This is important because the category of "prophecy" in the late Second Temple period encompassed not only the sorts of literary-oracle prophets associated with books such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, or the book of the Twelve Prophets, but also divinely inspired speech in general, aside from the Torah (which was in a category of its own, with Moses the prophet par excellence; see already Deut 34:10–12). Thus, for example, 1 Macc 7:16–17 cites Ps 79:2–3 as prophecy, and 11QPs^{a} XXVII:11 refers to David as the prophetic author of the Psalms. 4 Maccabees refers not only to David, but also to Solomon and Daniel as prophetic figures (4 Macc 18:10–19). These and other texts indicate that a "prophet" in this late Second Temple context meant any divinely inspired author of a non-Torah literary text. Thus when Qumran documents, for example, repeatedly refer to the "Torah and Prophets" (1 QS 1.2–3; 8.12–16; CD 7.15–17; 4QDibHam^{a} 3.12–13), they probably do not just mean documents such as Isaiah, 1 Samuel, or Amos, but also Psalms, Proverbs, and other inspired, purportedly pre-Hellenistic texts.

6. For discussion of the relevant texts, see Benjamin Sommer, "Did Prophecy Cease? Evaluating a Reevaluation," *JBL* 115 (1996): 31–47 and Stephen Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study in Old Testament Canon Formation*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 264–66.

Thus for 1 Maccabees, a probable Hasmonean document, to imply that prophecy had ceased in the pre-Hellenistic period was to limit the corpus of potential divinely inspired texts to that period as well. This then would represent another example of Hasmonean hybridity, the use of Hellenistic concepts in the service of anti-Hellenistic ideology. During the Hellenistic period, particularly in Greek diaspora areas such as Egypt, we see the growth of the concept of a defined, authoritative corpus of *pre-Hellenistic* authors whose works were considered the proper object of study and preservation. Thus ostensively, the pre-Hellenistic writings of Homer, Euripides, Plato, and others were included, while other writings (associated with later authors) were excluded. The concept of the end of prophecy in the time of Haggai and Zechariah was the Hebrew counterpart to this list of authorized, early Greek authors. Only in this case, the authors being recognized as authoritative were *Hebrew* prophets from the pre-Hellenistic period. "Prophets" in this broader sense through the Persian period were included—for example, David, Solomon, Samuel—while the writings of others afterward, even revered sages such as Ben Sira, were not. In so far as this idea received more general acceptance, it privileged works already attributed to earlier figures and (as in the case of the circumscription of Greek literary works) encouraged new authors to ascribe their works pseudo-epigraphically to earlier figures.

There are other clues that point to an emergence, during the Hasmonean period, of an increasingly defined and hardened corpus of authoritative Hebrew works. The proto-Masoretic Twelve Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever is but an early and high-quality witness to the emergence and influence around this time of the proto-Masoretic text type dominant in later rabbinic Judaism. As Maier has pointed out more recently, Torah scrolls go through a major transformation over this period, from the variety and inclusivity of the LXX and proto-Samaritan text types of the third to the second century, to the predominance, from the late second century on, of proto-Masoretic Torah scrolls written in the square script.[7] Furthermore, Lange detects a shift toward more formal citation styles across the same chronological boundary, with more free-form allusion typical of the third to second centuries and clearer quotes—"as it is written" in the late second century and onward.[8] These sorts of shifts point to a broader standardization of textual types and emphasis on textual authority that conform with the above-described emergent focus on a delimited corpus of Hebrew works: Torah on the one hand, and pre-Hellenistic, non-Torah "Prophets" on the other. Then, by the late first century CE, Josephus gives an overview of the contents of the "Torah and allied documents" (*Apion* 1.38–41) that matches the contents of the present Hebrew Bible. Moreover, he presents this not as an innovation, but as a longtime consensus among Jews. To be sure, this claim is linked to Josephus's apologetic aims, but it would be difficult to make such a credible claim to his

7. Johann Maier, "Pentateuch, Torah und Recht zwischen Qumran und Septuaginta," in *Studien zur jüdischen Bibel und ihrer Geschichte*, idem., Studia Judaica 28 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 111–24.

8. Armin Lange, "From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library," in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives*, ed. Chr. Helmer and Chr. Landmesser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51–107.

audience if the Bible he surveys had only been defined in the years immediately previous to his writing.

At the same time, despite Josephus's apologetic assertions, it should be emphasized that some Jews, particularly (but not exclusively) in the earlier end of the Hasmonean period, do *not* seem to have agreed on the identification of authoritative books. The distribution of preserved and cited texts at Qumran suggests that at least some groups—including the community centered there—worked with a more fluid idea of divinely inspired writing than that implied by the above-described concept of the "end of prophecy." These groups alluded to and cited a variety of Hellenistic-period, often non-Hebrew texts as Scripture well into the Common Era. As the first century CE concludes, we see the above-mentioned implication in 4 Ezra that the narrower collection of Hebrew works defined by the concept of "end of prophecy," the twenty-four books, were only a fraction of ancient, divinely revealed books, thus definitely *not* the whole corpus of inspired books (14:38–47). This citation from 4 Ezra thus provides evidence both for a narrower concept of authoritative books and resistance to it.

The prologue to the Greek translation of Ben Sira, probably written in the late second century BCE, provides an earlier potential example of resistance against the limiting of authorized books to pre-Hellenistic "prophets." This prologue, written by the translator (Ben Sira's grandson) to promote Ben Sira's writing, repeatedly insists that his grandfather not only consulted the "Torah" and "Prophets," but also *other* writings in the process of composing his Wisdom book, writings variously characterized as "others that followed them," "other books of our fathers," and "rest of the books." This is part of an argument for the importance of later books, such as Ben Sira, in a broader Jewish world apparently influenced by an emphasis on "prophets" from the pre-Hellenistic period. Ben Sira himself studied such later books, so says his grandson, in composing his own work. And the grandson remarks that the challenges of translating such later works, such as Ben Sira, are similar to those of translating the more conventional Torah and Prophets. In sum, Ben Sira's grandson implicitly recognizes the existence of a more circumscribed category of "prophets" that would include books such as Isaiah or Psalms, but he maintains that the work of his grandfather that he has translated also deserves study: "You are urged therefore to read with good will and attention" (Sir Prologue 15 RSV).

In turn, this interpretation means that this prologue to Ben Sira *cannot* be taken as early evidence for the emergence of a third category of Scriptural texts corresponding to the "writings" category of the later Jewish Tanach. Often scholars have seen precursors to the later Jewish "writings" category both in the mention of "other books of our fathers" in the prologue to Ben Sira, the mention of "Psalms" alongside Torah and Prophets in Luke 24:44, and listing of "writings of David" alongside Torah and Prophets in 4QMMT C10. The reading in 4QMMT, however, turns out to be based on a problematic reconstruction of the text,[9] and Luke 24:44

9. Timothy Lim, "The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible," *RevQ* 77 (2001): 23–37; Eugene Ulrich, "The Non-Attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14; "Qumran and the Canon of the Old Testament," in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge (Leuven: Peeters and University of Leuven Press, 2003), 67–69.

is a late-first-century CE, isolated mention of "Torah, Prophets, and Psalms" amidst far more frequent references in Luke-Acts and other early Christian writings to "Torah and Prophets" (Rom 3:21; Q 16:16 [Luke 16:16//Matt 11:13]; Luke 16:29–31; 24:27; Acts 13:15; 24:14; 26:22; 28:23; Matt 5:17; 7:12; 22:40; John 1:45). In addition, the wording of the prologue to Ben Sira militates against seeing it as a reference to a "writings" category containing books such as Job, Proverbs, and Psalms. Ben Sira's grandson refers at the outset to "the other books that *followed*" the prophets. This would encompass books such as Ben Sira itself, but not books such as Job, Proverbs and Psalms that were attributed to pre-prophetic figures.[10]

This does not mean that the prologue to Sirach is irrelevant for study of the emergence of proto-canonical consciousness in early Judaism, only that its significance for these questions must be redefined. As others have noted, the prologue stands as one of the earliest datable references to "Torah" and "Prophets," and as such probably reflects an important step forward in the identification—among at least some second-century Jewish groups—of a defined, relatively closed corpus of Jewish Scripture.[11] Moreover, as argued above, Ben Sira's grandson seems to push back against any implication in this identification of "Torah" and "Prophets" that his grandfather's work might not be worthy of study. As such, the prologue to Ben Sira (like 4 Ezra 14:38–47) is both a reflection of and resistance to attempts to circumscribe the Jewish literary corpus to Torah on the one hand and pre-Hellenistic prophets on the other. Ben Sira's grandson does not show knowledge, however, of a group of "writings" like that later found in the Jewish Tanach. We do not see clear evidence for the division of the broader category of pre-Hellenistic prophets evident in Ben Sira and elsewhere into separate "prophets" and "writings" corpora until the rabbinic Tosefta of the third century CE.[12]

Just as liturgical developments probably provided a context for the final shaping of the divisions of the Jewish Tanach, the Hasmonean monarchy probably provided the context for the circumscribing and hardening of an initial, proto-Masoretic

10. As James Barr (*Holy Scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983], 57 and John Barton (*Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1986], 83–86) (among others) have pointed out, the ancients working without codices like our books did not necessarily share our concept of the ordering of a broader corpus of scrolls. To be sure, it made sense to read the book of Exodus as a continuation of the story begun in Genesis and so on, and there was a sense that certain authors followed others. Nevertheless, any such narrative or chronological ordering systems would have placed Job and the Davidic and Solomonic books "before," not after, the books of prophets such as Isaiah, etc.

11. For example, Arie van der Kooij, "The Canonization of Ancient Books Kept in the Temple of Jerusalem," in *Canonization and Decanonization*, ed. Arie van der Kooij and Karel van der Toorn (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 17–40.

12. *t. Roš Haš* 4.6 (for a discussion of other references, see David M. Carr, "Canonization in the Context of Community: An Outline of the Formation of the Tanakh and the Christian Bible," in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. Richard D. Weis and David M. Carr [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1996], 57–58). This reference, in turn, probably reflects liturgical developments under way by that time, which distinguished between "prophets" that were read alongside the Torah in the synagogue (in the Haftorah cycle) and "writings"—the latter texts not "read" in that central part of the liturgical cycle. Certainly, they were used in other ways, and psalms were regularly sung in services. Nevertheless, they were not ceremoniously "read" in the same way as the Torah and Haftorah sections. See also my discussion in *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 267–68.

Torah-Prophets corpus. Certainty, of course, is impossible on this question, but numerous data point in this direction. To start, the Hasmonean high priesthood and monarchy were by far the best equipped of Jewish institutions in the Second Temple period to promote and enforce textual standardization and delimitation of a corpus of approved books. Especially in the Hellenistic period, temples were the prime place for storage of a culture's most holy (indigenous) books, and the Hasmoneans as high priests controlled the most important temple in Judaism, the one in Jerusalem. The proto-Masoretic texts that start to appear in the late Hasmonean period probably linked back to reference exemplars stored there.[13]

Yet the Hasmoneans were not just high priests. As mentioned above, they presented themselves in their texts as defenders of traditional Jewish textuality, and Judah is explicitly described as collecting Judaism's most ancient texts in the Jerusalem temple after it had been desecrated by the Greeks. Both paleo-Hebrew coins and assertions embedded in 1 and 2 Maccabees establish the Hasmoneans' pro-Hebrew tendencies, tendencies that conform well with the idea that they would have developed and promoted a *Hebrew* corpus of pre-Hellenistic Torah and Prophets to counter the Greek corpus of surrounding nations. In this way, they built on older streams of Hebrew linguistic nationalism manifest already in the appearance of Hebrew inscriptions on coins in the pre-Hasmonean period and a revival of Hebrew literature seen in the composition of works such as Jubilees and pre-Qumran priestly wisdom works. Previously, in the Persian and earlier Hellenistic periods, a significant amount of literature appears to have been written in Aramaic (on this, see the next two chapters), but we see these indicators from the early second century (coins, Jewish works in Hebrew) of a turn toward use of Hebrew, described in Hasmonean documents as the "language of the fathers" (e.g., 2 Macc 7:8), in literary documents and public prestige contexts (e.g., coins).

Furthermore, the above-discussed, earliest attestation of the idea of the "end of prophecy" occurs in 1 Maccabees, a Hebrew text apparently originating from the Hasmonean monarchy. Overall, the idea of a fixed corpus of pre-Hellenistic Hebrew prophetic authors—mirroring and yet countering the corresponding Greek corpus—well matches the broader profile of the Hasmoneans as opposing Hellenistic culture often in profoundly Greek ways. To be sure, we do not have explicit description at any point of the Hasmoneans innovating in developing this ancient corpus, but such a description would have worked at cross-purposes with the promotion of such a delimited and standardized corpus as merely a *restoration* of what had been recognized all along. And indeed, the Hasmoneans did not invent the idea of a Hebrew corpus divided into "Torah" and "Prophets." This bipartite division organizes Ben Sira's praise to the fathers (Sir 44–45 and 46–49); Ben Sira already knows many of the books later included in the Torah-Prophets corpus, and even the documents of the Qumran community, which otherwise appears to have been opposed to the Hasmoneans, refer to the broader corpus of authoritative works as "Torah" and "Prophets." In sum, the Hasmonean innovation lay not in creating such a corpus, but solidifying and delimiting it, particularly

13. For more on the temple links of much early Jewish textuality, see my discussion in *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 201–14.

through circumscribing who counted as a "prophet," that is, pre-Hellenistic figures such as Job, David, Isaiah, the Twelve, etc. up to the time of Haggai and Zechariah.

Meanwhile, the best evidence for Second Temple Jewish groups that did not recognize this delimited corpus comes from groups opposed to the Hasmoneans. The Qumran community, for example, seems to have valued Jubilees and Enoch as much as or more than many books of the narrower Torah-Prophets corpus (and later included in the three-part rabbinic Tanach), and shows no clear evidence of having worked with a delimited Scriptural canon. We see similar evidence for more porous ancient concepts of authorized literary corpora in early Christian literature, such as the book of Jude in the New Testament, which cites Enoch as Scripture. Meanwhile, the Samaritans, clearly opposed to the Hasmoneans by virtue of the Hasmonean destruction of their temple and attack on their community, worked with a narrower corpus of authorized books, not recognizing "prophets" as scripturally authoritative, but focusing instead on their recension of the Torah, the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The evidence for such Scriptural corpora in the late Second Temple period is admittedly meager, with much depending on tenuous readings about these groups from much later sources. Nevertheless, the limited data that we have suggest the following picture. On the one hand, rabbinic Judaism inherited a corpus of Torah and Prophets (this is the exclusive term for Scripture in the Mishnah) consisting of books already known by Josephus.[14] Likely this corpus had been promoted from the temple center from the Hasmonean period onward, with the Pharisaic precursors to the rabbis buying into the Hasmonean concept of Torah and pre-Hellenistic prophecy, probably around the time of Queen Salome. On the other hand, some groups with known antipathy toward the Hasmoneans, especially the Qumran community and Samaritans (possibly also certain Jerusalem-based priestly groups), worked with other concepts of which Hebrew books were authoritative.[15]

Meanwhile, despite the apparent worries of Ben Sira's grandson that his Greek translation of his grandfather's work would not have been recognized alongside the earlier "Torah" and "Prophets," the delimitation of a pre-Hellenistic Torah and Prophets corpus does not seem to have prevailed in the Greek Jewish diaspora. A wide variety of Jewish Greek works—both translations of Semitic scrolls and Greek originals—circulated, often functioned as Scripture, and eventually formed the basis for the Christian Old Testament. Indeed, if one is to judge by the composition of 2 Maccabees to celebrate Judas Maccabeus and Hanukkah and the translation of 1 Maccabees and Judith into Greek, the Hasmoneans themselves seem to have exploited openness to a broader scope of works in the Jewish Greek

14. For discussion of the Mishnah's form of citation versus the tripartite citations that first emerge in the Tosephta (*t. Roš Haš.* 4.6) and later, see Carr, "Canonization in Community," 57–58 and Peter Pettit, "'As It Is Said': The Place of Scripture Citation in the Mishna," PhD diss. (Claremont, CA: Claremont Graduate University, 2003).

15. For discussion of the possibility that the Sadducees and other Priestly groups may have granted the Torah virtually exclusive Scriptural authority, see my "Canonization in Community," 36–38. The same article (pp. 39–49) surveys the main evidence for pluriformity in concepts of which books were authoritative in various groups of Second Temple Judaism.

diaspora to promote themselves (and their holiday) and gain influence among Jewish constituencies outside the land.

If we turn to the question of why the Hasmoneans would have promoted such a pre-Hellenistic delimited Hebrew corpus, we move further into uncertainty. That said, two factors are worth mention. First, the sharper delimitation of authoritative Hebrew "prophetic works" could have provided an ideological base for the Hasmoneans to discourage the use of texts revered by their opponents. In so far as many of those texts, such as Enoch, were in Aramaic, and the pseudonymous claims for pre-Hellenistic authorship of some other works (e.g., Jubilees) may have been suspect, such works would have been disadvantaged in an ideological environment that privileged Hebrew works whose claims for pre-Hellenistic authorship were less disputed. To be sure, the book of Daniel, which includes an extensive, pseudonymous Hebrew extension of older Aramaic tales, slipped through as a pre-Hellenistic prophetic work. Its origins as an anti-Seleucid work in the Hellenistic crisis may have helped.

The Hasmoneans also could have promoted the delimited Hebrew Torah-Prophets corpus as part of their attempt to integrate their expanding kingdom in a way compatible with their anti-Hellenistic hybrid ideology. As mentioned above, from Simon to Alexander Janneus, the Hasmoneans added numerous regions to their realm through negotiation and military conquest, destroying Greek cities and forcibly converting the inhabitants of non-Jewish areas. As their realm expanded, they had to develop an administrative apparatus staffed with pro-Hasmonean, educated officials. Previously in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods, these sorts of officials were educated in Greek classics that were part of the culture the Hasmoneans professed to oppose. A delimited corpus of pre-Hellenistic Hebrew Torah-Prophets, numbering twenty-four books corresponding to the twenty-four books of Homer's epic and following the same alphabetic numbering system, offered an alternative that was as or more ancient than its Greek counterpart and indigenous to Judean culture.[16] Therefore, the Hasmoneans could have promoted a more delimited Hebrew corpus as part of their development of an anti-Greek, indigenous textual curriculum as a centerpoint to an educational system for the elite in their expanding mini-empire. Indeed, we may have indirect testimony to such educational efforts by the Hasmoneans in two rabbinic texts that place the beginnings of Jewish education in the early first century BCE (*b. B.Bat. 21a, y. Ketub. 8:11.32c*).

In any case, the reasons *why* this more delimited Torah-Prophets corpus began to emerge in the Hasmonean period are not crucial to our purposes. What is important is recognizing *that* such delimitation started to take place during this period, probably in connection with the rise of Hasmonean power over an expanding kingdom and Hasmonean influence on the Jewish diaspora. Though this development did not prevail among all, especially the Hasmoneans' opponents (nor in defining the limits of Greek texts in the Jewish diaspora), it grew influential

16. This correspondence to the Homeric corpus was something noted in several reviews of my last book. See, for example, John Van Seters, "The Origins of the Hebrew Bible: Some New Answers to Old Questions (Part Two)," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 7 (2007): 234.

enough that Josephus in the late first century could plausibly assert to his Greek audience that Jews of his day surpassed the Greeks in achieving consensus on what books were authoritative.

The Hasmoneans and Final Formation of the Hebrew Bible

If this overall hypothesis is sound, it would suggest that the Hasmoneans were the last to have a chance to adjust the contents of the Hebrew Torah-Prophets corpus they promoted. Since the value of the time was on antiquity, they could not make large changes. Ostensively, the Torah-Prophets Scriptural corpus was being protected and restored, not created. Even the book of Daniel, which probably was completed only decades before the Scriptural corpus was closed, was not updated to contain a correct prophecy of the death of Antiochus or anticipate the Hasmonean monarchy.

At the same time, we know from textual evidence preserved at Qumran and in the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch that Hebrew texts were in flux. Many of the manuscripts in question date from the Hasmonean period or later, but they preserve an array of textual shifts that could date to earlier periods as well. For example, as discussed in chapters three and four, a number of Qumran Pentateuchal manuscripts, 4QRP, and parts of the Temple Scroll document an ongoing process of harmonization and coordination of divergent Pentateuchal legal traditions with each other and some supplementation of Pentateuchal traditions with later practices, such as the festival of wood, which began to be celebrated in the Persian period. Such harmonization/coordination is documented for other books as well, such as in the different placement of the report of Joshua's building of an altar at Ebal and covenant making there just after the crossing of the Jordan (in 4QJosh^{a}; cf. Josephus *Ant*. V.16-19), after the conquest of Ai (now in MT Josh 8:30–35), or after the subsequent muster of Canaanite kings (LXX after 9:1–2), a manuscript variation that supports other indicators that this report is a secondary insertion harmonizing this part of Joshua with commands given in Deuteronomy for Israel to build such an altar (Deut 27:4–7; note also Deut 11:29–30). On a broader level, we have manuscript attestation for significant expansions of books such as Esther, Daniel, and other books to be discussed in more detail below, parallel editions of the books of Proverbs, and the striking addition of an Aramaic cast to excerpts of the Song of Songs found at Qumran. Though there remains debate about whether Psalms scrolls at Qumran, such as 11QPs^{a}, are excerpted manuscripts, the balance of evidence from cave 4 now suggests that divergent recensions of the books of Psalms were also in circulation into the Hasmonean period.[17] In these and many other ways, we now have rich manuscript documentation for the ongoing fluidity of the text of the Hebrew Bible into the Hasmonean period.

17. The most comprehensive recent arguments have been presented in Peter Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 2007), building on early suggestions along these lines by James A. Sanders.

In what follows, I will focus on a more limited set of documented revisions that might be linked in some way to the final shaping of the Hebrew Torah-Prophets corpus, potentially by Hasmonean scribes. Thus in this case, I am most interested not in more mechanical shifts, such as harmonizations or memory variants,[18] nor theological shifts common to the various manuscript traditions that might likewise be dated to the Hasmonean period,[19] but in cases where we may have manuscript documentation of some apparently intentional shifts present in the Masoretic text that might link to interests and concerns of the Hasmoneans as surveyed in the above discussion of the profile of Hasmonean texts (e.g., 1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith). The elements that distinguish the proto-MT recension from non-MT recensions (e.g., the LXX Vorlage, Samaritan Pentateuch, some Qumran manuscripts) *sometimes* link to interests and concerns of the above-discussed Hasmonean profile and thus have the potential to illustrate a process of revision that accompanied the solidification and circumspection of the Hebrew Torah-Prophets corpus.

I start with a set of changes in Deuteronomy and Joshua that can be related to Hasmonean antagonism toward the Samaritans, in particular, their destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. As work by Adrian Schenker has shown, the original text of Deuteronomy at numerous points seems to have urged the Israelites to sacrifice exclusively at "the place that [Yhwh] *has chosen*" (Deut 12:14, 18; 14:23; 15:20; 16:2, 7, 11, 15–16) with that emerging in Deuteronomy 27, as Mount *Gerizim*, where the Israelites are instructed to build an altar (Deut 27:4–7).[20] These readings are preserved not only in the Samaritan Pentateuch, but also the Old Latin translation of the Old Greek tradition and

18. However, note the proposal by Innocent Himbaza ("Dt 32,8, une correction tardive de scribes: Essai d'interprétation et de datation," *Biblica* 83 [2002]: 531–33), modifying a broader proposal by Barthélmy ("Les tiqqué sopherim et la critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament," in *Congress Volume Bonn*, VTSup 9 [Leiden: Brill, 1963], 300–303), and arguing for a specifically Hasmonean-period dating of the MT harmonization of the Priestly numbering of sons of Israel in Gen 46:27; Exod 1:5 (both originally 75) to the numbering found in Deut 10:22.

19. See, for example, Rüdiger Bartlemus, "Ez 37,1–14, die Verbform weqatal und die Anfänge der Auferstehungshoffnung," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 366–89 (though note qualifications regarding resurrection as an indicator of Hasmonean-period dating in Peter Ackroyd, "Criteria for the Maccabean Dating of Old Testament Literature," in *VT 3* [Leiden: Brill, 1953], 121–25), along with the bulk of the proposals for Hasmonean-period dating of many proto-MT variants from the LXX in the books of Samuel and Kings in Adrian Schenker, *Septante et texte massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14*, CRB 48 (Paris: Gabalda, 2000) and idem., *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher: Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher*, OBO 199 (Göttingen and Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and Academic Press Fribourg, 2004). Below I will consider a few of Schenker's proposals that relate to the above-discussed profile of Hasmonean-linked writings.

20. Adrian Schenker, "Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l'a-t-il choisi?: l'apport de la Bible grecque ancienne à l'histoire du texte samaritain et massorétique," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 339–51; idem., "Textgeschichtliches zum Samaritanischen Pentateuch und Samareitikon," in *Samaritans: Past and Present. Current Studies*, ed. Menahem Mor and Friederich V. Reiterer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 105–21. I thank Stephan Schorch for sharing his own presentation on this topic in pre-publication form with me, along with the references to Schenker's earlier work.

(for the reading "has chosen" at the loci listed above) in the Old Greek tradition for Deuteronomy, for example, the Coptic translation of the Old Greek. The proto-MT, however, represents a twofold alteration of these originally Northern referents in Deuteronomy. It now has Yhwh refer to "the place that [Yhwh] *will choose*," thus redirecting these endorsements of centralized sacrifice toward the future establishment of the temple in Jerusalem, in particular, the later reference in 1 Kgs 14:21 to *Jerusalem* as the "city which Yhwh has chosen." Moreover, the proto-MT refers in Deut 27:4 not to Mount Gerizim, the mountain of blessing, but to Mount Ebal, the mountain where curses are pronounced in the immediately following context (Deut 27:13).[21] The original referents to Gerizim in Deuteronomy make sense as relatively early portions of the text, centering the inscription of the Torah in the heartland of the Israelite tribes and ultimately leading to a covenant ceremony at Gerizim and Ebal (Deut 27:12–13).[22] The apparent alterations in the proto-MT of Deuteronomy, in turn, are best set in the context of the destruction of the sanctuary at Mount Gerizim by the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus in 128 BCE.

The next case to be considered is Ezra-Nehemiah as compared to 1 Esdras, a case already discussed from another point of view in Chapter 3 of this book. There, I followed Böhler and others in seeing Ezra-Nehemiah as a secondary conflation of a rebuilding account culminating in Ezra's restoration of Torah (close to 1 Esdras minus the story of the three guards in Esd 3:1–5:6 and possibly the material from Chronicles) and the Nehemiah memoir now contained in Nehemiah 1–6 and parts of Nehemiah 12 and 13 (reflected in Josephus's use of it as a separate source). In addition, Böhler makes a persuasive case that this combination occurred in a context where it was understood that Torah-obedience was threatened by foreign oppression and must be secured through state political structures. The insertion of Nehemiah's wall-building in Nehemiah 1–6 between the beginning (Ezra 1–10) and conclusion (Nehemiah 8) of the Rebuilding-Ezra composition makes clear that the restoration of Torah that occurs under Ezra (Nehemiah 8) can only happen on the other side of the military-political reconstitution of Jerusalem through Nehemiah's rebuilding of the wall. The rest of Ezra-Nehemiah, apart possibly from fragments of Nehemiah's memoir in parts of Nehemiah 12 and 13, is a new composition describing Nehemiah's reconstitution of Judah-Jerusalem on the other side of wall-building and Torah reading. The starting point of this new composition and a centerpoint of the whole is a prayer by Nehemiah (Nehemiah 9) in which Nehemiah blames Israel's slavery to foreign

21. The above-discussed harmonization in Josh 8:30–35 to Deut 27:1–8 (an apparent free-floating harmonization differently located in the proto-MT and LXX) apparently post-dates this redirection of the Deuteronomy text. See Christophe Nihan, "The Torah between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 217–19.

22. For the purposes of this argument, it is immaterial whether these elements in Deut 27:1–8 are located in a very early pre-exilic edition of Deuteronomy linked with the North or represent a post-exilic attempt to include Northern traditions in an inclusive Hexateuch. For this latter theory and discussion, see Nihan, "Torah Between Samaria and Judah," 213–17.

powers on its failure to heed the "prophets' " call to obey the Torah. The rest of the book then narrates the people's covenantal commitment to follow the Torah and provide for the temple (Nehemiah 10), the repopulation of Jerusalem and surrounding areas (Nehemiah 11), dedication of the wall (Nehemiah 12), and initial implementation of the commitment to follow Torah (Nehemiah 13). Overall, both the general ideology of the arrangement of materials (e.g., establishment of political structure to protect Torah obedience, foreign rule as antagonistic to Torah obedience) and certain specifics in new material in Nehemiah 10–13 (e.g., the temple tax, outline of Hasmonean regions of Judah in Neh 11:25–35, Jerusalem as "holy city") fit a Hasmonean dating better than other periods.[23] Apparently, the second century was a time of particularly intense interest in Nehemiah (Sir 49:13; Enoch 89:72–3), and at least one probable Hasmonean document prominently features Nehemiah and depicts Judah's following his example in collecting and preserving ancient texts (2 Macc 1:18–36; 2:13–14).[24] Following Böhler, I suggest that part of the Hasmonean project of collection and preservation of older texts was the redactional combination and extension of Rebuilding-Ezra and Nehemiah materials resulting in the MT Ezra-Nehemiah book. Notably the conflated result, as in the case of (Hasmonean-produced book of) Judith, was another example of the triumph of ideology over chronology, placing Nehemiah contemporary with and subsequent to Ezra as opposed to the order in which these figures probably historically appeared.

The example of 1 Esdras//Ezra-Nehemiah is helpful because it shows another way in which the LXX can reflect a mix of traditions that precede and postdate its counterpart(s) in other early textual traditions. On the one hand, 1 Esdras reflects a form of the Rebuilding-Ezra tradition prior to the creation of the proto-MT Ezra-Nehemiah book through the addition of a concluding focus on Nehemiah's rebuilding efforts. On the other hand, the story of the three courtiers in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6, possibly accompanied by the rearrangement of the correspondence immediately prior to it, is a probable later feature of Esdras when compared with the Ezra-Nehemiah tradition. This latter fact does not counterbalance the multiple indicators that the bulk of 1 Esdras reflects a form of the Rebuilding-Ezra tradition prior to its conflation with the Nehemiah memoir, a form also witnessed to externally by Josephus. In this and other respects, 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah represent competing recensions that cannot be put on a single developmental line.

The same is true of many other cases of comparison of markedly different recensions of Hebrew biblical texts reflected in the Septuagint or attested in the manuscripts at Qumran. As mentioned before, the proto-MT recension of the tabernacle material appears to be an expanded and harmonized version of an edition much like that reflected in the LXX Exodus, yet the LXX Exodus includes a

23. Dieter Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia: Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels*, OBO 158 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 382–97.

24. In addition to Böhler (cited in the previous note), see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 55–57 on the particular interest in Nehemiah demonstrated by the Hasmoneans.

significant section on metals in Exod 38:18–26 that appears to be a later expansion.[25] The LXX of Jeremiah appears to reflect a Hebrew Vorlage that *literarily* is earlier in general than its counterpart in the MT, even if there are numerous individual instances where the proto-MT of Jeremiah preserves an earlier form of the tradition in comparison with distinctive features of LXX Jeremiah (and the related recensions in 4QJer[b] and 4QJer[d]). Another complicated case is that of Esther, where the analyses of Moore, Clines, and Fox have shown that the Alpha text of the Greek Esther was expanded through the importation of elements of the standard LXX Greek Esther, including translations of late expansions of Esther found there. Yet when one subtracts these and other harmonizations of the Alpha text with its Beta counterpart, the Alpha text of Esther appears to reflect a form of the Hebrew text that preceded the proto-MT, particularly in the later chapters of the book.[26] In sum, the LXX versions of biblical books often reflect recensions that precede the proto-MT, even as they often also contain various later harmonizations and other additions.

With these qualifications, the LXX can provide an important comparison point for identifying distinctive elements of the Hasmonean redaction of the Hebrew Bible. In so far as the Hasmonean scribal establishment did play an active role in the final shaping of the Hebrew Scriptures, as has been proposed above with respect to the definition of Hebrew Scriptures, various changes in Deuteronomy, and the creation of Ezra-Nehemiah, some of their work may be reflected in differences between the proto-MT of certain biblical texts and their LXX (and/or early Qumran) counterparts. In what follows, I survey additional cases where the LXX (or early Qumran) textual tradition probably reflects an earlier form (or earlier features) of biblical books than what is seen in the proto-MT, and assess whether the distinctive later elements of the proto-MT show potential connections to Hasmonean interests as reflected in 1 Maccabees and other probable Hasmonean literature. My focus will be on a few possible examples of pre-MT recensions at Qumran along with portions of the LXX that best reflect the Old Greek, thus, the Pentateuch and Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel-2 Samuel 9 (or 10); 2 Kgs 2:12–21:26, Isaiah (though free), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the Twelve.[27]

Aside from the above-discussed readings in Deuteronomy, there are not many places where the proto-MT of the Pentateuch manifests distinctive features that can be linked to Hasmonean interests. Indeed, in important respects, the proto-MT of the Pentateuch is recensionally older than competing recensions of the

25. Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)*, ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 393–94.

26. Carey Moore, "A Greek Witness to a Different Text of Esther," *ZAW* 79 (1967): 351–58; David Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, JSOTSup 30 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984); Michael V. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, Studies on Personality of the Old Testament (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).

27. Other portions of the LXX, such as Daniel, 2 Sam 11;1–1 Kgs 2:11, and 1 Kings 22:1-end of 2 Kings, part of Judges and Lamentations, show numerous signs of being part of later Greek revisions of the LXX toward the proto-MT.

Pentateuch, such as the "proto-Samaritan" manuscripts of the Pentateuch found at Qumran, in lacking harmonizations and other coordinating expansions present in them. The proto-MT of Pentateuchal books certainly includes its own distinctive expansive pluses vis-à-vis other traditions, but there is little specifically Hasmonean about them.[28]

This changes when we move to the Former Prophets, where there are several cases where the proto-MT, when compared to the LXX and/or some Qumran documents, features larger-scale revisions of passages that show more potential for instructing us on characteristics of the final shaping of the proto-MT recension. For example, the LXX preserves a P-like version of the law regarding cities of refuge in Josh 20:1–3*, 7–9 before it was expanded through the addition of 20:4–6 and thus harmonized to agree with Deuteronomistic rules regarding cities of refuge.[29] In addition, the conclusion of the LXX of Joshua contains material that once may have been part of transition directly to the story of Eglon in Judg 3:12–14, thus preserving part of what once may have been a version of Joshua-Judges on one scroll that lacked intervening materials that probably were added later: the negative conquest list now in Judg 1:1–36, theological materials (including the resumptive repetition of Josh 24:28–32 in Judg 2:6–10) in Judg 2:1–3:6, and the uniquely unlocalized story of a Judean judge, Othniel, in Judg 3:7–11.[30] The LXX of Samuel includes a version of the David and Goliath story that seems to precede the inclusion of a parallel version of David's triumph over Goliath now found in 1 Sam 17:12–31, 17:55–18:6 and elsewhere (a version that is also the focus of [LXX] Psalm 151 and 11QPs^{a} XXVIII 3–14).[31] And Schenker,

28. The most evocative proposal of Hasmonean-period revision of the Pentateuch (and Deuteronomistic history) is the observation that the sum of the dates of the proto-Massoretic biblical history, *when combined with known dates for Persian- and Hellenistic-period rulers*, gives exactly 4000 years from creation to the rededication of the temple by Judas Maccabeus (with the exodus placed at 2666 years after creation, two-thirds of the way to temple rededication). The problem with this proposal is that it depends on the authors of the proto-MT chronology having an accurate knowledge of the historical chronology extending from Cyrus to Judas, whereas our documented examples of Jewish historiography of the period (e.g., Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, Josephus) display apparent ignorance of that chronology. Cf. my *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 264 where I advocated this idea (building on earlier discussions by many others). I thank John Collins for bringing the problems with this proposal to my attention.

29. For a survey of this and smaller shifts and bibliography, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 327–29; Alexander Rofé, "Joshua 20: Historico-Literary Criticism Illustrated," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 131–47.

30. Alexander Rofé, "The End of the Book of Joshua According to the Septuagint," *Henoch* 4 (1982): 29–36 provides arguments for the lateness of this material at the outset of Judges (the issue of the resumptive repetition in Judg 2:6–10//Josh 24:28–32 will be discussed further in Chapter 9 of this book), including potential reflection of a parallel to the Vorlage of LXX Josh 24:33b in the Damascus Document 5:1–5 (Rofé, "End of Joshua," 28–29). The objections raised by Hartmut Rösel to the originality of the extra material found at the end of LXX Joshua ("Die Überleitungen vom Josua- ins Richterbuch," *VT* 30 [1980]: 349) only raise the plausibility that these materials are relatively late compared to the rest of Joshua, not that they post-date their MT counterparts in Judges.

31. Here I follow the arguments Emanuel Tov, "The Composition of 1 Samuel 17–18 in the Light of the Evidence of the Septuagint Version," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 97–130; idem., "The Nature of the Differences

in particular, has argued for signs of Hasmonean-period editing across the books of Samuel and Kings.[32] These cases of potential documented revision in the proto-MT (compared to other manuscript traditions) are often uncertain and limited in scope. Nevertheless, in so far as some of these cases hold, they show a profile of final redactors of the proto-MT with particular interest in the Deuteronomistic tradition, especially the period of the Judges (Judg 1:1–3:11; also 6:7–10), something also seen in demonstrably Hasmonean works (e.g., 1 Maccabees and Judith). Furthermore, on one occasion (Joshua 20), the final redactors of the proto-MT seem to have revised semi-Priestly material (Josh 20:1–3, 7–9) to conform to Deuteronomistic prototypes,[33] a phenomenon somewhat parallel to the above-discussed case of expansion of P-like Rebuilding-Ezra traditions seen in proto-MT Ezra-Nehemiah through the conflation of and building upon Nehemiah Memoir material.

This apparent post-Deuteronomistic coloring of the proto-MT recension is also manifest in some of the larger recensional differences between the proto-MT on the one hand and LXX Jeremiah, and 4QJer^{b} and 4QJer^{d} on the other. Jeremiah is

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Between MT and the LXX in 1 Sam. 17–18," in *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy et al., OBO 73 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 19–46; Johan Lust, "The Story of David and Goliath in Hebrew and in Greek," in *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy et al., OBO 73 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 5–18; J. Trebolle, "The Story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17–18): Textual Variants and Literary Composition," *BIOSCS* 23 (1990): 16–30; and Ron Hendel, "Plural Texts and Literary Criticism: For Instance, 1 Samuel 17," *Textus* 23 (2007): 97–114. Cf. Alexander Rofé, "The Battle of David and Goliath—Folklore, Theology, Eschatology," in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel*, ed. Jacob Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 117–22, which maintains that the MT cannot be a later version, because its distinctive elements are folkloristic and thus (most likely) early. On the contrary, he argues that the LXX is an abridgment of the MT to harmonize it with its surrounding contents. This assumption that folkloristic elements are early, however, is not well founded, and as Rofé himself notes (p. 122), a harmonizing abridgment is not the norm in textual formation.

Many scholars have argued that a number of early pluses found in 4QSam^{a}, often containing material found in Chronicles as well, are early material accidentally omitted in the proto-MT through haplography and other scribal accidents. Nevertheless, these additions generally seem to be expansions of the DtrH tradition that were early enough to be in the base text used by the Chronicler, but are not recensionally earlier than their proto-MT counterparts. With regard to the bulk of these materials, I find the treatment in Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts*, OBO (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1984) persuasive.

32. See, in particular, Schenker, *1 Rois 2–14*, and Schenker, *Königsbücher*, though I find the stemmatic assumption behind the subtitle of the latter book (*Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher*) oversimplified and unhelpful. It is not that the LXX overall is earlier, but rather that its (occasional and partial) reflection of a pre-proto-MT text form can be useful in identifying potential Hasmonean literary shifts. On this, see Schenker's own helpful comments regarding different sorts of antiquity in text-readings in his "Der Ursprung des massoretischen Textes im Licht der literarischen Varianten im Bibeltext," *Textus* 23 (2007): 62–64, to which I will return.

33. On the Priestly characteristics of Josh 20:1–3, 7–9, see Rofé, "Joshua 20," 137–40, which nicely summarizes the data indicating the P-like character of Joshua 20. This only establishes the P/post-P character of 20:1–3, 7–9 and does not resolve the issue, to be treated briefly later in this book (Chapter 9), of the original end of P or whether Joshua 20 could have been part of an independent Priestly document.

the most Deuteronomistic of the prophetic books and correspondingly has the most candidates for late revision vis-à-vis other recensions of the book. Perhaps the most significant distinctive aspect of the proto-Masoretic recension of Jeremiah is its placement of the oracles against foreign nations toward the end of the book after biographical materials about Jeremiah, while also featuring expanded materials on Babylon and placement of the oracle against Babylon in the climactic final position.[34] Such particular interest in Babylon would link well with the fact that the Hasmoneans rose to power in a life and death struggle against a Seleucid Empire based in Babylon (note 1, Macc 6:4).

Hasmonean connections can be found in *some* other materials distinctive to the proto-MT edition of Jeremiah. For example, the revised version of the oracle about the Davidic king in Jer 23:5–6 in the MT plus of Jer 33:14–36 features an added focus on the inviolability of Jerusalem and the Levitical priests, and on God's promise of rulers from among the people themselves (33:23–26). The Hasmoneans certainly did not create such an oracle about Davidic rule out of nothing; it would not have fit their interests. Nevertheless, this particular version includes Yhwh's eternal support for local (//Levitical) priests like them and promise of the sort of indigenous rule over Israel that they achieved, along with repudiation of anyone (e.g., Zadokite priests?) who asserted that past promises to Levitical priests and Davidides no longer held.[35] To be sure, not all of the distinctive aspects of the proto-MT Jeremiah can be linked with each other, let alone to specific interests of Hasmonean redactors.[36] Nevertheless, we do see in proto-MT

34. Though there have been some attempts to establish the priority of the proto-MT order and the corresponding existence of a de-Babylonianizing redaction in the Vorlage of the LXX of Jeremiah (see, in particular, Konrad Schmid, *Buchgestalten des Jeremiabuches: Untersuchungen zur Redaktions- und Rezeptionsgeschichte von Jer 30–33 im Kontext des Buches*, WMANT 72 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996], 311–23 and Menahem Haran, "The Place of the Prophecies Against the Nations in the Book of Jeremiah," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al., VTSup 94 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 699–706; on the latter, cf. the quite different interpretation of the similar data in Bernard Gosse, "La malédiction contre Babylone de Jérémie 51, 59–64 et les rédactions du livre de Jérémie," *ZAW* 98 [1986]: 392–97), it is difficult to know what circumstances in the Persian or Hellenistic period would have led to such substantial interest in the *reduction* of focus on Babylonian judgment, indeed such interest that a text would be abridged at multiple loci on that account (on this, see, in particular, the study by James Watts showing increased focus on Babylon in the MT pluses across the oracles against foreign nations: James W. Watts, "Text and Redaction in Jeremiah's Oracles Against the Nations," *CBQ* 54 [1992]: 432–47). Rather, the proto-MT appears to be the later redaction, probably involving (in addition to placement of Babylon at the end) a partial harmonization of the order of the list to fit the oracle about the cup of wrath in Jer 25:15–25 (here, see J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], 115–16).

35. This is one of the more persuasive of the cases discussed in Adrian Schenker, "La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datée au temps des premiers. Hasmonéens," *ETL* 70 (1994): 281–93 (see pp. 286–89 on this text).

36. On this point, see in particular Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*, OBO (Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), which stresses that the bulk of distinctive elements of this recension are not systematic, simultaneous, or characterized by broader interests. Instead, as discussed in Chapter 3, many particular proto-MT readings (as well as some distinctive LXX readings) represent various levels of coordination, harmonization, and clarification of the preceding tradition.

Jeremiah an interest in Deuteronomistic materials, including harmonization of some portions of Jeremiah to the idiom of Samuel-Kings and other parts of Jeremiah (e.g., 39:4–13; cf. 2 Kgs 25:4–12//Jer 52:7–16),[37] and some changes (such as the one discussed above) that can be linked to Hasmonean concerns.

We may be able to use isolated witnesses to the pre-Hexaplaric LXX of Ezekiel to reconstruct some features of a recension prior to the proto-MT of that book. Here, the pre-Hexaplaric witnesses to the Old Greek tradition, especially Papyrus 967 (hereafter Pap 967; note also the Old Latin palimpset L^{Wurc}), provides potentially important data about the text of Ezekiel prior to the proto-MT recension.[38] On a micro level, Tov has found instances where the proto-MT of Ezekiel, when compared with Pap 967, adapts portions of Ezekiel to the phraseology of the book of Jeremiah, which was just discussed above as a particular focus of proto-Masoretic revisions.[39] On a more radical level, Pap 967 lacks counterparts to longer passages found in the proto-MT (Ezek 12:26–28; 32:25–26; and 36:23*-38) and features an order divergent from that found in the proto-MT: Ezek 36:1–23b, then Ezek 38–39, 37, 40–48. When compared to this order in Pap 967, the proto-MT features an additional oracle about Yhwh's restoration of Yhwh's flocks with a particular emphasis on Yhwh's placement of "spirit" on them (Ezek 36:36–37; note also 11:19–20) that then leads to the prophecy of resurrection of Israel through Yhwh's gift of the "spirit" (37:1–14). What in Pap 967 is a semi-apocalyptic movement from world judgment (in Ezek 38–39) to resurrection and Davidic promise (in Ezek 37) now stands in the proto-MT of Ezekiel as a this-worldly promise of regathering (36:23c-38), metaphorical reinvigorating (37:1–14), and rebuilding (37:15–28) before judgment on Gog of Magog. Johan Lust and Ashley Crane have made good arguments for the originality of the order found in Pap 967, along with the secondary character of the proto-MT order now fronted by the proto-MT plus in 36:23*-38. Though the material distinctive to the proto-MT of Ezekiel continues to display a particular interest in Meshech, one of the prime realms named for Gog in the oracles now found in Ezekiel 38–39, overall the distinctive features of the proto-MT seem to transform what once were visionary prophecies of the more distant future into oracles that could be understood

37. This is integrated into its context by resumptive repetition of the list of officials just before the insertion (39:3) at the conclusion of the insertion (39:13). Though some have taken this as a possible prompt for omission in the LXX Vorlage of the MT plus through homoioteleuton (e.g., Robert Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986], 691), the supposedly excised material shows other signs of being secondary to its context. It is formed in large part out of material originating in Kings (2 Kgs 25:4–12) that does not focus on Jeremiah like the rest of the book, combined with a small section on Jeremiah's release (39:11–12) that anticipates the outset of the following chapter (40:1–6).

38. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante. Ezéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967," *Bib* 59 (1978): 384–95. Now see the detailed arguments in Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 38–39*, VTSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 207–50. In addition, a recent dissertation reportly arguing a similar point of view (not available to the author at the time of completion of this manuscript) is Ingrid Lilly, "Papyrus 967: A Variant Literary Edition of Ezekiel" (Atlanta: Emory University, 2010).

39. Emanuel Tov, "Recensional Differences Between the MT and LXX of Ezekiel," *ETL* 62 (1986): 100, note also the semi-Deuteronomistic expressions discussed on p. 99.

more easily than before as endorsements of contemporary rebuilding and a call to arms against the invading army of Gog.[40] This would fit the Hasmonean context (Gog = Seleucids and/or Romans).

The book of Esther is the other main place where manuscript evidence may help us reconstruct the broader contours of a recension preceding the proto-MT of a book. In this case, the Alpha text of the LXX translation of Esther appears to be a mix of an early translation of a pre-MT Vorlage of Esther that has been harmonized with the later standard LXX translation of Esther through the importation of the major LXX pluses from that translation along with a limited amount of other materials. If one subtracts these LXX harmonizations from the Alpha text of Esther, the result is an Old Greek translation of what looks to be a version of Esther somewhat different from the proto-MT version: with shorter battle reports and no emphasis on the inalterability of Persian law, and lacking the Purim etiology and several other elements found at the conclusion of the proto-MT edition (second day of fighting, epilogue about Mordechai in 10:1–3, etc.).[41] If the proto-MT version of Esther was built on something like this Vorlage of the proto-Alpha text, it is distinguished by a greater emphasis on military success (expanded battle reports, a second day of fighting), the etiology of Purim, and other themes listed above. So far as I know, we do not have evidence for emphasis on Purim among the Hasmoneans,[42] but the stress on military success in the proto-MT and promotion of a holiday celebrating the Jews' successful defense of themselves would fit the profile of Hasmonean literature. In this sense, the Purim holiday celebrated in (proto-MT) Esther would serve as the diaspora equivalent of Hanukkah promoted in 2 Maccabees, the former holiday celebrating Jewish self-protection outside the land, the latter celebrating Jewish defense of the holy city, Jerusalem.

Each of these cases of potential documentation of proto-MT recensions is uncertain, yet they provide tantalizing potential access to forms of redaction that otherwise would be virtually impossible to uncover, redaction associated with the final formation of the proto-MT recensions of several biblical books. This does not mean, it must be stressed, that the LXX (and/or Samaritan Pentateuch or non-MT Qumran manuscripts) in these and other cases always or even generally preserves the earlier text. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that the LXX recensions of biblical books (and other early textual traditions) experienced their own developments, often containing elements (e.g., the story of the three guards in Esd 3:1–5:6) that post-date their MT counterparts. The relative antiquity of the proto-MT base text may stem in part from the fact that the Hasmoneans, as high priests

40. Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 517–33; Crane, *Ezekiel 38–39*, 253–63. For further discussion of the features of the Pap 967 recension, see an essay in Lust's honor, Silvio Scatolini Apóstolo, "Ezek 36, 37, 38 and 39 in Papyrus 967 as Pre-Text for Re-Reading Ezekiel," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne, BETL 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 338–40.

41. On this, see again the studies by Moore, "Different Text of Esther"; Clines, *Esther Scroll*, and Fox, *Esther*.

42. Though perhaps the apparent absence of Esther among the books found at Qumran, which many think to have been inhabited by opponents of the Hasmoneans, might be taken as an indirect indication of its potential importance to the Hasmoneans.

of the Jerusalem temple, had access to the temple archive and thus their scribes could use (as a basis for the proto-MT editions) reference exemplars of biblical books kept there that likely were more ancient than their counterparts elsewhere.

The main point here is that the LXX, along with other early manuscript witnesses, often at least partially reflects *recensions* of biblical books that pre-date their proto-MT versions. Thus, at least in these respects, the LXX and/or other textual witnesses may provide insight into an earlier recensional stage of a given biblical book, even in cases where such witnesses also preserve many inferior individual readings for texts in that book. As Schenker puts it, the proto-MT appears in numerous instances to be a comparatively ancient text that was *literarily* revised in the Hasmonean period.[43]

In so far as one can judge from this limited evidence, we have the most potential documentation of this literary revision in the Former Prophets and Jeremiah, along with some notable possible additions/modifications in Ezekiel (including harmonization with Jeremiah) and Esther. In addition, it may be that the LXX order of the book of the Twelve Prophets was modified to the more Jerusalem-focused (and possibly anti-Edomite) proto-MT order around this time.[44] Aside from this, we have additional documentation in the LXX and proto-MT of divergent recensions of Proverbs, neither of which is clearly prior to the other, and there are a number of examples of documented redaction of biblical books that probably post-date the proto-MT. Yet in the cases of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Esther, and Ezra-Nehemiah, we have evidence of a redaction occurring so close to/simultaneous with the finalization of the proto-MT that manuscript documentation—whether in Greek translation or at Qumran—was preserved. These late, proto-MT redactions seem to have focused particularly on Deuteronomistic materials outside the Pentateuch (Joshua-Kings and Jeremiah) and some revision of Priestly materials toward Deuteronomistic models (Joshua 20 coordinated with Deuteronomy 19; Ezekiel with Jeremiah; more distantly the Ezra materials with the Nehemiah Memoir).

The above-discussed potential proto-MT recensional changes are diverse and probably not executed at one time. Nevertheless, some trends have been evident in multiple loci. First, rather than these very late additions featuring a prominent mix of P and non-P terminology, there is a general *lack* of Priestly terminology and

43. Schenker, "Ursprung," 64–65.

44. For a discussion of these two orders, see especially Marvin Sweeney, "Sequence and Interpretation in the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James Nogalski and Marvin Sweeney (Atlanta: Scholars, 2000), 49–64 and Barry Allen Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*, SBLDS 149 (Atlanta: SBL, 1995). Jones argues that the original order of the Twelve is found in 4QXII^{a}(which he sees as having Jonah at the conclusion), with the LXX order representing a later stage where Jonah was imported into a location before (and as a balance to) Nahum. The MT edition was then created through the disruption of the original link between Hosea, Amos, and Micah by the insertion of Joel between Hosea and Amos and the alteration of Amos 9:12 to focus on judgment of Edom (not "humanity") in anticipation of Obadiah that now immediately follows it (pp. 175–91). I should note (following a personal communication from Christophe Nihan) that this argument is somewhat undermined by the paucity of material at the end of 4QXII^{a}, which makes identification of it as from Jonah (or any other work) difficult.

ideology in the revisions that produced the proto-MT books. If anything, there is a tendency to redact Priestly material toward late Deuteronomistic models. Second, several additions, particularly in Joshua-Judges (but not only there), build on Deuteronomistic themes and language. Third, the proto-MT of Ezra-Nehemiah (compared to proto-Esdras) and Esther (compared to the reconstructed Vorlage of proto-Alpha) shows particular interest in the military defense of the Jewish people, the preservation of Torah obedience through concrete sociopolitical structures of fortifications (Ezra-Nehemiah) and battle (Esther). Each of these features fits well with what we know about the literary inclinations of the Hasmoneans as exhibited through their own literature, especially 1 Maccabees as the preeminent example of Hasmonean literary productivity in Hebrew, but also Judith.

One fourth trait that is not so easily conformed to the situation of the Hasmoneans is the particular interest in David and the destiny of his house in several of the late revisions producing the proto-MT. We see this in the conflation of traditions regarding his triumph over Goliath in 1 Samuel 16–18 and the prophecy of eternal reign in the proto-MT plus at Jer 33:14–26.[45] The mini-empire of the Hasmoneans came as close as any Israelite kingdom to achieving the expanse attributed to the Davidic-Solomonic empire in the Hebrew Scriptures, but they were not Davidides, never professed to be, and writings attributed to them manifest more interest in earlier Hebrew heroes (especially judges) than a king like David. Certainly, there was interest in the figure of David in earlier Hellenistic writings, with particular interest in his triumph over Goliath also documented in Psalm 151//11QPs[a]. These David-focused expansions may be good examples of documented revisions prior to the proto-MT that are *not* associated with the Hasmoneans. Alternatively, it may be that they show interest within the last Israelite monarchy, the Hasmoneans, in the figure standing at its beginning, David.

Meanwhile, the impact of proto-Masoretic solidification on other books seems primarily to have been in apparent *exclusion* of a series of revisions to them that we have documented in a variety of manuscript traditions. For example, though the proto-Masoretic Pentateuch includes a number of harmonizations/coordinations of laws with each other (e.g., "H" additions to be discussed in chapter 9 of this book and extra coordination of command and compliance in the tabernacle narratives), it does not include the relatively early scribal coordinations of laws found in the various expansionist manuscripts found at Qumran nor a number of harmonizing additions found in the Septuagint. Perhaps partly stemming from the Hasmonean aggression against the Samaritan sanctuary at Gerizim, the textual trajectories of the proto-Masoretic and Samaritan Pentateuchs diverge by this point.[46] So also, the proto-Masoretic recension of Samuel-Kings does not include a number of expansions to that tradition reflected also in 4QSam[a], Josephus, and or Chronicles, and the proto-Masoretic edition of Chronicles does not include

45. Note also the potential repositioning of the oracle about the Davidic Messiah in the proto-MT Ezekiel (Ezek 37:15–28).

46. Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al., VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40.

some apparent harmonizations of Chronicles to the tradition in Samuel-Kings.[47] Instead, the proto-Masoretic editions of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles were kept fairly spare and distinct from one another. The proto-Masoretic edition of Jeremiah did not include Baruch, even though it may be that the LXX translator of Jeremiah and Baruch considered them part of the same book, and the proto-Masoretic Psalter did not include what is now Psalm 151 nor the additional Davidic psalm associated with it in 11QPs[a]. Finally, the proto-Masoretic editions of Esther and Daniel do not include the range of pious, theological, and other additions reflected in the Septuagint editions of those books, many of which were part of Hebrew editions of those books. There probably are a variety of reasons the less expansive and often more archaic editions now in the proto-MT ended up being included, while the more expansive editions attested elsewhere were not. Nevertheless, just as the exclusion of distinctive aspects of what would become the Samaritan Pentateuch from the proto-Masoretic one may be one pointer to the Hasmonean context of the latter recension, so also we may learn something from the Second Temple Hebrew traditions *not* included in the proto-Masoretic editions of other Hebrew Scriptural books.

■ CONCLUSION

Looking back, there is a contrast in the late Second Temple period between emergent solidification of Hebrew Scriptures on the one hand and ongoing rich diversity of Hebrew literature on the other. I have argued that the emergent solidification, circumscription, and final minor revision of Hebrew Scriptures is best linked with the Hasmonean monarchy, the one Jewish institutional context in the Second Temple period with the possible power and interest to establish and promote such a textual center. Moreover, I have found certain indicators in texts associated with the Hasmoneans (1 and 2 Maccabees; Judith) of their self-promotion as defenders, collectors, and restorers of ancient texts; endorsement of Hebrew linguistic nationalism; and introduction of the idea of an "end to prophecy." This, combined with the possible reaction by Ben Sira's grandson in the late second century to such circumscription of a group of authoritative prophets, suggests that the Hasmoneans in power then were beginning to promote a set of Hebrew Scriptures more sharply defined than previous corpora of Hebrew writings had been, an authorized list of pre-Hellenistic Hebrew prophets to counter the authorized list of pre-Hellenistic Greek authors valued by the empires they had vanquished.

Meanwhile, these initiatives, such as they were, did not prevail among several contemporary groups. We continue to see alternative editions of the Mosaic Torah appear, including the Samaritan Pentateuch that was endorsed by an ongoing religious community parallel to Judaism. The community at Qumran clearly worked with a more expansive and porous concept of authoritative writings, as did late Second Temple Jewish movements such as the early Christians. Jews, both at

47. On this latter point, see Leslie C. Allen, *1, 2 Chronicles*, Communicator's Commentary Series 2 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 213–16.

Qumran and elsewhere, continued to produce Hebrew texts, many of which claimed divine inspiration for themselves, such as the Qumran pesharim.

Yet, from the early second century onward, none of these other writings found their way into the Hebrew Scriptures of later Judaism. The onset of the Hasmonean monarchy marks the endpoint of inclusion of texts in what would become the Hebrew Scriptural corpus and the beginning of the proto-Masoretic textual tradition. These other writings were valued by certain groups of the time, and many found their way into the Scriptural canons of Christian churches. Now, however, with the long backward gaze of history, we can see that the writings which now are found in the Hebrew Bible, even including the version of Daniel expanded by visions from the early second century BCE (Daniel 7–12), are confined to texts, some of the texts, in circulation before the time of the Hasmonean monarchy (thus, pre-Hasmonean texts such as Ben Sira and early Enoch also were excluded). I turn next to a closer consideration of the formation of the Hebrew Bible during that earlier time.

6 The Hellenistic Period up to the Hasmonean Monarchy

Priestly and Diaspora Textuality

THE SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT FOR THE FORMATION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Our sources for the history of Judah and Jerusalem from Alexander's conquest in 333 to the beginning of the Hellenistic crisis (c. 175 BCE) are sparse and problematic, but many indicators suggest lines of continuity linking the sociopolitical situation of the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. To be sure, there is evidence that the Egyptian Ptolemaic rulers over the area from 301–198 BCE introduced a form of administration that was more centralized than that of their Persian precursors (or their Seleucid counterparts). This included a system of royal estates, the cultivation of a local assembly of elite aristocrats and (probably) priests—the *gerousia*—to regulate local affairs alongside the priestly leadership, and an efficient system of tax farming delegated to local members of that elite. Nevertheless, it is not clear just how much the centralized administrative system of the Ptolemies was implemented in more distant districts like Jerusalem. Moreover, it appears that—depending on the skills of the office holder at the time—the high priest of the Jerusalem temple still could exercise considerable influence, and the temple remained a central political structure in the land, as it had been under the Persians.[1]

Certainly there was Greek cultural influence during this time, though not necessarily a qualitative increase from the preceding centuries. After all, Greek influence is documented already during the Persian period, especially in Samaria, but also Judah; Greek mercenaries and craftspeople were widely used throughout the Persian Empire well before Alexander; and lands on the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Judah, had long shared a fund of cultural traditions with Greece (a major cultural force in the Mediterranean as a whole).[2]

The shift that began to occur in the wake of Alexander's conquest and the establishment of Hellenistic kingdoms was that the balance of power shifted ever more from the temple-priesthood per se to aristocrats and government officials. These latter groups could include some priests, but access to higher positions of influence and authority in the Hellenistic world was ever less helped by priestly pedigree and ever more helped by the extent to which the individual had thoroughly internalized Greek culture and was skilled in playing a role in Hellenistic systems of administration and tax farming. Judah had long been in contact with Greek

1. For an overview, see Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 18–29.

2. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 12–18 and especially Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University, 1971), 57–81.

culture, but the institution of Hellenistic rule *privileged* Greek culture in ways that impacted Judean history and textuality.

Egypt, with its dry climate and relatively high level of preservation of ancient textual remains, provides a useful illustration of the dynamics of cultural competition that came with the advent of Hellenistic rule of Ancient Near Eastern cultures. In a legal proceeding, an Egyptian priest protests that his opponents "despise me because I am an Egyptian," and a non-Greek camel driver complains in another papyrus that he has not been paid correctly because "I am a barbarian" and "I do not know how to behave like a Greek."[3] Some versions of Greek fables were produced in Egypt purged of elements of local Egyptian color.[4] Under some circumstances, a few Egyptian children and youth could seek a Greek education in this system purged of elements linked to their own culture, but they were inherently less able to succeed at Greek literary education than their counterparts born into Greek families.[5] Generally, Egyptians were confined to lower-level administrative positions in government, with higher-level positions occupied by non-Egyptian foreigners, such as Jews or Persians, and the highest-level positions occupied by Greeks.

These sorts of dynamics, in Egypt and other Near Eastern cultures, meant that the priestly masters of indigenous textual traditions (e.g., Egyptian, Babylonian, Judean) had reduced access to central governmental power and had less access to trade and economic power than "Greek" (whether born or educated to that status) elites in their areas. Though Hellenistic rulers cultivated relationships with local elites and often took care to preserve temple privileges and revenues, and though temples remained important centers in their local contexts, priests were more isolated from government than in earlier periods.[6] They continued to educate their children and others into indigenous texts and traditions (e.g., Egyptian hieratic and hieroglyphic texts or cuneiform in Mesopotamia), copied old texts, and even composed some new ones. Such priestly scholars qua priests, however, no longer stood near the top of a governmental pyramid dominated by members of their own culture. As a result, we see, for example in Egypt, the emergence of texts—

3. F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 115.

4. Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 180.

5. Gerhard Wirth, "Der Weg an die Grenze: Blüte und Schicksal der antiken Bildungstradition," in *Schulgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Kulturentwicklung*, ed. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck and Max Liedtke (Bad Heilbrunn: Julius Klinkhardt, 1983), 85–88; Andreas Mehl, "Erziehung zum Hellenen—Erziehung zum Weltbürger: Bemerkungen zum Gymnasion im hellenistischen Osten," *Nikephoros* 5 (1992): 53–55, 62–63; Dorothy J. Thompson, "Literacy in Early Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology, Cairo, 2–9 September 1989*, ed. A. H. S. el-Mosalamy (Cairo: Ain Shams University, Center of Papyrological Studies, 1989), 79; "Literacy and the Administration in Early Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. Janet H. Johnson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992), 324–26; Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge Classical Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20–23; Cribiore, *Gymnastics*, 211.

6. For a recent study of cultivation of local clergy in Egypt, see Gilles Gorre, *Les Relations du clergé egyptien et des lagides d'après des sources privées*, Studia Hellenistica 45 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

most likely from various priestly groups—that assert the greater antiquity of local (e.g., Egyptian) culture to Greek culture and prophesy the end of Greek domination.[7] The relative social-structural isolation of this indigenous scholarly priestly class is also reflected in the proliferation of highly speculative visionary works.

This leads to three salient insights about indigenous language textuality during the Hellenistic period, whether in better-documented cultures such as Egypt, or less well-known Hellenistic contexts, such as Judah. First, the copying, composition, and teaching of texts in local languages took place primarily in priestly contexts. This does not mean that only cultic professionals could learn to read and write a local language, for example, Hebrew, but it does mean that the main contexts for the ongoing cultivation of such learning of indigenous literary texts (e.g., Hebrew Scriptures) were the *various* priestly groups in a given culture (whether cultic professionals or other individuals born into and educated in priestly families) and the temples with which they were connected.[8] Second, Hellenistic-period texts produced by such priests reflected their increased separation from the centers of political power, either through their esotericism or through their development of visions of impending divine judgment on Hellenistic rulers. This represented the increasingly wide gap in the Hellenistic world between priestly cultural and positional power.[9] Third, in so far as antiquity was one of the key criteria in this context for establishing cultural supremacy, such priestly groups tended to focus on traditions with a claim to pre-Hellenistic antiquity, even presenting new compositions as ancient oracles containing divine visions. These latter dynamics then privileged more ancient languages, such as Hebrew, over more recent vernaculars, such as Aramaic, though later vernaculars were used for some texts as well.

This latter dynamic may be behind the resurgence of literary Hebrew textuality that is evident both in Jewish texts that can be dated to that period and the finds around the Dead Sea. To be sure, there is a good chance that Aramaic was not only the vernacular, but also used in some literary texts across the early Hellenistic period. For example, the early apocalyptic materials of Enoch appear to have been written in Aramaic, as were the relatively early court tales in Daniel 2–6. Notably, these texts written in Aramaic are in genres that did not have an established tradition in Hebrew by this time.[10] Yet, as we advance further in the Hellenistic period, we see a move toward use of Hebrew, including its use in precisely the sorts of genres where Aramaic

7. See my *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 193–99 for a broader discussion of these processes, with a particular emphasis on the Egyptian instance.

8. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 202–14, 16–17, 19–20, 26–27. Note also reflections along similar lines, regarding preservation of the use of Hebrew, in Ingo Kottsieper, "'And They Did Not Care to Speak Yehudit': On Linguistic Change in Judah During the Late Persian Era," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 115–17.

9. I have been informed on this point in particular by Jonathan Z. Smith, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic," in *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity: Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren*, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), 131–56, and I develop it in *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 193–206.

10. I am indebted for this insight to a proposal ventured in a conversation with Oded Lipschitz in Helsinki, August 2010.

was once featured. The Aramaic court tales of Daniel are introduced and followed by later Hebrew materials (Daniel 1, 7–12),[11] the book of Jubilees is written sometime in the third century, and the bulk of pre-Hasmonean documents found at Qumran (e.g., 4QInst) are written in Hebrew as well. To be sure, in many instances, such as the book of Ben Sira, these Hebrew documents betray their later origins through pseudo-classicisms and reflections of their Aramaic environment.[12] Nevertheless, there seems to be a general trend already in the early half of the Hellenistic period, manifest also in a move from Aramaic to Hebrew on coins, toward the revival of Hebrew as a medium for inscribing texts of national and religious significance. Thus already in the first half of the Hellenistic period, "Hebrew" comes to be the idiom that best reflects the claim of a text to provide access to pre-Hellenistic antiquity.

Two other dynamics that influenced the formation of Jewish texts at this time were the experience of military conflict involving the Ptolemies and Seleucids and then the decisive confrontation with Hellenistic rule and culture that took place in the early second century BCE.[13] Antiochus IV, the Seleucid ruler at the time, was virtually bankrupted in the wake of a decisive defeat by the Romans in 189 and the following imposition of draconian tribute payments in 188. This formed part of the context under which he acceded to the proposal by Jason, a member of the Zadokite priestly lineage of the Jerusalem temple, to purchase the high priesthood and institute a series of Hellenistic reforms that would transform Jerusalem into a Greek polis. Though Antiochus IV is known to have instituted some Hellenistic city foundings elsewhere in his empire, particularly Syria, the impetus for Hellenization here initially seems to have come from local aristocratic leadership, intent on gaining some of the taxation benefits and cultural prestige that would come with Jerusalem's refounding as a Greek polis. Nevertheless, things soon spun out of control, with raids on the Jerusalem temple by the Seleucids, another switch in the priesthood from the Zadokite priest Jason to a yet higher bidder who was not from the Zadokite priestly family (Menelaus), accelerating Jewish revolts against this high priest and Seleucid rule in general, and eventually—around 167 BCE—the outlawing by Antiochus IV of Jewish Torah observance (e.g., circumcision, Sabbath, and festivals) and the replacement of Jewish sacrifice in the Jerusalem temple with sacrifice to "Zeus Olympius." These initiatives amounted to an attempt to eradicate

11. Note the recent revival by Reinhard Kratz of the hypothesis that the Hebrew of Dan 1:1–2:4a is a product of translation rather than original production (*Translatio imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld*, WMANT 63 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991], 33; idem., "The Visions of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, Vol. 1, ed. John Collins and Peter Flint, SVT 83 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 91–92; citing H. Preiswerk, *Der Sprachenwechsel im Buche Daniel* [Bern: Buchdruckerei Berner Tagblatt, 1902–1903], especially pp. 112, 115–16).

12. Jan Joosten, "Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew," in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages*, ed. T. E Muraoka and J. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–59. Though note that some scribes appear to have achieved remarkable ability in reproducing classical Hebrew, see Ian M. Young, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Qumran Pesher Habakkuk," *JHS* 25 (2008): [Article 25].

13. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Development of Jewish Sectarianism from Nehemiah to the Hasidim," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 386–87.

Judaism and were met by resistance from a variety of Jewish groups.[14] As discussed in the previous chapter, one group, a provincial priestly family named the Hasmoneans, ended up leading a successful revolt against the Seleucid program and eventually establishing a kingdom recognized by the Seleucids. This chapter, however, focuses on Hellenistic-period textual developments up to that revolt and initial reestablishment of control over the temple in 164 BCE.

■ SURVEY OF JEWISH TEXTS DATABLE TO THE EARLIER HELLENISTIC PERIOD

In the following, I attempt to build several profiles of the sorts of Jewish texts that were written during this period, 333–164 BCE. In each case, I start with texts that can be linked with relative certainty to this period and then use the profile of those texts to evaluate, briefly, the extent to which other Jewish texts—whether now in the Hebrew Bible or not—can be dated to this period as well. Of course, this distinction, whether texts are in the Hebrew Bible or not, is anachronistic. Though below I will discuss some indicators of a preliminary grouping of indigenous Jewish Hebrew texts emerging in Ben Sira's praise of famous father/teachers (Sirach 44–49), Ben Sira's survey is distinctive for the ways it does not yet completely match the contents of the later Hebrew Bible and is not paralleled by expressions from other Hellenistic-period Jewish writers. Whatever proto-canonical consciousness is evident in Ben Sira was not yet shared by many other Jews of his time. There is no "scripture" versus "pseudepigrapha" versus "apocrypha" at this point, but just different types of texts that were produced as part of a broader corpus of indigenous literature. In what follows, I focus on four such types: texts that purport to contain direct divine revelations from long ago (apocalyptic texts); the wisdom of Ben Sira and several texts that are attributed to Solomon, the preeminent sage of the indigenous tradition; texts about life outside the land that may be located in the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora; and apparent early Hellenistic-period (or late Persian) Priestly revision of earlier texts. The survey does not presume to be comprehensive, but it does attempt to cover the clearest examples of Jewish texts during this period and thus establish a broader profile with which other texts can be compared.

Potential Examples of Apocalyptic Judean Texts Written 333–164 BCE

Enoch manuscripts are among the very earliest found at Qumran, and it appears that the earliest layers of the Enoch tradition date to the portion of the Hellenistic

14. This is a synthesis of discussion over the last few decades, with a leaning toward perspectives advocated by Elias Joseph Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt*, trans. Horst R. Moehring (Leiden: Brill, 1979 [1937]); Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 267–309; and Robert Doran, "The High Cost of a Good Education," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 94–115. Lester Grabbe provides a judicious review of the debate in his, *The Persian and Greek Periods*, Vol. 1 of *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 247–58. I provide a fuller discussion of my position in Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 254–57.

period *preceding* the above-described crisis. Most of these texts, such as the accounts of Enoch's cosmic journeys in Enoch 17–36 and the astronomical vision promoting a solar cultic calendar in Enoch 72–82, are the sort of esoteric priestly heavenly speculations found elsewhere in indigenous Near Eastern texts. The vision of the watchers in Enoch 6–11, however, represents one of the earliest Judean visions of divine intervention in history, where God's ending of the rebellion of the angels in primordial times is presented as a type of God's impending destruction of the Hellenistic kings in the contemporary context. Notably, these early texts from the Enoch tradition are written in Aramaic, the literary language prominent in the Persian period and thus do not yet illustrate the shift toward use of archaic Hebrew in the later Hellenistic period.

As we move toward the second century and the Hellenistic crisis, Aramaic texts are still composed, including the dream vision of Enoch 83–84, the animal apocalypse of Enoch 85–90, and the earliest of the Danielic visions in Daniel 7. Nevertheless, especially just a bit further in the second century BCE, we start to see visions of divine intervention written in Hebrew, such as the visions in Daniel 8, 10–12 and the book of Jubilees, and a variety of eschatological texts collected in the Qumran library but preceding the founding of the community. These latter texts from Qumran, such as 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction, communicate to their audience a priestly, Torah-grounded wisdom into God's plans for the coming days, a judgment akin to that envisioned in pseudonymous revelatory texts such as Enoch 83–90 and Daniel 7–12. As such, this basket of texts represents another illustration, within Judah, of a more broadly documented phenomenon in the Hellenistic world, where indigenous authors, usually priests, used archaic dialects (increasingly Hebrew) to articulate visions of divine redemption, often in the context of concrete revolts against Hellenistic rule.[15] Furthermore, especially in relatively later material, such as the probable composition of Daniel 9 toward the end of the formation of the MT edition of Daniel,[16] this semi-apocalyptic material has a strong interpretational element (in this case, interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years' prophecy in Jer 25:11–12; 29:10).[17]

Turning to what is now the Hebrew Bible, there is good reason to believe that Hellenistic materials of this sort are not confined to the visions (and prayer) collected in Daniel 7–12. Instead, scholars long have proposed that older prophetic oracles about judgment against foreign nations were expanded in the Hellenistic

15. On the links of Jubilees and the Qumran texts to the priesthood, see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 204–205, 216–23.

16. For arguments, see Kratz, "Visions of Daniel," 105–106, 109–11.

17. Note also that the prayer in Dan 9:4–19 is written in the idiom of late Jeremiah material (Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*, OBO [Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994], 141). The one attestation of material from Daniel 9 at Qumran is a late-second-century or early-first-century (BCE) manuscript that may have contained only the prayer in Dan 9:4–19 without other material from Daniel (on this, see Peter Flint, "The Daniel Tradition at Qumran," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, Vol. 2, ed. John Collins and Peter Flint, SVT 83 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 331; Eugene Ulrich, "The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel*, 582.

period by divine visions of judgment on the nations. One of the best potential examples of such expansion is the strange set of oracles against "Gog of Magog" toward the end of Ezekiel (MT Ezekiel 38–39). Though these oracles are composed in thoroughly Ezekiel-like prose, they are distinguished from other oracles against foreign nations in Ezekiel and elsewhere by the fact that they proclaim judgment not on known foreign nations, but on figures that seem almost mythical in proportion, joining together in an international force (38:5) for a conflagration that shakes the world order (38:19–22).[18] As in the visions of Daniel and early apocalyptic visions of Enoch, the prince "Gog" and his land "Magog" are coded cyphers requiring interpretation. The attack by Gog envisioned in this oracle is modeled on past attacks from the North by the Assyrians and Babylonians (Ezek 38:15–16), but the opponent in this case—as in the above-discussed coded visions of judgment—is not explicitly specified. Assured dating of the section, is, of course, impossible, precisely because it has been so thoroughly built out of its context, and any references to contemporary realities are as coded as in other pseudepigraphic visions. Nevertheless, these chapters toward the end of the Ezekiel scroll are some of the better candidates for Hellenistic-period apocalyptic expansion in the Hebrew Bible.[19]

Moreover, if Papyrus 967, discussed in the previous chapter, provides an accurate guide to the original order of the chapters at the end of Ezekiel (Ezekiel 38–39, 37, 40–48), the oracles concerning Gog of Magog once may have been part of a broader semi-apocalyptic progression moving from the mythic judgment on Gog and Magog (now in MT Ezekiel 38–39) to Ezekiel's vision of Yhwh's restoration of Israel (now in MT Ezek 37:1–14*),[20] the recreation of a unified Israel under a Davidic king (now in MT Ezek 37:15–28), and finally the visions of restored Jerusalem (Ezek 40–48). As Johann Lust and Ashley Crane have argued, this arrangement contrasts the reduction of Gog and Magog to mountains of dead and buried bones (Ezek 39:11–15) to Yhwh's resurrection of Israel's dead bones (37:1–14; cf. Daniel 12) and allows for a smooth transition from Yhwh's promise to send Yhwh's spirit on Israel at the end of Ezekiel 39 (39:29) to the focus on Yhwh's pouring of spirit into the dry bones in Ezek 37:5–6, 9, 14 (and then the restoration of a Davidic monarchy in 37:15–28 and temple rebuilding in 40–48). The arrangement now

18. In addition, as pointed out to me in a personal communication by Christophe Nihan, these are among the very few chapters in the Hebrew Bible that include Persia in an oracle against foreign nations (Ezek 38:5; note also 27:10 and the Old Greek of 30:5). This feature, which links these chapters with the prediction of the end of Persia in the late visions of Daniel (e.g., Dan 7:6; 8:3–8; 11:2–4), is another probable mark of the unusual lateness of these materials.

19. To this I would add some evocative reflections by William Tooman on the relationship of Ezekiel 38–39 to other texts in the Hebrew Bible (William Toonan, "Allusion as Oracle: A Nascent Scriptural Collection?" unpublished paper presented at the 2010 Atlanta Meeting of the National Association of Professors of Hebrew; my thanks to Dr. Toonan for sharing a preliminary form of this research with me).

20. In the previous chapter (p. 167, note 20), I mentioned briefly the arguments in Rüdiger Bartlemus, "Ez 37, 1–14, die Verbform weqatal und die Anfänge der Auferstehungshoffnung," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 366–89 for a Hasmonean-period dating of 37:8b-10, which are the portions of the passage most explicit about resurrection.

found in the MT (and majority LXX) is a later creation that tones down the semi-apocalyptic elements of the original sequence of mythic judgment and resurrection, and replaces it with a sequence foregrounding the battle with Gog and Magog (Ezekiel 38–39) as the decisive prelude to temple rebuilding (Ezekiel 40–48).[21]

Looking elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, clarity on identification of such Hellenistic semi-apocalyptic material is ever harder to find. For example, many have seen a Hellenistic-period prophetic oracle at the outset of Zechariah 9, picturing an attack by Alexander against cities to the Northeast and (North)west of Israel (9:1–8), before proclaiming the coming of a messianic king (9:9–10) and a Judean revolt against Greek domination (9:13–15).[22] Yet, if this is so, the author seems to have modeled the oracle about Alexander more on distant biblical evocations of neo-Assyrian attacks through Syria (e.g., Isa 10:5–34; 23:1–5) than on accurate historical records, since Alexander only attacked Syria (9:1–2a) after subduing Tyre, Sidon, and other coastal cities (9:2b-7).[23] Similarly, past commentators often have seen Isaiah 24–27, with their vision of destruction of the earth for violation of the Noachic "eternal covenant" (24:5), imprisonment of angels (24:22), and triumph over death (25:8; 26:19), as anticipating similar themes in the Enoch and Daniel visions. Nevertheless, these Isaiah chapters are far from the pseudepigraphic, coded divine visions of eras of judgment and redemption seen in clearly Hellenistic historical apocalypses, and there is no clear sign anywhere in them of judgment on Greek domination.[24] Instead, they are so thoroughly shaped by their role as the crown of Isaiah's oracles against foreign nations that it is difficult to detect, with any degree of certainty, their precise historical context. Even the "city of chaos" so prominently featured at the outset (24:10–12) is left anonymous, echoing elements of the proclamations against Babylon that opened Isaiah's oracles against foreign nations (Isaiah 13–14), yet now made open to reinterpretation and paradigmatic reapplication by its anonymity.[25]

21. Johan Lust, "Ezekiel 36–40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 517–33 and idem., "Major Divergences Between LXX and MT in Ezekiel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Adrian Schenker, SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies 52 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 83–92; Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 38–39*, VTSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 250–59. Again, note should be made of a recent dissertation along similar lines, Ingrid Lilly, "Papyrus 967: A Variant Literary Edition of Ezekiel" (PhD diss; Atlanta: Emory University, 2010).

22. See, for example, Konrad Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 198, following Hans-Peter Mathys, "Chronikbücher und hellenistischer Zeitgeist," in *Vom Anfang und vom Ende: Fünf alttestamentliche Studien*, by Hans-Peter Mathys, BEAT 47 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 53 and Peter Schäfer, *Geschichte der Juden in der Antike. Die Juden Palästinas von Alexander dem Grossen bis zur arabischen Eroberung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1983), 27.

23. On the parallels, see Marvin Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets,* Vol. 2, *Micah-Malachi*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 661.

24. For a judicious assessment of the mix of evidence, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 346–47, and mention of the links to the primeval history on p. 351.

25. Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 179.

Both of these cases illustrate the methodological difficulties of identifying Hellenistic material in a corpus revolving around a pre-Hellenistic narrative-prophetic world. If materials such as Zechariah 9 or Isaiah 24–27 are Hellenistic-period expansions of earlier prophetic corpora, the marks of their later dating have been obscured by the extent to which they were modeled on and related to their pre-Hellenistic contexts. The campaign in Zech 9:1–8, though attributed to a Persian-period prophet, is modeled on neo-Assyrian precursors. The vision of the messianic king in Zech 9:9–10 is drawn from elements of Isa 11:1–5; Ps 72:8, and other texts. The fight against the Greeks, though possibly meant to apply to Hellenistic rulers, also could be read as a Persian-period prophecy of Judean support of Persian opposition to Greek influence in the Eastern Mediterranean. And the vision of judgment against the "city of chaos" in Isaiah 24–27 links thoroughly with the judgment against Babylon earlier in the book, even as it allows for reapplication of that prophecy through its anonymity. In these ways and others, late prophetic texts in the Hebrew Bible are so thoroughly formed out of a tissue of allusions and motifs from earlier materials and shaped to fit and yet paradigmatically expand beyond their pre-Hellenistic poetic worlds (e.g., Isaiah 24–27 as the conclusion to Isaiah 13–14) that dating of them to the Hellenistic period is difficult. Such texts may be more numerous than we can know, but it is difficult to identify such Hellenistic-period texts in a methodologically controlled way.[26]

Building on an initial proposal by Otto Kaiser, some have argued that the overall arrangement of several prophetic books follows a three-part apocalyptic pattern: judgment on Judah/Israel, judgment on the nations, and promises to Israel.[27] For example, first Isaiah can be divided between sayings against Israel itself (Isaiah 1–12), oracles against foreign nations (13–23), and prophecies of salvation (24–35), before a historical appendix drawn from 1 Kings 18–20. According to Kaiser, we see a loose variation of this scheme (including a historical appendix drawn from Kings) in the ancient Hebrew Vorlage of Jeremiah translated in the LXX: a scroll of judgment against Judah and Jerusalem in Jer 1:1–25:13, oracles against foreign nations (now in Jeremiah 46–51//LXX 25:15–31:44 and followed by a parallel to Jer 25:15–38//LXX 32:15–38), narrative traditions understood as a prediction of salvation (now Jeremiah 26–45 in MT; note especially Jeremiah 30–31), and a historical appendix (Jeremiah 52) taken from 2 Kgs 24:18–25:30. The scheme is clearer in Ezekiel, which moves from oracles focused on Judah in chapters 1–24, to oracles against foreign nations in 25–32, and materials primarily focused on restoration of Judah in 33–48. Finally, there is evidence of the same scheme in the LXX order of the Twelve Prophets—judgment on Israel and Judah

26. This would hold for other proposed Hellenistic-period texts (e.g., surveyed in Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte des AT*, 192–94), such as the proclamation of a decisive division of the people at the conclusion of Isaiah (65–66), and world judgment texts, such as insertions of universal judgment in Jeremiah (e.g., 25:27–31; 45:4–5), the vision of universal judgment in the "valley of Jehoshaphat" toward the end of Joel (4:1–3, 9–18), and the expansion of Zephaniah's oracles against the nations through world judgment (1:2–6; 3:8).

27. Otto Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament; eine Einführung in ihre Ergebnisse und Probleme* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1969), 174, 185–86, 193–94 [ET 223, 239, 250].

(Hosea-Amos-Micah), judgment on nations (Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum), to the purging of Jerusalem through Babylon, and then its restoration (Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah).[28] Yet this three-part pattern (or four, in cases where historical appendices are included), insofar as it exists in these complex collections, organizes preexisting materials, and in some cases, such as the construal of Jeremiah 26–45 as a section promising restoration, the scheme does not well match the texts it supposedly encompasses.[29]

An alternative place to look for Hellenistic-period visions of judgment in the Hebrew Bible are a series of texts in Qohelet that appear to be late additions to the book aimed at correcting its overall skeptical perspective. This type of material in Qohelet is best exemplified in the last of several conclusions to the book:

> The end of the thing is the following: fear God and keep his commandments, for that is what is in store for every person. For God will bring every deed to judgment, all hidden things, whether good or bad. (Qoh 12:13-14)

Scholars have long noted how the perspective of these two verses, proclaiming inevitable judgment on good and bad deeds, contrasts with the skepticism characteristic of the bulk of Qohelet, both in protests against persistent injustice in the world and articulated in the refrain that extends from the book's beginning to its ending: "emptiness, emptiness, all is emptiness" (Qoh 1:2…12:8). This has led to the thesis that this and several similar texts across the book (e.g., Qoh 11:9) were added by scribes intent on conforming the book more to Torah-observant orthodoxy. Only recently, however, did Armin Lange point out how the specific ideology of Qoh 12:13–14 and similar texts matches that found in Hellenistic-period eschatological wisdom texts found at Qumran.[30] In so far as this is true, Qoh 12:13–14 and similar texts across Qohelet may provide clues that the same (or similar) priestly groups that wrote eschatological wisdom texts such as 4QMysteries

28. Note also a smaller version of this pattern in Zephaniah (1:1–2:3 Jerusalem and Judah; 2:4–3:8 foreign nations; 3:9–20 salvation). On the pattern in the LXX recension of the book of the Twelve, see especially Marvin Sweeney, "Sequence and Interpretation in the Book of the Twelve," in *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, ed. James Nogalski and Marvin Sweeney (Atlanta: Scholars, 2000), 57–59, 62–63. On p. 64, Sweeney seems to imply that the LXX order of the book of the Twelve may be a Christian creation, since it is solely attested in Christian LXX manuscripts of the third and fourth centuries CE. Nevertheless, earlier he himself notes (p. 58) that Joel, placed next to Obadiah in the LXX order, seems to have been composed to be read in relation to Obadiah. The three-part order discussed here *is* attested for other books long prior to the second to fourth centuries CE, and there is no evidence that the order found in the LXX manuscripts of the book of the Twelve is a special creation of Christian writers.

29. For a thorough critique of this schema for Jeremiah, cf. Hermann-Josef Stipp, "Eschatologisches Schema im Alexandrinischen Jeremiabuch? Strukturprobleme eines komplexen Prophetenbuchs," *JNWSL* 23 (1997): 153–79; and more generally, see the critique in Marvin Sweeney, *The Prophetic Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 34, 90, 130. In my judgment, the criticisms raised by both scholars point to the extent to which any such eschatological scheme was imposed on older materials (with their own organizational schemes) only partially suited to their new construal.

30. Armin Lange, "In Diskussion mit dem Temple: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*, ed. A. Schoors (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 113–59.

and 4QInstruction were also involved in the final editing of the book of Qohelet. By this point in the Hellenistic period, Qohelet apparently was fixed enough in the Judean literary corpus that it could not be removed, but these scribes nevertheless attempted to balance its skeptical perspective with one closer to their current law-observant eschatological worldview.

Lange has gone on to make a more tenuous suggestion that the Masoretic edition of the book of Psalms may also come from the Torah-oriented priestly eschatological milieu reflected in 4QInst and 4QMysteries. The difficulty with this proposal, a difficulty that Lange acknowledges, is that the final shapers of the book of Psalms likely rearranged existing materials rather than composing distinctive new material of the sort that seems to have been added to Qohelet. Nevertheless, focusing on the beginning (Psalms 1–2) and end (145–50) of the Masoretic Psalter, Lange finds themes similar to those of these early-second-century priestly wisdom texts. The prologue of the Psalter, Psalms 1–2, begins with a dualistic division between the impending destruction of the "wicked" (רשעים; 1:1, 4–6)//rebellious kings of the earth (2:1–3, 10) and the "happiness" of those "upright" ones (צדיקים; 1:5) who avoid the counsels of the wicked (1:1), meditate on and follow Torah (1:2), and take refuge in Yhwh (2:12). Then the small Hallel of psalms at the end of the Psalter (Psalms 146–50), a sequence present in the MT redaction of the Psalter, resumes the contrast between the destiny of the "upright" and "wicked" (146:8–9) but expands upon it with resounding praise of Yhwh, the heavenly king (146:10; 149:2), orderer of the cosmos and all its peoples (146:6; 147:15–148:13), and caregiver for the poor (146:7–8). This divine king will empower his own people to whom he gave the commandments (146:5; 147:11–14, 19–20; 148:14–149:5) to destroy the foreign princes of the world (149:6–9). Thus, this concluding set of psalms (146–50) adds an eschatological cast to the wisdom-Torah divisions introduced at the outset (Psalms 1–2), praising Yhwh at the head of a created order that will produce victory for his "faithful ones" (חסידיו; 148:14) and destruction for the nations of the world. This set of themes—praise, focus on the poor, Yhwh's vindication of Torah believers, etc.—is also characteristic of priestly eschatological wisdom instructions such as 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries. Given these affinities, and the somewhat similar datings of these instructions and the MT redaction of the Psalter, Lange makes the evocative proposal that all three texts (MT Psalms, 4QInstruction, and 4QMysteries) share a late-third-century/early-second-century priestly milieu.[31] Such a proposal is difficult to verify, because it depends on suppositions about the meaning of the arrangement of older texts, rather than analysis of texts primarily written during the period in question. Nevertheless, given the documented fluidity of the latter part of the Psalter up through the Hasmonean period, and given the fact that Hebrew texts likely were shaped and preserved in the context of the temple, there is potential to Lange's attempt to illuminate the ideology of the final redaction of the MT Psalter through analysis of pre-Qumran priestly wisdom texts.

31. Armin Lange, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit," in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum*, ed. E. Zenger (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 101–36.

In sum, we have limited evidence for semi-apocalyptic expansions of Hebrew Bible material in the Hellenistic period. The best examples are the visions found in Daniel 7 and then 8–12, which are expansions of an Aramaic collection of Daniel tales from the late Persian (or possibly early Hellenistic) period.[32] Though they are pseudepigraphically attributed to an exilic figure, Daniel, and encoded in their historical references, these visions are datable to the early second century BCE and related to the Hellenistic crisis then. Above I argued that the vision of world judgment in the oracles against Gog in Ezekiel 38–39 (possibly originally leading to the vision of resurrection in 37:1–14, a Davidic messiah in 37:15–28, and a new Jerusalem in 40–48) is among the closest analogies to the encoded visions of judgment and resurrection in Daniel 7–12, though the referents of Ezekiel 38–39 are less clear. So also, the vision of revenge against the "Greeks" in Zechariah 9 and the vision of world judgment and resurrection in Isaiah 24–27 may be Hellenistic-period visions akin to early Enoch, Daniel, and Jubilees materials, though these oracles are integrated enough with their contexts that other interpretations are possible, and they lack the obscure encoding typical of more clearly apocalyptic visions. More generally, it may be that the arrangement of larger prophetic collections—especially Isaiah 1–39, Ezekiel and the Vorlages of the Septuagint Jeremiah and of the Book of the Twelve Prophets (along with the book of Zephaniah within the latter collection)—may have been influenced by a semi-apocalyptic scheme of judgment against Yhwh's people, followed by judgment on the nations, and then promise to Yhwh's people. Finally, the apparent secondary layer of emphasis on final judgment in Qohelet (e.g., 11:9; 12:13–14) and picture of final judgment of the "wicked" and redemption of Yhwh's people at the end of the MT edition of Psalms (especially Psalms 146–149) have a number of elements in common with late-third-century or early-second-century priestly eschatological wisdom literature (especially 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries) and may have originated in a similar context.

In most of these cases, Hellenistic dating of features in the Hebrew Bible is hampered by the probability that Hellenistic-period authors limited themselves to rearranging older materials (e.g., Psalms and parts of prophetic books) and/or expanding on older material with new trans-historical visions *that fit in and extended their contexts through a tissue of terminological and symbolic connections*. This was part of the general privileging of antiquity in the Hellenistic period, particularly pre-Hellenistic antiquity. That said, we also know that priestly groups across the Hellenistic world continued to cultivate their indigenous literatures, not just copying, but expanding on those literatures, and often developing visions of world judgment that articulated their hope for divine reversal of their current fortunes. It would be odd if no traces of such activity were preserved in the Hebrew Bible, however encoded and attributed to a more ancient time. The above-discussed passages and features are some of the best candidates for being elements of semi-apocalyptic Jewish literature preserved inside the Hebrew Bible.

32. For an overview of issues surrounding the composition of these chapters, see Kratz, "Visions of Daniel" (German "Die Visionen des Daniel," in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, ed. Reinhard Kratz [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 227–44).

Potential Examples of Hellenistic Period Wisdom

The book of Ben Sira offers a different sort of profile of Hellenistic Jewish literature, one less oriented toward resentment and resistance, and more toward an open, hybrid blend of archaic indigenous wisdom and foreign influence. His writing, datable to the early second century BCE, features the sort of pseudo-archaic Hebrew that is documented in many of the Dead Sea documents (whether from the Dead Sea community or elsewhere). Nevertheless, in contrast to the Enoch tradition (and many parallels elsewhere), Ben Sira does not use the mode of pseudonymous writing to add to the claim of authority for his text, and he criticizes the kind of revelatory proclamation seen in Enoch (Sir 3:21–24; 18:4–7; 34:1–7).[33] Instead, he claims prophetic inspiration for his gaining of wisdom through interpretation of nature, the sages, and select ancient books.

Ben Sira's praise of Israel's "fathers" in Ben Sira 44–49 provides important clues to the state of literary textuality in Judah in the early second century. Because education, including writing-supported education, usually happened in a familial or pseudo-familial context (where students were "sons"), the mention of "fathers" most likely refers not to the genealogical ancestors of Israel, but to their greatest teachers: "Let us sing the praises of famous men, our teachers in their generations" (Sir 44:1). Moreover, a closer look at this section of Ben Sira reveals that it is a praise of figures associated with *writings*, in fact, most of the writings of the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, this overview is divided structurally between an overview of traditions from the Torah (Sir 44:16–45:26) and an overview of figures featured in non-Torah books from Joshua to Nehemiah (Sir 46:1–49:13) before concluding with a final mention of Torah figures (Sir 49:14–16).[34] The figures covered in the overview often are identified in ways that link them with writings now found in the Hebrew Bible. For example, the "Judges" are mentioned as a group (Sir 46:11), as are the "Twelve Prophets" (Sir 49:50). Notably, Esther, Ezra, and Daniel are not mentioned explicitly in the survey. Daniel probably does not appear because a book attributed to him had not been composed by the time of Ben Sira, and Esther may also have been composed so late (and perhaps in a diaspora context) that it was not yet part of Ben Sira's library of literary works. The absence of the figure of Ezra, especially given Ben Sira's emphasis on Torah and the associations of Ezra with the Torah, is more surprising. Yet, it may be additional evidence that the Ezra traditions circulated independently of the Nehemiah traditions until a very late point, and that the latter traditions were known to Ben Sira while the former were not.

Past scholars have been tempted to read into this "praise of the fathers" more of a proto-Scriptural canon than Ben Sira, in fact, had. Though oriented toward

33. Benjamin G. Wright, "'Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest': Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research*, ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 204–17 and idem., "Sirach and 1 Enoch: Some Further Considerations," *Enoch* 24 (2002): 179–87.

34. Alon Goshen-Gottstein, "Ben Sira's Praise of the Fathers—A Canon-Conscious Reading," in *Ben Sira's God: Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference (Durham 2001)*, Vol. 321, ed. Renate Egger-Wenzel, BZAW (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 244–60.

textual figures and distinguishing Torah from non-Torah books, Ben Sira is not offering a summary of a sharply defined Scriptural canon of books. Instead, in his "praise of our fathers," Ben Sira praises a series of teaching father-figures of Israel's history organized chronologically, a series that ultimately leads up to his extensive praise of a more contemporary high priest, probably Simon the Second.[35] Elsewhere, when Ben Sira does talk about the authorities consulted by a scribe, he mentions studying "the law of the most high": "wisdom of the ancients," "prophecies," "sayings of the famous," "parables," "proverbs," and wisdom of foreigners (Sir 39:1–4). In contrast to the later prologue to Ben Sira's writing by his grandson, this list in 39:1-4 does not easily conform to standard groupings of Hebrew biblical texts.[36]

In sum, if we look at Ben Sira broadly, without attempting to conform his picture to later Scriptural constructs, it appears that he knows of a Judean literary complex much like the later Hebrew Bible, but its constitution and status are still in flux. Already the Torah seems set apart from other writings, not only in the praise of the fathers (45–49), but also in some cosmic form of it being specified as the primary focus of the good scribe ("devoted to the study of the law of the most high"; Sir 39:1; note also the praise of wisdom-Torah in Sirach 24).[37] Nevertheless, the non-Torah Judean writings revered by Ben Sira are not yet grouped in a clearly labeled group of "Prophets" opposed to "Torah," let along a tripartite scheme of "Torah, Prophets, and Writings".[38] Moreover, Ben Sira is openly inclusive of non-Judean wisdom, describing the search for it as an important task for the good scribe. And in Ben Sira 45–49, he himself exemplifies the incorporation of non-Judean modes of wisdom even in his focus on figures associated with Judean wisdom, formulating his praise of these figures along the lines of a Hellenistic encomium.[39] This is but one way in which the book of Ben Sira, written as it is in pseudo-classical Hebrew, freely incorporates various sorts of foreign wisdom.[40]

35. See Alexander A. Di Lella and Patrick W. Skehan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 8–10, though note questions about this identification in James Vanderkam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests After the Exile* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004), 141–57 (and a response to these in Otto Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50: An Exegetical Study of the Significance of Simon the High Priest as Climax to the Praise of the Fathers in Ben Sira's Concept of the History of Israel*, SJSJ 78 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 344–54).

36. Arie van der Kooij, "Canonization of Ancient Hebrew Books and Hasmonean Politics," in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge (Leuven: Peeters and University of Leuven Press, 2003), 33–36.

37. T. Swanson, "The Closing of Holy Scripture: A Study in the History of the Canonization of the Old Testament," PhD diss. (Nashville: Vanderbilt, 1970), 114–21; Goshen-Gottstein, "Ben Sira's Praise of the Fathers," 244–49.

38. Cf. Di Lella and Skehan, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 452, which seems to overlook the lack of correspondence of Ben Sira's explicit formulations with later Scriptural constructs.

39. For a more detailed survey of the cultural antecedents to Ben Sira 45–49 and survey of earlier literature, see Burton Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

40. Jack T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, SBLMS (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983), 27–106; Di Lella and Skehan, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 46–50; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 39–41.

Thus, Ben Sira represents an early form of Judean Hellenistic cultural hybridity. On the one hand, he is an author writing in an indigenous literary dialect, probably with strong links to the priesthood, which was the primary context for such indigenous literary creations.[41] Moreover, like many such authors of indigenous texts in the culturally competitive Hellenistic context, Ben Sira constructs his text in an archaizing form of nonvernacular Hebrew, thus laying linguistic claim to authority in a world where pre-Hellenistic origins were valued. On the other hand, Ben Sira is an indigenous author open to foreign, including Hellenistic, forms of learning, and his teaching often exemplifies the blending of Judean and non-Judean elements.

Past scholars have found a similar sort of cultural hybridity, albeit with a decisively different perspective, in the portions of Qohelet that preceded the layer of additions discussed above. The bulk of Qohelet advocates a skepticism about traditional values in the face of death that conforms well with the breakdown of traditional systems of meaning across the Hellenistic world. Moreover, Qohelet's imperative to enjoy work, good food, clothing, etc. is comparable to Hellenistic exhortations to seize the day (*carpe diem*) with moderate enjoyment of life's pleasures.[42] These and some more specific similarities, along with some late aspects of Qohelet's language (e.g., Persian loan words in Qoh; פרדס in 2:5 and פתגם in 8:11), have led the majority of scholars plausibly to date the bulk of Qohelet in the Hellenistic period.[43] In a later chapter of this book, I will return to Qohelet to explore whether parts of it may date from much earlier.

At the very least, the first chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon witness to the popularity of a perspective much like Qohelet's in the Hellenistic period. There, a group of "godless" are presented who proclaim—much like Qohelet does—that all human life is short, characterized by chance, and thus best enjoyed day by day (see Wis 2:1–9). The bulk of the Wisdom of Solomon is oriented toward correcting the view of these "godless ones," arguing for immortality as an answer to their emphasis on the limits of human mortality and drawing on both Scripture and Hellenistic philosophical tradition to assure its audience that good will be rewarded and evil punished. In this way, the Wisdom of Solomon, though written in Greek and drawing widely on Greek concepts, is another example—like the additions to Qohelet itself—of a Hellenistic (or perhaps early Roman period) attempt to balance Qohelet's perspective with a more orthodox emphasis on judgment. In addition, like the book of Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon is characterized by a strong privileging of Torah over other parts of Jewish tradition, with ten of its nineteen chapters devoted to a review of wisdom lessons from the Torah, nine of those chapters devoted to a retelling of the Passover story.

41. For a discussion of the issue of Ben Sira's priestly identity and citation of literature, see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 207. There I maintain that, though there are no signs that Ben Sira was himself a cultic professional, he does seem to have been closely related to the priesthood.

42. On this, see, for example, Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 115–30, an argument expanded in work by his student Rainer Braun in *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie*, BZAW (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973).

43. More details on the linguistic argument for dating Qohelet to a later period are given in Chapter 16 of this book, pp. 452–4.

Textuality in the Hellenistic-Period Diaspora

The Wisdom of Solomon, in turn, stands amidst a rich variety of Jewish texts written in the Jewish diaspora during the Greco-Roman period. It illustrates the different sort of engagement with Hellenism typical of Jewish Hellenistic diaspora texts. In contrast to the priestly eschatological visions of divine intervention discussed above, the Wisdom of Solomon focuses on the drama of individual obedience and reward/punishment. Where traditions of the primeval period are interpreted as anticipations of collective judgment in early Enoch traditions, the Wisdom of Solomon focuses on traditions of collective reward and punishment in the Passover as illustrations of how divine justice can work for the individual.

Other clearly diaspora Jewish works similarly aim to reinforce individual Jewish obedience, often featuring heroic protagonists, prayers, divine dreams, and an emphasis on Torah obedience. The book of Tobit, originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, describes how angelic forces collude to redeem both Torah-obedient Tobit and his future daughter-in-law Sarah from unjust suffering. The legends found in Daniel 1–6, written in Hebrew and Aramaic, along with associated diaspora narrative fragments found at Qumran, describe how exilic figures, usually Daniel, were able to remain observant when faced with seemingly insurmountable opposition to such observance in their foreign contexts. In the case of Tobit and legends of Daniel, there is little to distinguish late Persian from Hellenistic-period diaspora narrative, and so we could date these books to either period. Nevertheless, we see similar themes of prayer, dreams, and divine intervention in clearly Hellenistic-period additions to the books of Esther and Daniel as well as the debate between the three bodyguards (and prayer of Zerubbabel) added to the Ezra tradition in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6.

These features, however, are relatively absent from other texts featuring diaspora protagonists that have been dated by many to the Hellenistic period, such as Esther and the Joseph novella. For example, one of the apparent reasons for the documented supplementation of the book of Esther (revealed in the Greek versions) was its striking lack of emphasis on dreams, prayer, and divine intervention. Several additions to Esther—originally written in Hebrew, but now only attested in the Septuagint version of Esther (and alpha text)—added those dimensions to an earlier Esther narrative. The additions clearly date to the Hellenistic period, but they appear to be corrections of an earlier, perhaps pre-Hellenistic, text lacking elements perceived as important in that later period. Similarly, the story of Joseph, though taking place largely in Egypt and featuring plenty of dreams, lacks the strong emphasis on Torah piety and explicit divine intervention typical of Hellenistic-period diaspora Jewish works. Moreover, its matter-of-fact report of Joseph's marriage to an Egyptian woman and her bearing his children (Gen 41:45, 50), a report that later Jewish documents manifest a struggle with (e.g., Joseph and Aseneth), marks this narrative as originating from a context far distant from that of the late post-exile.

Priestly Revision of Earlier Materials

Just as some of the diaspora traditions considered in the last section may well date to the Persian rather than the Hellenistic period (e.g., the Aramaic tales of Daniel, Tobit, early Esther), the same could be said for the fourth and last set of texts to be

considered here: Priestly revisions of earlier traditions in the Hexateuch and Chronistic History. In the former case, we were dealing with Aramaic traditions about the diaspora. In this latter case, we consider Hebrew traditions that have connections to priests of the Jerusalem temple. In some cases, the context of these texts may be the Jerusalem temple of the Persian period, already a central institution in post-monarchic Judah. But in some cases, there are signs that the texts originate from the Jerusalem temple of the early Hellenistic period, when the emphasis on antiquity intensified and, correspondingly, the use of Hebrew as a literary language.

The first and perhaps most important case is that of the books of Chronicles. As was discussed in the chapter on documented cases of transmission history (Chapter 3), Chronicles appears, in large part, to be a redaction of traditions otherwise seen in 1 Samuel 30 through the end of 2 Kings, though traditions possibly in a form more like that seen in 4QSam[a] rather than the proto-MT or LXX recensions of Samuel-Kings. As we saw, Chronicles lacks parallels to numerous sections present in Samuel-Kings, such as the history of the North, perhaps because of exclusive interest in Judah during the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. Chronicles is obviously familiar with a relatively late form of the Pentateuch, containing both P and non-P traditions, though its genealogies merely draw on, but do not redact or replicate Pentateuchal materials. It is only starting with the report of Saul's death in 1 Samuel 30 that Chronicles reproduces and expands on certain portions of Samuel-Kings (in a version not available to us), while lacking parallels to other parts.

Chronicles appears to date either to the very late Persian period or (more likely) the first century and a half of the Hellenistic period. Its use of Persian loan words, including an anachronistic mention of Darics in 1 Chr 29:7, and the genealogy of Davidides in 1 Chr 3:17–24, suggest a date in the Persian period or later. An indicator leading to more specificity is the citation of Ezra 1:1–3a in 2 Chr 36:22–23. This report of the Cyrus decree plays a central role in the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative and probably originated there, while the appearance in Chronicles covers a time far separate from the preceding narratives it has adapted.[44] Therefore, Chronicles must post-date (or be virtually contemporary with) the Rebuilding-Ezra narrative, which in turn will be dated in the next chapter to the very late Persian period, long enough after the time of Artaxerxes (465–24 BCE) for the chronological confusion in the report of correspondence (Ezra 4:7–24//Esd 2:16–30) to go unnoticed by later authors and their audiences.[45] This places Chronicles at least minimally later in the Persian period or

44. For a discussion of the ancient technique of joining separate documents through the inclusion of such an overlapping element, see M. Haran, "Book-Size and the Device of Catch-Lines in the Biblical Canon," *JSS* 36 (1985): 1–11.

45. Numerous commentators have suggested that the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 9:2–17 is based on a semi-parallel list found in Neh 11:3–19 (recently and thoroughly Sara Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, OTL [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993], 208–13). The latter list is part of the material assigned in the previous chapter to the redactor who combined the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative with the Nehemiah Memoir, probably in the Hasmonean period, though this redactor could have been working with an earlier list. As in many such cases, there are signs that neither list is the exact

early Hellenistic period. Eupolemous (158 BCE) seems to know of a Greek translation of Chronicles, which would suggest a dating of Chronicles no later than the early second century. In either case, it would represent an early example of the revival of Hebrew literary textuality that became more pronounced in the later Hellenistic/Hasmonean period.

Building on the wealth of scholarship on the distinctive characteristics of Chronicles vis-à-vis its Vorlage, the following summary points are the most relevant for this context. First, Chronicles emphasizes the founding of the monarchy and Jerusalem temple under David and Solomon, while omitting traditions about David and Solomon that are unflattering (e.g., the David and Bathsheba episode discussed in chapter 3). This, combined with the lack of inclusion of traditions about the Northern monarchy, means that the period of David and Solomon's monarchy take up almost half of the entire narrative of Chronicles. Second, starting with the extended section on Levites in 1 Chronicles 6, Chronicles shares with 11QTemple and with the Rebuilding-Ezra traditions (to be discussed in the next chapter) a particular emphasis on the legitimacy, role, and importance of the Levites. The high priesthood and sacrificial responsibilities remained lodged with the Aaronides, to be sure (e.g., 1 Chr 6:34–45 [ET 6:49–60]), but the bulk of 1 Chronicles 6 focuses on the Levites and their responsibility for virtually every other role in the Jerusalem temple, emphases that continue through the rest of Chronicles. Third, the large pluses of Chronicles vis-à-vis its source text relate predominantly to the organization of the temple cult during the time of kingship, an organization now oriented as much or more toward Priestly regulations of the Pentateuch as toward non-Priestly stipulations. These large pluses start with a section where David, in a Moses-like last testament, appoints Solomon as his successor and makes arrangements for the temple to be built according to heavenly stipulations (1 Chr 22:2–29:30; again with emphasis on Levites in 1 Chr 23:2–32; 24:20–26:32). The next large set of pluses (2 Chr 17:1–18:1 and 19:1–20:30), concerning Jehoshaphat, includes a distinctive emphasis on his program to instruct the people (through officials, Levites, and priests) in the Torah (2 Chr 17:7–9), his institution of a Torah-focused (and Levite-run) legal system (2 Chr 19:4–11), and the divinely empowered military success that followed (2 Chr 20:1–30; encouraged by a prophecy by a Levite in 2 Chr 20:14–17). The last major set of pluses (2 Chr 29:3–30:27 and 31:1b-21) depicts the reestablishment of correct temple worship

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recensional ancestor of the other. Nevertheless, the list in Nehemiah is the more expansive and organized of the two, featuring added pedigrees, functions of the figures listed, and expanding on and clarifying the distinction between labels that are strung together in Chronicles (esp. 1 Chr 9:13; cf. Neh 9:10–13). Despite the efforts of commentators to explain these pluses as abridgement on the part of Chronicles, the evidence actually suggests that the Hasmonean author-conflator of Ezra-Nehemiah used a form of the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem much like that seen in 1 Chr 9:2–25, albeit perhaps not yet with the corrupt addition of names in 1 Chr 9:15 (see Japhet 213). Just a pair of distinctive characteristics of Chronicles were ignored, such as the anomalous mention of Ephraim and Manasseh in 1 Chr 9:3 (perhaps a problem for the intensely Judah-focused, anti-Northern perspective of Ezra-Nehemiah) and the Chronistic summary in 9:9. Otherwise, the differences between these texts are best explained as the result of Hasmonean-period expansions of the list found in Chronicles.

under Hezekiah, a cultic reform that now provides the context for the Chronicler's adaptation of source materials reporting Yhwh's deliverance of Judah from the Assyrians and of Hezekiah from sickness (2 Chr 32:1–23; cf. 2 Kings 18–19//Isaiah 36–37). These pluses, along with a multitude of smaller shifts analyzed by prior commentators, show the overall interest of the Chronicler in reporting the establishment of a Torah-observant temple cult over the course of the Davidic dynasty, a cult that could then ensure the military success of the kingdom.

As others have pointed out, this emphasis on establishing the legitimacy of the *Jerusalem* cult in Chronicles may have been a response to a challenge to the exclusive legitimacy of that cult posed by the establishment of the Samaritan temple at Mount Gerizim. As we saw in the last chapter, the Samaritans probably could cite traditions from the Torah in support of their cult, while the Torah never mentions Jerusalem and its priesthood. This may explain why Chronicles spends so much time attempting to establish the first Jerusalem kings (particularly David and Solomon) as the authentic heirs of the Torah tradition and showing those kings as establishing the Jerusalem cult, particularly the priesthood of the Jerusalem temple along with its Levitical personnel, in accordance with divine instruction. In sum, Chronicles, even in its focus on the period of the monarchy, illustrates an interest in Torah exegesis and priestly concerns also seen in other Hellenistic-period Judean texts.

One other thing that Chronicles illustrates is a broader tendency seen in Hellenistic-period documents toward textual interpretation that bridges between and builds on the multiple legal corpora of the Pentateuch, often with a Priestly perspective (e.g., 11QTemple). We already saw this tendency in documents such as the proto-Samaritan Pentateuchal manuscripts, 4QRP, and 11QTemple discussed in previous chapters. Many of the cases seen in those documents represent more mechanical forms of textual coordination, for example, insertion of laws from outside Deuteronomy into a survey of Deuteronomic laws in 11QTemple or insertion of Deuteronomic laws in Tetrateuchal contexts (and vice versa) in proto-Samaritan manuscripts. In the case of Chronicles, such operations often involve a more creative element, not just coordinating different laws, but producing new compositions out of the mix. For example, the Chronistic report of Josiah's Passover depicts it as being celebrated in a centralized location as per regulations in Deut 16:1–8, but organized by ancestral houses as per Priestly regulations in Exodus 12 (2 Chr 35:4, 12); the sacrifice was "boiled" (בשל piel) as per Deuteronomic instructions in Deut 16:7 "in fire" to follow the Priestly command to "roast in fire" (צלי־אש) in Exod 12:8–9. Already the Deuteronomistic report had laid stress on the fact that Josiah's Passover was the first since the time of the judges to be celebrated in accordance with what was written in the book of the Torah (2 Kgs 23:21–22). The Chronicler's description, in addition to developing new concepts of the role of the priests and Levites in performing the Passover, shows how Josiah's Passover fulfilled the dictates of both Deuteronomic and Priestly laws.

Some elements in the Pentateuch that similarly bridge between its diverse materials may likewise date from this early Hellenistic period. To be sure, unlike in the case of the proto-Samaritan or similar manuscripts, we do not have manuscript evidence to separate harmonizing additions in the Pentateuch from their

nonharmonized substrate. Moreover, such harmonizations provide few indicators to aid dating and could have been done at any point from the time when diverse Pentateuchal materials were brought together until the formation of the Pentateuchal texts we now have. Nevertheless, given the documented presence of such harmonizations (e.g., proto-Samaritan textual tradition) and harmonizing compositions (e.g., Chronicles) in the Hellenistic period, there is good reason to think that some of the harmonizations and other textual coordinations present in our earliest texts of the Pentateuch would date to this period as well.

For example, many of the elements assigned in the past to R^P may instead be late Hellenistic-period coordinations of disparate P and non-P Pentateuchal materials. More than a century ago, scholars noted the presence of distinctively Priestly language in non-Priestly contexts, such as the apparent harmonization of portions of the non-Priestly creation (Gen 2:19, 20) and flood account (6:7; 7:3a, 8–9) with catalogues of animals roughly similar to those mentioned in the P creation account at the outset (see 1:24, 26, 28, 30). In some cases, the marks of secondary coordination are clear, as in the awkward appending of birds to the preceding instruction regarding what is to be brought on the ark (Gen 7:3a), while in other cases, no seam is left to indicate the secondary addition of material (e.g., Gen 2:19, 20). Nevertheless, we have seen from documented cases of harmonization that such redaction usually is seamless, and there are other reasons—to be discussed in a later context—to believe that the two strands of the primeval history originally were composed separately from one another. Once they were brought together, however, with the overview of the cosmos in Genesis 1 at the beginning, it was natural for elements of that Priestly overview in Genesis 1 to filter into the following narratives, including non-Priestly narratives.

Such examples illustrate the dynamics of growth that were probably operative in the later formation of the Pentateuch, even if the full scope of such harmonizations cannot be fully reconstructed on the basis of indicators left in the present texts. For example, if the suppositions in Chapter 4 about the proto-MT tabernacle account vis-à-vis the LXX account are correct, we have some manuscript documentation for an ongoing process of harmonization behind the proto-MT Pentateuchal text, with the LXX account representing an earlier form of harmonization of tabernacle instructions with the construction report than the (generally) more advanced level of harmonization seen in the proto-MT. Yet if this is the case, it is safe to say that it would have been virtually impossible to reconstruct the intermediate stage of the LXX tabernacle account (Vorlage) without the assistance of the LXX itself. So also, whether in cases like the "R^P" harmonizations in the primeval history or similar cases elsewhere, we should reckon with the likelihood that our earliest Pentateuchal manuscript traditions preserve instances of harmonization that are often less, rather than more reconstructible.

That said, the example of Chronicles and the above-discussed harmonizations suggest several things about the development of Hebrew textuality in the era spanning the end of the Persian and Hellenistic periods. First, they document an intense interest in the Mosaic Torah tradition that has been seen in many other Hellenistic traditions as well. Second, the form of the Torah tradition that they engage includes both non-Priestly and Priestly elements, and the engagement with

this diversity is often productive of new material, harmonizing or otherwise. Third, both Chronicles and the above-discussed harmonizations have featured integration of distinctively Priestly elements into non-Priestly contexts. For example, at many points Chronicles enriches its non-Priestly Samuel-Kings* base text with material about the Jerusalem cult and priesthood similar to P, and the Torah that Chronicles treats as authoritative is a combination of P and non-P. So also, the harmonizing supplements regarding animals in non-Priestly primeval history materials are loosely based on terminology found in the Priestly creation account standing in Genesis 1.

Such an emphasis on Priestly material amidst broader engagement with a P/non-P Torah is consistent with the primary location of Persian-period indigenous Hebrew textuality in the Jerusalem temple, especially its priesthood, that was discussed at the outset of this chapter. As was mentioned there, this is not a new development in the Hellenistic period, though this tendency was intensified then as Greek became the language of governmental administration and trade. Nevertheless, we might conclude from the tilt toward Priestly traditions in this priest-primary textual environment that other examples of Priestly recasting of narrative likewise may date to the early Hellenistic (or late Persian) period.

However far one might go in identifying and dating such material, one contrast with the Hasmonean period should be noted. For the Hasmonean period, the documented changes leading up to the proto-Masoretic text featured the expansion of Deuteronomistic material, for example, in DtrH and Jeremiah, with material that itself had a Deuteronomistic color. There even were isolated cases in Ezekiel where Priestly material was conformed in the final stages of formation to semi-Deuteronomistic models. These changes, I suggested, probably occurred in the context of the Hasmonean priest-monarchy, a monarchy run by non-Jerusalemite priests. In contrast, in this last section of this chapter, I have focused on examples of earlier Hellenistic (or late Persian) textuality that expanded on non-Priestly/semi-Deuteronomistic materials with Priestly elements, whether the Chronicles reformulation of parts of Samuel-Kings* or the posited Priestly revisions and expansions of Hexateuchal materials in the primeval history and Joshua. Notably, the best candidates for such revisions are restricted to the Hexatuech or Samuel-Kings, with a lack of such clear interventions in Judges. In sum, during the broader Hellenistic period, there appears to have been a shift from late Persian/early Hellenistic "Priestly/Levitical" expansion on or reprocessing of older Hexateuchal materials (with Chronicles now substituting for Samuel-Kings in representing monarchical history) to (probable Hasmonean-period) Deuteronomistic/non-Priestly coloring in the final expansions that characterize the proto-MT of an Enneateuch including Judges, along with certain prophets (especially Jeremiah).

This may suggest that the time of the Hasmonean monarchy (and perhaps already before, from Menelaus onward or even earlier?) represented a shift in forms of revision from the earlier Persian-Hellenistic period. Earlier, the interests of various Jerusalemite Priestly (especially Zadokite) and/or Levitical groups were primary in the processing of older Hebrew texts (e.g., Chronicles, Hexateuch) and this is reflected in the tendency toward "Priestly" terminology and ideology in

these texts. Thus, what is perceived in broader scholarship as broader "Priestly" traits may be a set of indicators broadly characteristic of Zadokite Jerusalem scribal circles connected to the temple of the Persian and earlier Hellenistic period. Meanwhile, scribal groups linked to the Hasmoneans—a priestly group coming from outside Jerusalem—appear to have been partial to non-Priestly portions of the tradition (e.g., the characters and books of Joshua-Samuel) and even may have supported some revision of Priestly texts through expansions modeled on non-Priestly precursors.

Perhaps the Hasmoneans even played a yet additional role in the final configuration of the Hebrew Scriptures. Where there seems to have been a temporary focus on the Hexateuch and Chronicles in the Jerusalem Priestly groups of the Persian and/or early Hellenistic periods, the Hasmoneans—with their predilection toward presenting themselves as "judges" and possible inclinations toward Deuteronomistic books and motifs—may have supported the books of the Deuteronomistic history taking priority over their Chronistic ("Priestly" in the broad sense of the word) counterparts. At least in this case, the Samuel-Kings* Vorlage was not replaced by its Chronistic redaction. Eventually, the former became part of the more liturgically central "prophets" category of rabbinic Judaism, while the latter Chronistic redaction was kept, but eventually (centuries later) relegated to the "writings" category that emerged on the other side of the Mishnah.

■ CONCLUSION

Overall, many of the examples of Hebrew textuality discussed in this chapter fit with the above-discussed trend toward isolation of indigenous language (e.g., Hebrew) textuality in the context of the temple. We see evidence of priestly links in the early apocalyptic literature (e.g., Enoch 6–11, 17–36, 72–90; Daniel 7–12), evidence that then may be relevant for understanding the background of the more subtle semi-apocalyptic three-part structure that may have been used to structure prophetic books more broadly (e.g., Isaiah 1–39; Vorlage of the LXX Jeremiah and book of the Twelve; Ezekiel) and expand them individually (e.g., Ezekiel 38–39; possibly Isaiah 24-27 and Zechariah 9). Similarly, pre-Qumran eschatological wisdom texts at Qumran show particular cultic interests typical of priests (e.g., 4QInstruction, 4QMysteries), and this supports the idea that similar motifs found in the later parts of the books of Psalms and Qohelet may have been added by priestly scribes. Though Ben Sira critiques modes of esoteric revealed wisdom seen in these texts, he too shows signs of links to the priesthood. And priestly interests are even more obvious in the last set of texts discussed here, the Priestly recontextualization and reformulation of a version of the Samuel-Kings tradition found in Chronicles and several other Priestly expansions on non-Priestly materials found in the primeval history and Chronicles. In and of themselves, these texts do not show the same level of link to the priesthood at every point, but overall they conform well to a more broadly documented trend toward priestly textuality in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

In addition, I discussed a distinctively different set of potential Hellenistic texts that show links to the issues of the Jewish diaspora, texts such as Tobit, the Aramaic

tales of Daniel, and narrative additions to Daniel, Esther, and Ezra/Esdras. They share a prominent focus on dire threats faced by Jewish exiles, their Torah-obedience, piety and prayers, and divine rescue. Cultic-priestly concerns are conspicuously absent, but neither are these texts particularly Deuteronomistic. Instead, they draw on Hellenistic novelistic genres to offer an entertaining and edifying narrative tableau with characters and scenes drawn from an often confusing mix of historical periods. The tendency toward ideology trumping chronology and historical accuracy, already seen in late Hellenistic examples such as Judith and chronological confusion evident in multiple levels of Ezra-Nehemiah, is illustrated as well in these diaspora Jewish tales from the early Hellenistic/late Persian periods.

There may well be other early Hellenistic elements in and around what is now the Hebrew Bible, but I suggest that the texts discussed in this chapter are among those whose Hellenistic dating is the most recognizable. And even here, uncertainty abounds, in, for example, the identification of semi-apocalyptic elements in the structuring and expansion of prophetic books, the discernment of priestly eschatological wisdom interests infusing Qohelet and Psalms, or the Hellenistic-period dating of various "Priestly" elements in Chronicles and late Priestly material of the Hexateuch. Particularly because there was so much value placed on antiquity in the Hellenistic period, it often is difficult distinguish Hellenistic expansions or restructuring of older materials from the older materials themselves. Though Ben Sira provides a rare example of explicit attribution to a Hellenistic-period sage, most Hellenistic authors composed new texts or expanded older ones with textual material based on older precedents, woven out of a web of memorized motifs, phrases, and themes already in the loose corpus of Hebrew texts in circulation at the time. These early Hellenistic-period scribes do not seem to have been preoccupied with hiding every trace of their work, and occasionally we can discern telltale logical inconsistencies and/or terminological shifts marking later expansions. Nevertheless, the bulk of documented cases of textual revision in this period are done fluidly enough that methodologically controlled reconstruction of the earlier stages would have been impossible without having manuscript evidence for those earlier stages.

Finally, as we look back at this rather diverse group of texts that probably date from the earlier half of the Hellenistic period, two common characteristics emerge. The first is the relatively consistent presupposition that the Torah of Moses should be the orientation point for Jewish piety and observance. To be sure, at times it is not clear what constitutes this "Torah" (of Moses). Nevertheless, for the most part, it seems that the Torah known by most Hellenistic-period Jews is some corpus approaching the P/non-P Torah testified to by the major manuscript traditions. In the next chapter, we will look at the probable background for the creation of this Torah within the context of the Persian-period restoration of Judah.

The other main characteristic shared across many of these texts is emphasis on the idea that Yhwh can be counted on to reward individuals who persist in their (Torah) obedience. This is articulated in various ways by the potential priestly final shaping of Qohelet and the book of Psalms, diaspora tales of Jews in distress (e.g., Aramaic Daniel, Tobit, expansions of Daniel and Esther), the book of Ben Sira, and the reformulation of the Samuel-Kings* tradition in Chronicles. The idea of

divine reward and punishment, of course, is widespread across the Hebrew Scriptures and early Jewish literature. Nevertheless, these Hellenistic-period texts seem particularly *anxious* to reaffirm schemes of individual reward and punishment in situations, for example, a lion's den, where it appears as if it will break down. Within the context of Hellenistic power shifts and the undermining of traditional systems of value, these texts affirm that older structures of act and consequence will, in fact, hold. As we will see in the next chapter, such concern about older ideas about cosmic order was not confined to the Hellenistic period.

7 The Persian Period

Textuality of Persian-Sponsored Returnees

As we turn to the Persian period, we are in only a slightly better situation with regard to historical sources than the Neo-Babylonian period. Whereas we have almost no narratives of events during the Babylonian exile (2 Kgs 25:27–30 is an exception) and no archaeological records (for the Babylonian exiles), we do have Persian-period archaeological remains (both inside and outside Judah, including Babylonian exiles) and a collection of narratives now in 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah that provide at least indirect access to developments in Persian-period Yehud.

Evidence from outside the Bible suggests that the Persian period was a time when Judeans in the diaspora achieved a level of integration into administrative roles and processes not documented in earlier decades. An increasing array of specifically Persian-period epigraphic evidence shows figures with Judean names occupying administrative posts and participating in legal transactions.[1] This, along with the characterization of Nehemiah and Ezra in the biblical narratives as occupying high positions in the Persian government, suggests a picture where a few diaspora Jews achieved some level of position and influence within parts of the Persian administrative apparatus.[2] Furthermore, in apparent contrast to the Neo-Babylonians, the Persians appear to have taken an active interest in administrating what would become the Persian province of Yehud, apparently involving some Judeans in that task.[3] To be sure, the area surrounding Jerusalem was significantly depopulated in comparison to the pre-exilic period from the Neo-Babylonian period into the mid-fifth century, and one must not overestimate the extent to which Persian-period Jerusalem ever achieved a position of broader military or other importance. Nevertheless, a variety of archaeological and other data point to a gradual process of modest rebuilding starting around the mid-fifth century and continuing afterwards.[4] Perhaps partly through the influence and

1. See the helpful survey in David Vanderhooft, "New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," in *Yahwists after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Robert Becking (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 220–27. He compares this (pp. 227–29) with the relative lack of similar documentation for the Neo-Babylonian period.

2. This is true to a lesser extent even if one judges all or part of the Nehemiah and Ezra narratives to be fictitious, insofar as they depend on the supposition that their audiences would find such depictions to be plausible.

3. Again, see Vanderhooft, "New Evidence," 229–34.

4. On this, see the discussion in Oded Lipschitz, "Achaemenid Imperial Policy, Settlement Processes in Palestine, and the Status of Jerusalem in the Middle of the Fifth Century B.C.E," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschitz and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 19–52, along with idem., "The Settlement Archaeology of the Province of Judah: A Case Study," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 33–52.

involvement of some influential diaspora Judeans, formerly destroyed Jerusalem was reconstructed as a fortified administrative center, a *birah*, helping to constitute a separate Persian administrative province of Yehud alongside the long-standing province centered on Samaria to the North. Any biblical texts datable to this period probably originated in this broader context and in dialogue with this broader rebuilding project. Moreover, they often reflect the Judean side of a process of ideological legitimization of this new political and cultic center vis-à-vis competing religious and political claims of Samaria and the nearby sanctuary at Gerizim.

Apparently, even if one corrects for a likely Judean tendency to stress Persian support for this rebuilding project in biblical texts, the Persians appear to have provided significant material and other support to diaspora Jews involved in this rebuilding project. This is consistent with other evidence for how the Persians, building on precedents already established by other empires, gained support for their administration by sponsoring local elites and (in particular) rebuilding their cults. Thus, documents such as the Cyrus cylinder and scattered testimony to Persian sponsorship of local cultic laws show Persians representing themselves and being described by others as rebuilding and/or sponsoring local temple cults. The Cyrus cylinder, of course, does not directly pertain to Persian Yehud. Instead, it is Cyrus's self-representation as the legitimate restorer of traditional Babylonian cults after Nabonidus's neglect of them in favor of the Syrian god Sin.[5] Yet we find a fascinating biblical relative of this inscription at the end of Chronicles and beginning of Ezra, an apparent adaptation of key themes from the Cyrus inscription to depict Cyrus as authorizing the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple and return of the Jewish diaspora. Apparently, the author of this biblical Hebrew work had studied a version of the Cyrus cylinder (cf. preservation of a copy of the Behistun inscription apparently studied at Elephantine). The overall thrust and themes of the Cyrus cylinder then were available for reuse by Judeans in depicting the Persian royal chancellery as initiating and firmly supporting the broader Jewish rebuilding effort.

Similarly, there is a parallel—under debate to be sure—between scattered evidence of Persian sponsorship of local cultic regulations and biblical testimony that Artaxerxes commissioned Ezra to travel to Judah to assess the extent of obedience to the "law of [his] god" that he was bringing with him (Ezra 7:14) and enforce and teach the "law of [his] God and the law of the king" (Ezra 7:25–26). Of course, our limited evidence of Persian sponsorship of local traditions is quite varied, and there are numerous signs that the narrative in Ezra 7 is, at best, a Judean depiction of Persian practices in the service—once again—of claiming Persian sponsorship of every stage of rebuilding and enforcement of Torah. Nevertheless, evidence to

5. Amelie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achamenid Royal Ideology," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 83–97. Kuhrt emphasizes the way the cylinder presents itself as and is a continuation of older Mesopotamian traditions. For an analogous process attested in the Neo-Assyrians (who are often contrasted with the Persians), see Barbara N. Porter, "Gods' Statues as a Tool of Assyrian Political Policy: Essarhaddon's Return of Marduk to Babylon," in *Religious Transformations and Socio-Political Change: Eastern Europe and Latin America*, ed. Luther Martin (Berlin: de Gruyer, 1993), 9–14.

be discussed later in this chapter suggests that the Persians played some kind of role in Judeans' collecting and implementing their Mosaic Torah.

The Persians also seem to have played some role in supporting the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple and the reinstitution of its priesthood. From the perspective of biblical texts, the rebuilding of the temple is the most central event that occurred during the post-exilic Persian period. It is reflected both in direct descriptions in Ezra (3:1–6:18//1 Esd 5:47–7:9) and discussions in Haggai and Zechariah (Hag 1:1–2:19; Zech 4:1–10; cf. Ezra 5:1; 6:14). Furthermore, if we are to trust this aspect of the descriptions in Ezra, the rebuilding took place—as in the case of Babylonian institutions—with the authorization and support of Persian authorities. To be sure, this latter claim in the Ezra materials may have been motivated primarily to refute objections to the temple rebuilding that were posed by opponents of the project, apparently located particularly in Samaria (which may have played a dominant role in the region while Jerusalem was in ruins). Nevertheless, given the Persian role in rebuilding elsewhere, there seems to be a kernel of truth in at least this aspect of the biblical narrative.

Just as the Persians are reported to have engaged local leaders as their proxies elsewhere in their empire, the Bible testifies in multiple ways to its status as a product of Persian-sponsored returnees from exile. We do not just see pro-Persian elements in the above-discussed book of Ezra or the account of Persian sponsorship of Nehemiah's work in the Nehemiah Memoir, though they certainly are present there. We also see them in Second Isaiah, where Cyrus is described as Yhwh's "anointed one" and given epithets otherwise typical of the Davidic king (Isa 45:1–7). Furthermore, the generally pro-Persian cast of the Hebrew Bible is reflected in the remarkable lack of critique of the Persian Empire throughout the Hebrew Bible, with most exceptions occurring in materials datable on other grounds to the Hellenistic period (mainly the Daniel visions and probable late prayer in Nehemiah 9).[6] Every other pre-Hellenistic empire and nation in the world is criticized at least once and often more times across the Hebrew Bible. Only the Persians emerge free of judgment, portrayed as the enablers of return, restorers of the temple, and sponsors of the republication of the Torah. This argument, albeit from a broad silence across otherwise diverse writings, suggests two things: (1) that the Bible was significantly shaped by scribes with pro-Persian sympathies; and following that, (2) that the Persian period itself was a crucial time for the formation of the Hebrew Bible.

Yet before pursuing these two theses, an important datum must be acknowledged. Whatever *Hebrew* texts were written in this period emerged in an environment in which *Aramaic* played a significant role, both as the language exclusively attested in contemporaneous administrative and legal texts and as a language apparently studied in certain literary contexts as well (e.g., Ahiqar and the Behistun inscription copy at Elephantine). From the fifth century on, a variety of seals, papyri (e.g., Wadi-Daliyeh, Elephantine), ostraca, etc. testify to the ubiquity of Aramaic textuality both in the area around Jerusalem and in communities of

6. Persia is also mentioned in likely late materials of Ezekiel, the previously discussed Ezek 38:5; also Ezek 27:10 and the LXX of Ezek 30:5. In addition, the depiction of the Persian king and Persians in the (very late) book of Esther is not positive.

Judeans in diaspora.[7] Thus, especially as one moves into the later Persian period, one must reckon with the probability that the Judean tradents of older texts and authors of new ones wrote Hebrew as a specifically literary language, perhaps unusually heavily influenced by Aramaic grammar or vocabulary. And indeed, as was the case with several texts discussed in previous chapters (e.g., Daniel, Esther, Chronicles), this is the case for some texts discussed in this one, particularly the Ezra and Nehemiah compositions standing behind Ezra-Nehemiah.

■ TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH RETURN AND/OR REBUILDING

I start by surveying texts in the Hebrew Bible that may be associated in some way with one of the waves of return of exiles from Babylon and/or the rebuilding of Jerusalem, particularly the Jerusalem temple. These include both narrative (e.g., parts of Ezra-Nehemiah) and poetic (e.g., parts of Isaiah 56–66; Zechariah and Haggai) texts.

The narrative texts deserve scrutiny first, particularly because they also are a major source for the picture drawn above of Persian-sponsored restoration in post-exilic Yehud. In Chapter 5 of this book, I argued that the present books of Ezra-Nehemiah probably were composed in the Hasmonean period. Yet I also maintained (in Chapters 3 and 5) that this composition was built on two substantial earlier compositions: a Nehemiah Memoir found in Neh 1:1–7:4; 12:27–40*; 13:4–31 and a narrative covering the period of return to rebuilding the temple and reading the Torah that corresponds to the contents of 1 Esdras minus the story of the three guards and portions of Chronicles (1 Esd 1:1–58; 3:1–4:63; along with associated additions [e.g., 5:1–6]). To focus on dating such reconstructed texts is somewhat of a departure for the discussion in this book, which so far has focused primarily on dating larger text blocks found in the Hebrew Bible. Yet—as argued already in Chapter 3—the data supporting the identification of these reconstructed text blocks are quite strong, encompassing both internal evidence in the textual tradition of Ezra-Nehemiah itself and the external testimony of the 1 Esdras tradition and Josephus (and somewhat Ben Sira).

The Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative corresponding to large parts of 1 Esdras (minus 1 Esd 1; 3:1–4:63 and associated changes/additions) is the more difficult of the two (reconstructed) compositions to date. Though it focuses exclusively on events of the Persian period, it contains (whether in the MT Ezra-Nehemiah or the 1 Esdras version) substantial chronological confusions about the order of Persian kings, confusions that likely would not have occurred had the author of these portions of the narrative lived close to the time of the events it describes. Moreover, some dating in the latter half of the Persian period or early in the Hellenistic period would conform with the prominence of Aramaized Hebrew and large sections of

7. For an overview, see I. Ephaal, "Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period in Light of Epigraphic Sources," *IEJ* 48 (1998): 106–19 and Ingo Kottsieper, "'And They Did Not Care to Speak Yehudit': On Linguistic Change in Judah During the Late Persian Era," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century* BCE, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 95–124.

Aramaic (e.g., Ezra 4:7–6:18) in the composition. The specific dating of the work depends especially on decisions regarding its relation to Chronicles and the dating of the figure of Ezra himself. If one takes this narrative to be a portion of the books of Chronicles, a traditional position that has been persuasively reaffirmed by scholars such as Blenkinsopp more recently, then it—like Chronicles—probably dates to the late Persian or early Hellenistic period.[8] This date would also fit with a late dating of the figure of Ezra to the 7th year of Artaxerxes II (398 BCE), since some of the traditions surrounding him seem to conform to a dating of him after Nehemiah's work: even in MT Ezra-Nehemiah a גדר already exists in Ezra 9:9 (though a גדר "in Judah and Jerusalem") that some interpret to be Nehemiah's city wall,[9] and Ezra goes to a temple room of Johanan (Ezra 10:6) who may be the (grand)son of the high priest during Nehemiah's day (Eliashib, Neh 12:22–23) and high priest in 419 BCE (AP 30:18). If one follows several recent scholars in arguing that the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative was composed separately from Chronicles and/or if one sees Ezra's arrival as prior to that of Nehemiah, then an earlier date (in the late Persian period) becomes more possible. In either case, the positive depiction of the Persian role in the return, rebuilding, and institution of Torah in the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative may suggest a dating still during the Persian period, since later, post-Persian-period scribes probably had little reason to assert so strenuously that the Persians had supported each stage of the rebuilding process.

The Nehemiah memoir, found in the "I" sections of Neh 1:1–7:4 along with portions of 12:27–40 and most or all of 13:4–31, also features Aramaized Hebrew, but seems to date earlier in the Persian period. Assuming that the dates given internally (e.g., Neh 1:1; 2:1; 13:6) refer to Artaxerxes I, the Nehemiah Memoir covers events from 445–25 BCE, approximately a century after Cyrus's victory and the rebuilding of the temple. The entire text is framed as a first-person narrative by Nehemiah itself, written in the form of a dedicatory autobiography. As such, it certainly does not stand as an unbiased and accurate representation of either Persian policy or events in Yehud. Nevertheless, it lacks the sorts of obvious chronological problems found in the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative and is relatively accurate in its representation of Persian administration. Therefore, most scholars, including myself, consider the bulk of the Nehemiah Memoir now found in Ezra-Nehemiah to reflect an earlier composition originating, in some form, from the fifth-century Judean by that name.

8. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 47–54.

9. For arguments against use of this criterion for order, see Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 141–42 and Hugh Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, WBC 16 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1985), 136–37. Both authors focus on the main example of mention of the wall in the MT of Ezra-Nehemiah (Ezra 9:9, גדר), a mention probably left in the MT precisely because (as Blenkinsopp and Williamson point out) it does not conflict with the later mention of Nehemiah's wall-building. The issue, however, appears otherwise if the recension in 1 Esdras is taken into account. On this, see Dieter Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia: Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels*, OBO 158 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997). With Böhler's model, we can surmise that the main reason this one reference to a semi-wall/fence was left in the proto-MT of Ezra 9:9 was precisely because of its ambiguity. Other clearer references to the wall (and other parts of the city), references still reflected in 1 Esdras, apparently were removed.

In sum, the more narrowly focused Nehemiah Memoir stands closer to the events it describes and is more reliable in its depiction of them than the more broadly focused Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative. That latter narrative, though possibly including some earlier materials (such as a thoroughly rewritten Ezra memoir behind Ezra 7–10, Nehemiah 8),[10] stands over a century removed from the events it describes and this is shown in how thoroughly some elements are confused (particularly in Ezra 1–6). Nevertheless, both narratives show a striking concern with asserting Persian backing for various stages of the rebuilding process, portray the Persians positively, and depict the Northern neighbors of Judah as opponents of that process. Indeed, these and other parallels have prompted some to suspect that one narrative was a model for the other, though the lack of verbal agreement between them renders that hypothesis unlikely (or at least unprovable).[11] At the very least we are on secure ground to assert that various waves of Judeans returned to Yehud, that some rebuilt the temple (probably around 515 BCE) and others rebuilt the wall (445 BCE) under resistance from Northern figures, and that these returnees in turn strongly claimed Persian sponsorship for their rebuilding process. Both the Nehemiah memoir and Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative are textual expressions of a scribal apparatus dependent on and invested in Persian support for the emergent community of returnees centered in Jerusalem. This is part of what makes the contrast so stark between the pro-Persian perspectives of these source documents of Ezra-Nehemiah on the one hand and the description of Persian rule as "slavery" in the prayer of Nehemiah (Neh 9:36), a description probably produced by the authors of the combined book of Ezra-Nehemiah much later in the Hasmonean portion of the Hellenistic period.

Several other parts of the Hebrew Bible show links to the return and rebuilding process, albeit with much less pronounced pro-Persian tendencies. Certainly, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah are both mentioned by name in association with the temple rebuilding process in the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative (Ezra 5:1; 6:14), and the books associated with these prophets (aside from later compositions in Zechariah 9–14) contain literary representations of oracles dated to the temple rebuilding period (Haggai 520 BCE; Zechariah 520–18 BCE) that often focus on the rebuilding of the temple and God's elevation of figures linked to that period, especially the governor Zerubbabel and high priest Joshua. We saw similar foci in the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, but different in Haggai-Zechariah (1–8) are the grand predictions of glory in these oracles for Joshua and Zerubbabel, including messianic glory for the Davidide Zerubbabel (e.g., Hag 2:20–23; Zech 3:8; 4:14). As many have suspected, the lack of assertion of Persian support in these oracles and presence of messianic hopes may reflect a brief period when the Judean returnees hoped for a replacement of Persian rule by a restoration of the Davidic monarchy under the Davidide, Zerubbabel. If so, this hope was short-lived, and there may even be indicators already in the present form of the prophecy of Zechariah of a shift in expectations. The

10. For literature on the possible existence of such a memoir, see Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, xxviii–xxxiii, 89–91.

11. Cf. Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah Memoir and Its Earliest Readers*, BZAW 348 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004) and my review of this book in David Carr, "A Response [to Jacob Wright, *Rebuilding Identity*]," *JHS* 8 (2008): 11–20, http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article_73.pdf.

prophecy of the coronation of "the branch" in Zech 6:9–14 probably originally referred to the coronation of Zerubbabel as a separate "branch," as envisioned in Zech 3:8 and still echoed in the picture of "a man whose name is branch" who shall rebuild the temple and have a priest by his throne. Now, however, it envisions Joshua, the high priest, himself receiving the crown (6:11). Whatever hopes there once were for an actual monarchy under Zerubbabel have now been replaced in Zech 6:9–14 with the ceremonial placement of a royal headdress on the high priest. Later, by the time of the Nehemiah Memoir and the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, any hopes for restoration of the Davidic monarchy are long past, and Zerubbabel and Joshua are exclusively associated with temple rebuilding.

We find yet other texts with probable links to return and rebuilding in Isaiah and the psalms. Already, late exilic period texts in Isaiah 40–55 and 60–62 (to be discussed in the next chapter) praised the coming of the Persian Cyrus as Yhwh's "anointed" (Isa 45:1–7) and made grand promises about the impending return and rebuilding of the exiles. Isaiah 56–59, however, seems to grapple with disappointments and conflicts surrounding the rebuilding process, including conflicts over the role of foreigners and eunuchs in the temple (56:1–8), the ongoing performance of non-Yahwistic cultic acts alongside the reestablished temple (57:1–13), and frustration with the lack of efficaciousness of the sorts of fasting described in the latter part of Zechariah (Isa 58:1–3; cf. Zech 7:1–7; 8:19). Therefore, most scholars rightly have dated these and several other similar parts of Isaiah (e.g., Isa 1:29–31; 65–66) to the post-exilic, Persian period.[12] In addition, Psalm 107 in its present form stands as a thanksgiving song for former exiles, "the ones Yhwh has bought free" (גאולי יהוה 107:2 also in Isa 62:12; see also גאולים in Isa 35:9; 51:10) and brought from the four corners of the world (107:3). Unlike some other passages that envision such return in the future (e.g., Deut 30:1–5; Isaiah 49), this thanksgiving psalm addresses a group for whom such return stands in the past. Yet the past of diaspora is immediate enough that these returnees are still associated with it, and the psalm gives thanks for Yhwh's salvation amidst their past hardships.

The post-exilic dating of Psalm 107 is potentially significant for dating another text to the same period: the poetic portions of the book of Job (aside from the speeches of Elihu in Job 32–37). Past studies have thoroughly documented ways in which the poetry of Job echoes various parts of the rest of the Hebrew Bible, particularly traditions from the early prophets, second Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Proverbs. These uses establish a date for the poetic portions of Job in the exile or—more likely—in the post-exilic period after some of the exilic revision of Jeremiah.[13] This dating, in turn, is supported by a couple of places

12. Thus, I am not following here the broad proposal by Odil Hannes Steck (see especially *Der Abschluss der Prophetie im Alten Testament: Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons*, Biblisch-theologische Studien [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991]) for a series of Hellenistic-period dates for layers in the latter part of Isaiah and the book of the Twelve. His detailed argument depends on a series of historical allusions that are not clear to me and posited relations of textual dependence that, in my view, are tenuous.

13. The dependence on Jeremiah is especially clear. On this, see the seminal article by Edward Greenstein, "Jeremiah as an Inspiration to the Poet of Job," in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East—Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon*, ed. John Kaltner and Louis Stuhlman (New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 98–110.

where various parts of the book of Job appear dependent on a specific portion of (post-exilic) Psalm 107. Psalm 107:40 praises God who "pours shame on princes and makes them wander in wastes with no path," while different parts of Job's speech in Job 12 use the same words to describe how God "pours shame on princes" (12:21a) and makes the heads of the earth "wander in wastes with no path" (12:24b). Later on in Job, Eliphaz's description of how the righteous "see" and "rejoice" (יראו צדיקים וישמחו; 22:19) resembles the assertion of the same in Psalm 107:42 (יראו ישרים וישמחו). To be sure, one might argue that such parallels have too limited a scope to posit textual dependence one way or the other, especially if one supposes, as some do, that the introduction to Psalm 107 (1–3) is a late addition.[14] Nevertheless, there is little to indicate the psalm ever existed without its introduction in 107:1–3, and the parallels between this introduction and these two parts of Job are strong. In terms of direction of dependence, it seems less likely that Psalm 107:40–42 would have drawn precisely on such scattered parts of Job—including a speech of a friend—than that the author of the poetic portions of Job would draw at various points on wording from a pair of couplets found in Psalm 107:40–42. Thus, the poetry of Job does build not only, as does other exilic and post-exilic literature, on pre-exilic prophecy, but also on a snippet of a post-exilic psalm.

This post-exilic dating for the poetry of Job is significant because it would suggest that this poetry represents a stage of biblical textuality where the return from exile stands in the past, but the Pentateuch is not yet a foundational document for many Judeans. Despite the plenitude of parallels between the poetic dialogues of Job and prophetic and wisdom literature, it has proven more difficult to establish the intertextual relationships of these portions of Job with the Pentateuch. The closest parallel found has been that between Job's rhetorical question about God terrorizing a "wind-blown leaf" (עלה נדף) and "pursued" (רדף) by dried out chaff (Job 13:25), and the threat in Lev 26:36 that those who disobey the covenant will be "pursued" by a "wind-blown leaf."[15] Yet this terminological overlap easily could be caused by common knowledge of sayings regarding wind-blown leaves and pursuit, and the poetry of Job overall does not show clear awareness of major Torah themes.[16]

14. For citation of some prior studies that have seen this material as secondary and a critique of that position, see Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen: 101–50*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 142–46.

15. See M. Z. Segal, "Parallels in the Book of Job [Heb.]," *Tarbiz* 20 (1949): 36 for discussion. The proposal by Schmid that the death notice in Job 42:8 is an echo of Priestly death notices in Gen 25:8a; 35:29 (Konrad Schmid, "Innerbiblische Schriftdiskussion im Hiobbuch," in *Das Buch Hiob und seine Interpretationen. Beiträge zum Hiob-Symposium auf dem Monte Verità vom 14.-19. August 2005*, ed. Thomas Krüger, et al. [Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005], 247–48) suffers from the fact that the resemblance seems more generic than specifically interpretational. For other, yet more slight potential links to the Pentateuch in Job, see Schmid, "Schriftdiskussion im Hiobbuch," 250–52.

16. Cf. proposals that Job 3:3–13 responds to Gen 1:1–2:3, initially made by Michael Fishbane ("Jer 4:23–26 and Job 3:3–13: A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," *VT* [1971]: especially p. 153) and then picked up by numerous scholars, including Habel, who adds a proposal regarding a chiasm to it (Norman Habel, *The Book of Job: A Commentary*, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1985], 41) and Schmid, who builds an exegesis around the connections (Schmid, "Schriftdiskussion im Hiobbuch," 244–45). A closer look at the parallels, however, shows that the only possible specific link is that between Job's call "let there be darkness" on the day of his birth

Indeed, aside from the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative discussed above, all of the potential Persian-period texts discussed so far lack strong reflections of the broader Pentateuch we now have. The Nehemiah Memoir draws at various points on exegeted versions of the Deuteronomic law (e.g., Neh 1:8–9; see Deut 30:1–5; also Neh 13:23–27; see Deut 7:3) and earlier legal regulations (e.g., Neh 13:15–22; see Exod 23:12 along with Deut 5:12–15//Exod 20:8–11), but lacks clear reflections of the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch. The above-discussed prophecy of the coronation of the high priest in Zech 6:9–14 may presuppose the more elaborate description of royal clothing for the high priest in Exodus 28 (also 39:1–31), but just as likely anticipates it. Generally, the Nehemiah Memoir, poetry of Job, and the above-discussed prophecies from Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, and Isaiah 56–59, 65–66 lack clear echoes of the mix of traditions found in the present combined P/non-P Pentateuch. They certainly lack the sort of clear links to Pentateuch of the late Persian-period Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative.

In this respect, all of these Persian-period texts, aside from the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, contrast with the Torah focus found in most Hellenistic-period texts discussed in the last chapter. From the Torah-focused redaction of parts of Samuel-Kings in Chronicles, to the Torah-dependent and yet Torah-alternative revelations found in the earliest Enoch traditions, Hellenistic-period Jewish traditions interact with Torah traditions, even when they disagree with or repudiate some of them. The Pentateuchal Torah is unavoidably primary by that point. Yet the texts discussed so far in this chapter, though apparently dating to sometime after Cyrus's conquest of the Neo-Babylonian Empire and set amidst the waves of returnees from Babylonian diaspora, do not yet seem to have the full Pentateuchal Torah in view.

This situation, in turn, parallels the apparent lack of engagement with the Mosaic Torah among the Jews at Elephantine in the fifth century. To be sure, this colony is distant geographically from Jerusalem, and its members may well have descended from Jews who left Judah well before the fifth century. Nevertheless, it is clear that this community was in contact with Jerusalem about its cultic practices, both in correspondence and under the personal direction of an official, Hananiah, originating from outside the community.[17] This makes significant the parallels between the state of literature in the Elephantine archive and that seen in potential biblical Persian-period texts. Apparently, at least some at the community at Elephantine, like the later author of the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative,

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and God's call in Gen 1:3 "let there be light." Job's call, however, makes perfect sense as a simple curse on the day and does not necessarily point to an intertextual link with the creation text. Moreover, other items on Fishbane's table (p. 154) are actually quite superficial connections not pointing to parallels/inversions of content in Job's speech vis-à-vis Genesis 1. There could be some connection between Job 3:3–13 and creation themes, perhaps even some version of Gen 1:1–2:3, but the evidence for a specific intertextual connection between Job 3:3–13 and Gen 1:1–2:3 is slighter than often supposed.

17. Reinhard G. Kratz, "Temple and Torah: Reflections on the Legal Status of the Pentateuch Between Elephantine and Qumran," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 87–89.

knew and studied Persian materials (in this case, a version of the Behistun inscription), while also knowing some cultic practices that are reflected in early Pentateuchal legal traditions. They do not, however, seem to have known the Pentateuch as a center of study and jurisprudence. It may be that they were urged by Hananiah, citing Persian royal authority, to follow Passover stipulations found in the Holiness materials of the Pentateuch (AP 21; see Lev 23:5–6).[18] Nevertheless, the Persians (not the Torah) are cited as the authority for this instruction, and other documents of the Elephantine archive do not reflect a prominent focus on any Pentateuchal traditions, particularly Priestly ones. In this respect, as pointed out by Reinhard Kratz, they strongly contrast with the Hellenistic-period archive found at Qumran.[19]

In sum, the potential Persian-period biblical texts discussed so far share several characteristics. Several texts focus in various ways on interpreting past suffering as punishment for particular past sins (Zech 1:1–6; 8:8–14; Neh 1:6–7; 13:17–18; Ezra 9:6–15; and Hag 1:9–10; 2:10–14; but cf. the poetry of Job). Even more common is a focus on rebuilding, whether temple building (Haggai, Zechariah 1:16; Ezra 3–6), wall rebuilding (Nehemiah 1–6), or general rebuilding of Jerusalem (Zechariah and late Isaiah texts). Furthermore, the Persian-period prophetic texts—partly because of their future focus—share an emphasis on the flourishing of Jerusalem in the wake of rebuilding (Haggai; Zech 1:16–17; 8:1–17), its becoming an emblem of blessing rather than curse (Isa 62:4, 12; Zech 8:13), and the nations' supply of Jerusalem (Hag 2:6–8; see also likely earlier Isa 60:9–17; 61:5–6) and their ultimate punishment (Hag 2:21–22; Zech 2:1–4 [ET 1:18–21], 10–13 [ET 2:6–9]). We see multiple mentions of the Sabbath (Neh 13:15–22; Isa 56:4, 6; 58:13–14; also 66:23) and (questions about) fasting (Zech 7:1–7; 8:19; Isa 58:1–3; Ezra 8:21), but more prominent in several texts are the focus on the temple (Haggai, Zechariah; Rebuilding-Ezra narrative; also a prominent orientation point in Isa 56:5–7) and the striking importance of priests in Jerusalem, whether the high priest (Hag 1:1–2:19; Zech 3:1–4:14; 6:9–14), the priests and Levites in Jerusalem in general (Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative; also in the Nehemiah Memoir as occasional opponents), or Ezra (Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative).

Indeed, several of the texts located in the Persian period in this discussion are knit together by common links to specifically Priestly themes. For example, the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative presents Ezra as engaging in a "second Exodus" along the lines both of Priestly Pentateuchal traditions *and* exhortations to such a second exodus that are found in later portions of Isaiah (especially Isa 52:11–12).[20] Likely Persian-period materials of Isaiah 56, in turn, build on the Priestly construal of Sabbath as the main element allowing access to the sanctuary (especially in

18. See the discussion in Christophe Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*, FAT 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 573. Cf. Kratz, "Temple and Torah," 85–86.

19. Kratz, "Temple and Torah," 82–92.

20. On this, see especially Klaus Koch, "Ezra and the Origins of Judaism," *JSS* 19 (1974): 184–89. His argument was expanded with more distant potential links of Ezra to Jeremiah 31 and Isaiah 40–66 in J. Gordon McConville, "Ezra-Nehemiah and the Fulfillment of Prophecy," *VT* 36 (1986): 205–24.

H materials to be discussed in Chapter 9) to suggest that Sabbath-observing foreigners and eunuchs should be allowed access to the Second Temple.[21] These Ezra and Isaiah 40–66 connections combine with broader evidence that the authors of Isaiah 40–66 were close in some way to the sorts of Levitical groups, particularly Levitical singers, who are so prominently featured in the Rebuilding-Ezra composition, Chronicles, and even 11QTemple.[22] Thus, rather than conceiving of Ezra on the one hand and Isaiah 56–66 on the other as being absolutely opposed, it is increasingly apparent that these sometimes disparate compositions emerged out of a common Second Temple priestly (broadly construed) milieu and drew on a similar store of authoritative traditions.

■ THE RISE OF THE P/NON-P TORAH

Aside perhaps from the subtle appropriation of H traditions about Sabbath in Isaiah 56, the late Persian Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative is distinguished from other probable Persian-period texts by its reflection and celebration of a Mosaic Torah that is distinguished from earlier Persian-period documents by its inclusion of Priestly (along with non-Priestly) elements (e.g., Ezra 6:19 > Exod 12:6; Lev 23:5; Num 28:16; also Neh 8:14–15 > Lev 23:42–3).[23] In earlier Persian-period texts (e.g., the Nehemiah Memoir), the legal stipulations that were most clearly reflected were those attested in Deuteronomic or earlier corpora (e.g., Neh 1:8–9//Deut 30:1–5 and especially Neh 10:29–31; 13:1–2, 25 > Deut 7:3–4). Now, however, the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative depicts Ezra's journey to Jerusalem in parallel with Israel's pilgrimage in the combined Pentateuch, and other elements of the narrative likewise build on central elements of the P/non-P Pentateuch much as we have it now.[24]

In this way, the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative parallels the Priestly-Torah focus also found in the books of Chronicles. Indeed, this sharing of themes is but one of several reasons that many have seen these compositions as originally connected. Nevertheless, whether or not one connects these compositions, they both reflect an important development around the conclusion of the Persian period: the rise of the P/non-P Torah during the *late* Persian period/early Hellenistic period toward the central status that it would enjoy throughout the rest of the Hellenistic period (as seen in the previous two chapters). This stands as a new central focus, at least among some scribal groups in Jerusalem, on the central importance of a Torah that includes both Priestly and non-Priestly traditions.

21. This argument derives from Jared C. Calaway, "Heavenly Sabbath, Heavenly Sanctuary: The Transformation of Priestly Sacred Space and Sacred Time in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Epistle to the Hebrews," PhD diss. (New York: Columbia University, 2010), 123–28.

22. On this, see Robert Wilson, "The Community of Second Isaiah," in *Reading and Preaching the Book of Isaiah*, ed. Christopher Seitz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 53–70; Stephen L. Cook, *The Apocalyptic Literature*, Interpreting Biblical Texts (Nashville: Abingdon, 2003), 111–18; and Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja 40–48: übersetzt und ausgelegt*, HKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 38–43.

23. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 154–55.

24. For a slightly more extensive discussion of Ezra traditions and Torah, see David M. Carr, "The Rise of the Torah," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 50–53.

In what follows, I will explore the nature and background for the formation and spread of this expanded, more Priestly Torah of Moses promoted by the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative. I start with a synthesis of prior work on the final formation of the Pentateuch itself. Then I will move to the debate about the sociopolitical background to this crucial stage in the Pentateuch's development.

The Final (Reconstructible) Stage of the Formation of The Pentateuch

Biblical scholars can and will debate various details surrounding both the earlier and later formation of the Pentateuch, but the Priestly material in the Pentateuch is so distinctively different from the various forms of non-Priestly Pentateuchal material that scholars have reached a relative consensus, mentioned before, on the identification of "P" material in the Torah on the one hand and "non-P" material on the other. Generally, the P stratum is easier to characterize and identify, while the complexity of the non-P stratum leads to the methodologically modest designation of this material—by negation—as that material in the Pentateuch not in P, "non-P."

The discussion of documented cases of transmission in Chapters 3 and 4 suggested that this kind of distinction between blocks of material in a given text usually occurs in texts produced through the combination of two or more *preexisting* literary sources. Furthermore, I argued that compositional extension or redirection of an earlier text is so thoroughly integrated and compatible with the earlier text that it generally is impossible to detect without having that earlier text to compare with the later version. Insofar as this is true, the indicators in the Pentateuch would suggest that one major event in its formation, indeed its most reconstructible stage, was the combination of a preexisting Priestly corpus of texts with preexisting non-Priestly counterparts to those texts. Just such a combination of preexisting texts would produce the sorts of abiding and easily recognizable distinctions that have allowed scholars to achieve such consensus on distinguishing them.

As argued in Chapter 4, the relative readability of the P and non-P strata provides confirming evidence for this picture. When one separates the P and non-P texts from one another, many portions of the resulting reconstructed texts constitute remarkably readable parallel accounts of Israel's pre-land history.[25] In addition, the level of duplication between the reconstructed P and non-P documents, a

25. To be sure, as many have pointed out, these narratives are not complete (and this is, as seen in Chapter 4, typical of conflated sources). Nevertheless, one must clarify what constitutes "complete" with regard to texts that probably circulated in a fairly limited scribal group. For example, it probably was not necessary in a post-exilic Judean context to explain who Moses was, and this may be why the reconstructed texts of P early in Exodus (Exod 1:1–7, 13–14; 2:23aβ-25; 6:2–13) do not feature a separate introduction of him as a character. Furthermore, as argued recently by Blum ("Pentateuch-Hexateuch-Enneateuch? Oder: Woran erkennt man ein literarischer Werk in der Hebräischen Bibel?" in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque*, ed. Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid [Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2007], 90–93), a narrative can presuppose knowledge of events that are narrated in other texts without those texts necessarily being part of the same corpus. In this respect, the P materials appear to presuppose knowledge on the part of their audience of some events or characters now known from non-P texts. Even if/though some such P texts presuppose that their audience has knowledge of their non-P counterparts, this does not mean these texts were in the same corpus.

duplication so widespread that they stand as frequently parallel representations, is not seen in documented cases of compositional extension/redirection of documents. Instead, this duplication and *relative* readability stand as an additional confirmation that the P and non-P portions of the Pentateuch once existed separately on written media before they were combined.

Unfortunately, as is generally the case with conflated documents, it is impossible to reconstruct the scope and contents of the original P and non-P documents. In Chapter 9 of this book, I will attempt to offer some more specificity on their shape and character, but for now it is important to note that each may have extended beyond the boundaries of the Pentateuch and included some form of materials now in Joshua as well. As will be argued in Chapter 9, the bulk of the non-P material in Genesis-Joshua is joined together and reconstrued by a series of secondary pre-Priestly, but post-D texts thoroughly oriented toward land conquest and culminating in Joshua's covenant at Shechem in Josh 24:1–32*. This post-D Hexateuch, in turn, may be the intended referent for the "Torah of God" mentioned in Josh 24:26. Meanwhile, Priestly and P-like material extends only to the end of Joshua, and the originally separate P document may not have extended that far. Scholars long observed the way P-like materials in Joshua (e.g., Josh 4:9, 19; 5:10–12; 18:1; 19:51) can be seen as a secondary frame for the non-P materials in which they occur,[26] and an increasing number now think that an originally separate Priestly document may not have extended past the book of Exodus.[27]

These questions of the original scope of P cannot be resolved in this context (see Chapter 9 for further discussion), but it does appear clear that (1) separate P and non-P compositions once existed; (2) that the non-P composition included materials found in Genesis-Exodus and Numbers-Joshua; and furthermore, (3) that our present Pentateuch is, in large part, a product of a Priestly-oriented conflation of the P and non-P documents along with late Priestly expansions of various non-P texts. For example, the superscript in Gen 2:4a appears to be modeled on Priestly toledot superscriptions starting in Gen 5:1 and continuing through the rest of Genesis (e.g., Gen 6:9; 10:1; 11:10; etc.), but extends that scheme backward so that the creation and development of humans in the non-P material of Gen 2:4b-4:26 are now construed as the "toledot" of the "heaven and earth" created in Gen 1:1–2:3. At the other end of the composition, the death and burial of Josh narrated in the non-P material of Josh 24:29–30 are paralleled by the addition of an obviously dependent P-like expansion noting the death and burial of his Priestly counterpart Eleazar (Josh 24:33). In the intervening books, there is plenty of evidence for both types of Priestly intervention, whether

26. Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: die sammelnden und bearbeiten Geschichtswerke im Alten Testamen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957), 188–89. For a recent maximal interpretation of a P document extending into Joshua, see Philippe Guillaume, *Land and Calendar: The Priestly Document from Genesis 1 to Joshua 18*, Library of Hebrew Bible 391 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009). For a thorough argument against traces of P in Joshua, see especially Christian Frevel, *Mit Blick auf das Land die Schöpfung erinnern: zum Ende der Priestergrundschrift*, Herders biblische Studien 23 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 187–208.

27. For a survey of the literature and further arguments for an ending of P already at the end of Exodus, see Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 20–68.

through reconstruing non-P texts within a Priestly framework (thus parallel to Gen 2:4a) or expanding non-P texts through P-like elements (like Josh 24:33).

As Wellhausen noted years ago, this Priestly character of the final shaping of the Pentateuch (more broadly Hexateuch) corresponds to Priestly emphases and characteristics found in Chronicles and the above-discussed Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative.[28] Whereas earlier counterparts to these compositions (the non-P Hexateuch and Samuel-Kings; cf. also the Nehemiah Memoir) were both pre- and non-Priestly, these later compositions (Chronicles, the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, and the P/non-P Pentateuch; Hexateuch) are characterized by distinctly Priestly emphases. And indeed, this is what we would expect, given the above-discussed dominance of the Zadokite priesthood of the Second Temple over indigenous textuality from the disappearance of Zerubbabel at the close of the fifth century to the replacement of Jason as high priest in 171 BCE. Thus, I suggest that the P and P-like elements found both across the Hexateuch on the one hand and in Chronicles and the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative on the other are the fingerprints of the Zadokite-dominated scribal apparatus housed in the Persian-period Second Temple. Despite the significant differences in perspective evident, at the very least, between the P elements of the Hexateuch on the one hand and Chronicles-Ezra on the other, they represent different streams in a broader Priestly literary river of pre-Hasmonean Second Temple textuality.

The Background to the Combination of P and non-P Materials

So far I have stressed the Priestly character of the conflation and P-like retouching of materials spanning Genesis-Joshua, a character that conforms to the previously discussed dominance of the priesthood over literary textuality from midway in the Persian period through to the Hellenistic crisis. Apparently the (late) Persian period was a time when this sort of Priestly tradition was ascendant, and Priestly tradents held the keys to authoritative tradition. Whatever the date of the originally independent P source and the traditions on which it is based, the Persian period appears to be the time when such traditions gained broader currency.

One other possible datum that could be useful in dating this conflationary expansion is the controversial proposal of a Persian role in encouraging or certifying the final formation of the Jewish Torah. Evidence scattered from Egypt to Anatolia suggests that the Persians occasionally sponsored the collection and publication of local traditions—usually in the imperial language of Aramaic. The Elephantine archive includes a letter by Hananiah in which he reports Persian involvement in approving regulations surrounding Passover. And the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative itself includes an Aramaic report of the Persian king commissioning Ezra to enforce the "law" (דת) of God and king (Ezra 7:14, 25–26). Together with testimony to similar Persian moves outside Judah, evidence such as this has led to the development of what is sometimes termed the "governmental authorization hypothesis" (in German, *Reichsauthorization Hypothese*—RA for short),

28. Julius Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels: Erster Band—Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 6th ed. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1905), 166–293 [ET 171–294].

which holds that the Persians were somehow involved in prompting and/or supporting the composition and enforcement of the Pentateuch in its P/non-P form.[29]

This governmental authorization hypothesis, however, has been criticized on a number of fronts. Scholars have pointed out the highly diverse character and quality of the evidence for any Persian policy of textual sponsorship, raising questions about whether this evidence constitutes any sort of pattern. Others have pointed out the particularly cultic focus of the nonbiblical examples of texts that may have been sponsored by the Persians and the fact that they are in Aramaic. The Pentateuch/Hexateuch, though including cultic regulations, is longer and more varied in content than these nonbiblical examples, and it is written in Hebrew (not Imperial Aramaic). Finally, several have raised questions about whether the Persian imperial administration would have been involved in such a detailed way in the actions of a tiny province in its realm, and if it was, whether it would have approved of the sometimes warlike ideology of the Pentateuchal corpus it supported.[30]

Ultimately, this debate appears unresolvable with the data present at our disposal, but a few qualifications to the governmental authorization hypothesis may prove helpful in clarifying what is at stake. Though past formulations of the hypothesis have varied in the level of involvement claimed for the Persian government, some more recent versions have sought to articulate a more modest claim for Persian involvement that lays primary emphasis on the Persian-sponsored returnee community on the one hand and local provincial Persian administration on the other.[31] A critical reading of earlier Persian-period literature, especially the Nehemiah memoir and the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, shows returnees seeking/claiming Persian authorization to buttress their authority to execute controversial aspects of rebuilding: temple, expulsion of foreign wives, the wall. Like many such returnee diaspora groups, these waves of returnees could not take for granted their right to enforce their vision of the future vis-à-vis those who had remained in the land and/or earlier waves of returnees.[32] As a result, they depended heavily on

29. Though this idea has an older pedigree, the most often referenced recent presentation of this theory is Peter Frei, "Zentralgewalt und Lokalautonomie im Achämenidenreich," in *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*, ed. Peter Frei and Klaus Koch, OBO 55 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 9–43 (note the updated presentation in idem., "Persian Imperial Authorization: A Summary," in *Persia and Torah: The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch*, ed. and trans. James Watts, SBLSymS 17 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001], 5–40). More recent formulations are reviewed in Konrad Schmid, "The Persian Imperial Authorization as Historical Problem and as Biblical Construct: A Plea for Differentiations in the Current Debate," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 23–38.

30. Many of the contributions to this debate are collected in several volumes: *ZAR* 1 (1995); James Watts, ed., *Persia and Torah: The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch*, SBLSymS 17 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001); and Gary Knoppers and Bernard Levinson, eds., *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007).

31. For earlier formulations along these lines, see especially Konrad Schmid, "Persische Reichsautorisation und Tora," *TRu* 71 (2006): 494–506; idem., "Persian Imperial Authorization"; and David M. Carr, "Rise of the Torah," 53–56.

32. Daniel Smith Christopher, *The Religion of the Landless: The Social Context of Babylonian Exile* (Bloomington, IN: Meyer-Stone Books, 1989), 63–65.

Persian sponsorship and claims of being sponsored. This sponsorship, in turn, probably was executed, like many other elements of Persian imperial administration, at a resolutely local level—despite the claims of texts such as Ezra 7 for authorization from the top (on this, cf. the trilingual Letoon inscription from Xanthos). The authorities in Persepolis probably did not spend much time on the details of administering small entities such as Yehud.

The formation of a combined P/non-P Hexateuch and then increasing focus on a Moses-dominated *Pentateuch* should be seen in this context. Indeed, Persian interest in securing the strong support of local elites may have intensified right around the period in question (late fifth, early fourth century) as the Persian Empire lost its grip on Egypt and the province of Yehud became a strategically important part of the Western frontier of the Persian Empire.[33] The provincial authorities in these regions had an extra incentive in this situation to respond positively to overtures by Judean returnees to secure their position vis-à-vis their compatriots by collecting and enforcing a new redaction of their ancient written traditions. At least in this case, the local Persian authorities would not have prompted the returnees to produce a new text, nor would they have reviewed and redacted it. Instead, the initiative likely lay more with the returnees themselves, who sought and claimed Persian authorization, even at the highest levels, for the Torah.

The above reflections sharpen the question about the background to the formation and publication of the P/non-P Torah, since this composition is so striking in its combination of highly distinctive, parallel bodies of material (P/non-P). Any model for the formation of this material is confronted with the question of what might have prompted such a combination of divergent corpora.[34] This is the point at which the Persian governmental authorization hypothesis becomes a compelling option. According to the version being advocated here, a late wave of Judean returnees attempted to secure Persian support for themselves and their initiatives in Yehud by gaining Persian sponsorship for a single Torah that encompassed both a complex non-P Hexateuch of Israel's origins and some kind of originally separate Priestly narrative.

In seeking such support, these returnees could not have the Persians endorse a binary corpus of contrasting non-P and P compositions. Instead, these returnees produced a P/non-P work that—though likely transmitted already on separate book scrolls—represented a single composition that could receive Persian sponsorship and stand as a central focus for the diverse groups in Palestine claiming links to ancient "Israel." To be credible as such a focus, this single Torah could not be an entirely new creation, but a synthesis of prior traditions whose antiquity was recognized by the broader returnee community.

At the same time, this move may have involved some significant *reconceptualization* of the more ancient materials thus joined together. For example, though the

33. For a critique of the idea that this was the main factor in Persian interest in Yehud in the mid-fifth century onward, cf. the reflections in Lipschitz, "Status of Jerusalem," which proposes some alternative motives.

34. On this, see Erhard Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 333–38, 358.

joined document was not as cultic in focus as some other documents that seem to have been endorsed by Persians in other regions, the addition of the Priestly corpus to the non-P materials and their further Priestly retouching represented a substantial cultic redirection of older materials. The result was not a short, resolutely cultic document like the Letoon inscription from Xanthus, but a cultically framed, long Hebrew Torah that might evoke the assent of various waves of returnees in Judah (and Samaria?) at that time. In this sense, the documented local character of Persian involvement in territories across its empire would have manifested itself in the distinctive qualities of the Torah document produced and enforced in the late-fifth-century/early-fourth-century Yehud. Rather than being a relatively short, exclusively cultic document in Aramaic (or multiple languages), this Judean Torah was a longer combination of prior Hebrew documents, with the whole given an added cultic tinge by P and P-like additions (hence, the Hebrew of the composition, rather than Imperial Aramaic in this case). The Persian role in this overall process of reinforcement of materials is then reaffirmed on the one hand by the fragmentary testimony of the Elephantine Passover papyrus (AP 30:18) and on the other by the literary construction of Ezra and his role in the late Persian Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative.

Finally, some dimensions of this process may also lie behind the focus in subsequent Jewish tradition ever more on a Pentateuchal Torah of *Moses* conceived as legal document, as opposed to a more narratively conceived Hexateuchal Torah of *Elohim*. To be sure, in Chapter 9, I will discuss elements already in the non-P Hexateuch (and P materials) that suggest an earlier focus in non-P Hexateuchal materials on Moses and like a "Torah of Moses" understood as the major subpart of a broader Hexateuch. This emphasis on Moses is not new. Yet the process of seeking and getting Persian sponsorship may have been a factor leading to a final redefinition of the foundational corpus of subsequent Judaism. After all, as others have pointed out, the testimonies we have to Persian sponsorship of local traditions pertain to sponsorship of local cultic *law*, not narrative. As a body of work, the Pentateuch, though still narrative, had more claim to be a cultic law than the broader Hexateuch. And indeed, it seems that from the late Persian period forward, starting with the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, we have almost exclusive references to the Torah of Moses (versus "Torah of God" Josh 24:26; Neh 8:18), and increasing understanding of it as a "law"/*nomos* guiding subsequent Judaism (alongside continuing use of it as a source of narrative as well).

In sum, I suggest that both internal and external forces combined in complex, and probably largely unreconstructible, ways to produce the remarkable P/non-P Torah of *Moses* that became foundational by the end of the Persian and outset of the Hellenistic periods. This Pentateuchal Torah of Moses was a product of conflation of a non-P Hexateuch and P composition (including at least elements of Genesis-Exodus), as well as an eventual shortening (minus Joshua) and reconceptualization of that document as a Persian-sponsored local cultic law of the temple-centered Jerusalem returnee community of Yehud. In this way, the "Torah of Moses" that already stood as a major subpart of a broader Hexateuchal "Torah of God" came into its own as the free-standing foundation of all subsequent books of the Hebrew corpus.

However we understand the process of combination of P and non-P materials, I maintain that this compositional move of conflation stands as the stage in the formation of the first books of the Bible that is most reconstructible without the use of prior documented stages. In Chapter 5, I discussed some minor developments in the development of Deuteronomy that are reconstructible using manuscript evidence. And in Chapter 9, I will discuss some stages in the development of the Pentateuch/Hexateuch that are more difficult to reconstruct. Nevertheless, I suggest that this stage, the combination of P and non-P compositions, stands as the stage of Pentateuchal formation that is most reliably reconstructed. All other stages in the formation of the Pentateuch pale in comparison to it; it left indelible marks in the resulting whole, and as a result, scholars will never achieve a level of consensus on other stages of formation comparable to the two plus centuries of relative consensus that they have achieved on identification of the P and non-P precursors to this act of conflation.

■ CONCLUSION AND THE QUESTION OF IDENTIFYING ADDITIONAL PERSIAN-PERIOD TEXTS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

The discussion so far has focused on a limited number of texts with potential/probable links to the Persian period. This has included a set of texts with explicit links to questions surrounding the Persian-period rebuilding of Yehud, such as the Nehemiah memoir and (later) Rebuilding-Ezra narrative along with prophetic traditions such as the expansion of the book of the Twelve in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 and the expansion of the book of Isaiah with texts such as Isa 1:29–31; 56–59; and 65–66. But it also included a process of combination and coordination of traditions about Israel's early history, the conflation of P and non-P compositions, probably with some level of Persian sponsorship. Furthermore, I have suggested that this latter move of conflation involved a shift toward increasing focus on Pentateuchal rather than Hexateuchal materials, one now seen in the focus on a cultic-legally-construed "Torah of Moses" in the Rebuilding-Ezra narrative, Chronicles, and later Hellenistic traditions.

Scholars have located a number of other biblical traditions and books in the Persian period as well, but often the indicators are slender to unconvincing. Some scholars, for example, have argued for a dating of the separate Priestly narrative well into the Persian period, but this dating seems more applicable to extensions of the Priestly narrative, such as adaptations of the tabernacle narrative to better fit the Second Temple (e.g., the "altar of incense" mentioned in 1 Chr 6:34; 28:18; 2 Chr 26:16, 19; and added secondarily to Exod 30:1–10),[35] than to the originally independent P narrative itself. The book of Ruth can be read as

35. Cf. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Social Institutions*, trans. John McHugh (1961), 2:411, who prefers what looks to be a harmonizing reading in the LXX of 1 Kgs 6:20, which adds the "making" of the missing altar, where the more difficult MT merely has the gold covering of the cedar altar (note also the later reference to an altar of gold in 1 Kgs 7:48). Whatever the background of this gold altar and its gradual inclusion in the 1 Kings 6–7 account, it does not appear to be the fully developed "altar of incense" presupposed in Chronicles and added to the instructions in Exod 30:1–10 (and then integrated into the compliance report of Exod 36:25–28).

a critical response to anti-intermarriage tendencies attested especially in the Rebuilding-Ezra narrative,[36] yet the part of Ruth that would most explicitly undermine such tendencies, the P-like genealogical link between Ruth and King David in Ruth 4:18–22, seems like a Persian-period appendage to the narrative. Similarly, the book of Jonah is manifestly distant from the Neo-Assyrian period it depicts and can be read in relation to similar tendencies, but—as in the case of Ruth—we are hampered in securely dating it to the Persian period by its resolute focus (as a parabolic narrative) on events that long predate that period and the resulting indirect way—if at all—it addresses Persian-period concerns.[37] Given the manuscript documentation for various additions to Ezekiel and Jeremiah well into the Hellenistic period, we can suppose that some of these additions may have been added earlier, but there is little to allow us to locate specific additions in the Persian period.[38]

Many would argue that a far larger number of texts in the Hebrew Bible were written at this time.[39] This supposition, however, is unlikely for reasons already summarized at the outset of this chapter. The archaeological finds would suggest that Judah was relatively sparsely populated, especially in the first century and a half of Persian rule, enjoying a modest increase in building (and possibly population) in the later fifth and early fourth centuries when the Persians lost Egypt and Judah became a part of the frontier of the Persian Empire.[40] Furthermore, the number of Judeans with the capabilities and interest in writing/studying Hebrew literary documents of the sort we find in the Torah probably was quite limited. The epigraphic evidence from the time points to an ascendancy of Aramaic, with Hebrew writing likely confined to Hebrew literati based in the Jerusalem temple (hence, the Priestly-Levitical emphasis of many of the above-discussed compositions), along with a handful of other educated officials such as Nehemiah. These sorts of indirect indicators would suggest a quite limited scribal infrastructure to support the creation of a large bulk of Hebrew literary-theological texts found in the Bible.

Though recognizing that there probably is much Persian-period material in the Hebrew Bible that is not identifiable with precision and methodological surety, we

36. For a reading along these lines, see in particular Danna Nolan Fewell and David Gunn, *Compromising Redemption: Relating Characters in the Book of Ruth*, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1990).

37. An additional datum that would support the late composition of Jonah is the possibility that it became part of what is now the Twelve Prophets collection at a late point. For a summary of arguments that would support this point, see Barry Allen Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*, SBLDS 149 (Atlanta: SBL, 1995), 129–69.

38. On this, cf. Yohanan Goldman's hypothesis regarding the redaction of Jeremiah (*Prophétie et royauté au retour de l'exil: les origines littéraires de la forme massorétique du livre de Jérémie*, OBO 118 [Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992]) and Stipp's response ("Eine anfechtbare Ortung des masoretischen Sonderguts im Jeremiabuch," *BN* 70 [1993]: 88–96).

39. For a learned and expansive attempt to do so, see Erhard Gerstenberger, *Israel in der Perserzeit. 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Biblische Enzyklopädie 5 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005).

40. See particularly Lipschitz, "Settlement Archaeology." For dialogue regarding Finkelstein's yet lower estimates of population, see Oded Lipschitz, "Persian Period Finds from Jerusalem: Facts and Interpretations," *JHS* 9 (2009): [Article 20]; Israel Finkelstein, "Persian Period Jerusalem and Yehud: A Rejoinder," *JHS* 9 (2009): [Article 24]. Both available at http://www.jhsonline.org.

should also reckon with the likelihood that a major contribution of Persian-period scribes was their ongoing transmission, minor adaptation, and reconstrual of *pre-Persian*-period compositions. Of course, we have no way of being sure of the extent to which such scribes faithfully reproduced earlier compositions, since we have no biblical manuscripts from the Persian or earlier periods. The most we have is an apparent inclusion in a late layer of the Priestly Sinai narrative (Num 6:24–26) of a blessing also found on late pre-exilic or exilic silver amulets located in Jerusalem (Keteph Hinnon amulets).[41] Still, as the following chapters will argue, the Hebrew Bible now contains a substantial range of texts whose pre-Persian profile is still relatively clear. Whatever reshaping was done by Persian-period scribes, they seem to have found value in preserving and rereading texts from past periods and applying them to their present.

We see particular reflections of this impetus toward learning from the past in both Zechariah and the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative. For example, the introductory chapter of Zechariah refers back to how the "former prophets" had exhorted past generations to obey Yhwh's decrees (Zech 1:4–6), and toward the conclusion this Persian-period portion of the book again looks back on prophecies by the "former prophets" (7:7) and mentions how past generations failed to attend to the Torah and words sent by Yhwh through the prophets (7:8–12). So also the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative features a prayer (Ezra 9:6–15) where Pentateuchal prohibitions of intermarriage and foreign influence (Deut 7:3–4; Lev 18:24–30) are combined and cited as words by Yhwh's "servants the prophets" (Ezra 9:11).

These sorts of constructions, found in probable Persian-period texts, show Persian-period scribes interpreting past and present difficulties as caused by a failure to attend, sufficiently, to the inspired words of past "prophets." These prophets are seen as messengers of Yhwh's "decrees," teaching the Persian-period returnee Judean community how to avoid the mistakes that led to exile and flourish. This returnee community, like others of the present day, evidently struggled with disappointment in its initial efforts to rebuild, especially in light of extravagant promises of prosperity given in exilic-period prophecies to be discussed in the next chapter. One answer to such struggles was reinterpretation of the words of past "prophets" to see how they needed to "return"/"repent" in ways that surpassed the physical move from Babylon and encompassed revised forms of community in Persian-period Yehud.

Eventually, perhaps partly prompted by the move toward Persian sponsorship, this ethos-focused construal of earlier written traditions led to a distinction between the words of "prophets" on the one hand and the more foundational words of a *Pentateuchal* (five-book) "Torah" on the other. To be sure, in at least some contexts, Pentateuchal traditions were seen as "prophetic" and Moses was the "prophet" par excellence (e.g., Deut 34:10). Yet already in the framing material of Zech 7:12, we see a distinction between "Torah" on the one hand and Yhwh's "servants the prophets" on the other. This emphasis on the centrality of the Pentateuchal

41. For the exilic dating, see the report on Cross's assessment of the paleography of these amulets in David Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets*, HSM 59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 108, note 188.

Torah is echoed by an endorsement of meditation on Torah at the outset of Psalms (Ps 1:1–6) along with the five-part organization of one main edition (proto-MT, LXX) of the Psalms and exhortations to the community toward Torah observance at the conclusion of Malachi (Mal 3:22 [ET 4:4]). These and other strategically placed references in non-Torah books to the Pentateuch (e.g., Josh 1:7–9) help those books now function as "prophets," reinforcing Yhwh's decrees as expressed in the Pentateuchal Torah of Moses.[42] Whenever these references to Mosaic Torah were composed, they now resonate with a consciousness of Torah and "prophets" emergent in the late stages of Deuteronomistic literature (e.g., 2 Kgs 17:13), but becoming established in the late Persian period.

In sum, the Persian period was a time of both reconstrual of older traditions and creation of *some* new ones. Perhaps partly because there was so much focus on earlier periods and traditions in this period, our ability to identify specifically *Persian-period* Hebrew texts is particularly limited. The returnee Judean scribes of the Persian period seem to have been preoccupied with rereading the words of past "prophets" to avoid the mistakes of the past while rebuilding and achieve prosperity in the present. Ultimately, their reverence for past tradition is reflected in a yet further privileging of the Pentateuchal words of Moses over those of the entire rest of the Hebrew corpus, understanding him as standing in some way above other prophetic figures and construing the Torah that largely focuses on him (Exodus-Deuteronomy) as a central, cultic-legal document supported by the words of "prophetic" books from Joshua, through Malachi and Psalms.

42. Some have argued that portions of Deuteronomy 34 should likewise be seen as part of a specifically Pentateuchal redaction (cf. engagement of some arguments regarding Deuteronomy 34 in Chapter Four of this book). These approaches are engaged and an alternative approach to Deuteronomy 34 is presented in Chapter 9 of this book.

8 The Babylonian Exile

Trauma, Diaspora, and the Transition to Post-Monarchal Textuality

The period of the Babylonian exile is an unusually thorny problem for the history of the formation of the Hebrew Bible. On the one hand, we have very little epigraphic material from Neo-Babylonian-period Judah,[1] almost no texts in the Bible explicitly date themselves to this period, and we know extremely little about it. On the other hand, many past scholars have seen the time of Babylonian exile as the defining moment in the history of Israelite religion and literature, seeing large portions of the Bible as being written and shaped during this period.

For the purposes of this overview, the period of the Babylonian exile is defined as beginning with the first wave of forced exiles in 597 and extending to Cyrus's conquest of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 539 BCE. Particularly important is the portion of this period beginning in 586 BCE, since this marks the time when Jerusalem was destroyed, the monarchy dismantled, and hopes for a rapid end to exile were diminished significantly. To be sure, any such delimitation of a period of "exile" is problematic, since large portions of the Judean populace never went into exile, those that did go into exile went in several waves (597, 586, 582), and the Judean diaspora did not all return, let alone at the same time. Indeed, even those that returned appear to have continued to define themselves as "sons of exile" (בני הגולה) and oriented their communal life around lessons learned from exile. Therefore, we must be clear that any delimitation of an "exile" is provisional, in this case referring primarily to the destruction of the Judean state and the 5+ decades of forced exile of a limited portion of the Judean population.

As we saw in the previous chapter, however, this "limited portion of the Judean population" that went into exile played a decisive role in the formation of the Hebrew Bible. It appears that empires such as the Neo-Babylonians tended to exile the literate, upper class of the populations that they aimed to dominate, thus reducing the chance of future rebellion. Thus, those who were removed from Judah and (especially Jerusalem) in 597, 586, etc. were those most intellectually equipped to write and read texts, while the majority left behind were—on the whole—nonliterate and the land in which they lived largely unreconstructed.[2] Furthermore, our survey of the development of the Hebrew Bible in the Persian

1. See the survey in David Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets*, HSM 59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 107–108.

2. Here I lean toward the arguments in Vanderhooft, *Neo-Babylonian Empire and Prophets*, 60–114 and idem., "New Evidence Pertaining to the Transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid Administration in Palestine," in *Yahwists after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era*, ed. Rainer Albertz and Robert Becking (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 227–29, which suggest that Babylon, in contrast to the Neo-Assyrian and Persian Empires, does not seem to have built administrative

period suggested that it was shaped by and for the community of returnees from exile, returnees who seem to have defined themselves as the true heirs of Israel, while defining those who remained as foreign "peoples of the land." Thus, however much we might wish for access to the stories and other traditions of those who remained in Judah, the Hebrew Bible is the deposit of literate elites who were exiled in Babylon and then returned, claiming (and perhaps enjoying) Persian sponsorship to Judah to rebuild Jerusalem. As we already saw in Persian-period traditions originating from this group, for them, "exile" was a defining event. It grounded their claim to be *returning* to the land, and their impulse to avoid the mistakes that led to exile guided their efforts at rebuilding.

Thus, the category of "exile" is not just a scholarly imposition on the data, but a major category in the Hebrew Bible itself. Indeed, one thesis of this chapter, the next chapter, and the preceding two chapters might be the following: that the Hebrew Bible is a "Bible for exiles." Though it contains traditions that probably pre-dated the exile, along with other traditions that long post-date it, the collection as a whole is oriented toward the experience of exile. Even much later Hellenistic traditions, such as those surrounding Esther, Tobit, and Daniel, focus on the experience of exile. Furthermore, the centering on Pentateuchal traditions documented for the Persian and Hellenistic periods was another reflection of (returnee) exiles focusing on traditions about their people's earliest existence as landless semi-exiles: whether the families of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob sojourning in Canaan or the people of Israel moving from Egypt into the wilderness. Thus, we can see the experience of exile behind the previously discussed construction of the Hebrew Bible as a combination of authoritative Torah and lesser "Prophets." In these ways and others, the whole and the parts of the Hebrew Bible spoke to and from the experience of exile.

All this would support those who would argue that the exile was a decisive period in the history of the formation of the Bible, yet it is also true that we know very little about it. We have continuous narratives concerning the pre-exilic and Hasmonean periods, largely thanks to the practice of monarchies composing narratives about the activities of their kings. Though these narratives are ideological, at least they offer us some sort of basic chronological framework and account of events with which to begin to characterize the periods they cover. So also, for the Persian period we have the sources for Ezra-Nehemiah, such as the Nehemiah Memoir and possible elements of an Ezra memoir as well. Though these are not continuous as in monarchical narrative and problematic in their own way (e.g., the Ezra memoir now submerged in the Ezra narrative), we saw in the last chapter how we could learn from their claims (e.g., of Persian sponsorship of the returnee community) even if we do not find fully credible the details of their accounts of

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structures through the bulk of its empire. Moreover, archaeological and other evidence suggest that, aside perhaps from the relatively undamaged area of Benjamin, the bulk of Judah continued to reflect the catastrophic impact of Neo-Babylonian invasions throughout the Neo-Babylonian period. Thus, reconstructions that posit a lively literary culture inside sixth-century Judah appear to have little to support them in the material evidence for the period.

events and supposed quotes of source documents. Even once we fully acknowledge all of the problems attending the sources for these other periods, they still provide a richness of data that is lacking for the period of exile.

The data that we do have for the exile are concentrated particularly on its earlier portion. The books of Kings and Jeremiah (and some narratives in Chronicles) extend through the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE (2 Kgs 25:1–21//Jer 39:1–10; cf. Jer 52:4–30 and 2 Chr 36:17–21), and setting up of a provisional government under Gedaliah in Mizpah (2 Kgs 25:22–26; cf. Jer 40:7–18), along with brief mention of Evil-merodach's inclusion of Jehoiachin at the king's table in 562 BCE (2 Kgs 25:27–30//Jer 52:31–34). The oracles of Ezekiel bear dating superscriptions that extend from 593 (Ezek 1:2) to 573 BCE (40:1), and we have a Babylonian record of rations given to Jehoiachin and his retinue during the early part of this period (probably 592 BCE) as well.

Building on this and other data, we can reconstruct a skeleton outline of major events during the exile. This includes the first deportation in 596 BCE and provision of rations to the deported king Jehoiachin during this time, the destruction of Jerusalem (including the temple) and second deportation of Judean exiles in 587 BCE, the setting up of a government in Mizpah under Gedaliah (a relative of Josiah's scribe, Shaphan) and Gedaliah's murder by nationalist Judeans associated with the king, a third deportation in 582 BCE that may or may not be connected to these developments, the imprisonment of Jehoiachin (perhaps in connection with the murder of Gedaliah?) and his release around 562 to be at the king's table, and the rise of Cyrus the Persian to power, starting with his successful revolt against the Medes in 553 BCE and concluding with his triumphal entry into Babylon in 538 BCE. These are the events described in biblical (and some nonbiblical) texts that appear to have made the deepest impression on exilic authors of the Hebrew Bible.

Otherwise, we lack texts that explicitly describe events in the exile and/or date themselves to that period. Even the book of the Twelve Prophets skips from prophets associated with the monarchal period (Hosea, Amos, [Jonah], Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah) to prophets explicitly linked with the Persian period (Haggai, Zechariah). As we will see in this chapter, there is excellent reason to suppose that various psalms (e.g., Psalm 137) and additional prophetic texts probably originated in the exile (or, perhaps, the diaspora immediately following forced exile), but the explicit attributions of the Hebrew Bible itself are completely blank for the period from 562–38 BCE, and say virtually nothing of detail for the whole half century from 586–38 BCE.

Some of this probably reflects the lack of institutional structures supporting and encouraging the creation of narratives, but it also may reflect the traumatic impact of the exile on the consciousness of Judean exiles. Where monarchies (past and future) seem to have sponsored royal narratives and portions of Ezra-Nehemiah may have originated in reports to Persian authorities and correspondence from them, the Judean exiles did not have the sort of institutional locus that would prompt the creation of such written chronologies of the period. Instead, whatever texts they reproduced, shaped, or created were for internal consumption, as they used written literature to support the ongoing existence of their community and guide their behavior and expectations. As we will see, this literature looked back

and forward, but not *at* the experience of exile. It would not be until the later Persian and Hellenistic periods that extended written narratives about exiles, such as Esther, Tobit, and Daniel, would be composed and used by Jews living in the later diaspora, and all such narratives focus on stories regarding exiled *individuals*.

Scholarly perception of the impact of the Babylonian diaspora has sharpened in recent years through the correlation of the meager biblical data with information about the impact of forced migration on more contemporary ethnographic groups. In particular, Daniel Smith-Christopher has surveyed ethnographic studies of contemporary displaced groups to identify several ways in which the exile of the ancient Judeans might have been particularly formative. In general, he hypothesizes quite plausibly that exile has a particular impact when it is forced (rather than voluntary), affects groups that were formerly indigenous elites in their society (as opposed to impoverished underclasses and/or minority/sojourners in a society), and yet those elites are allowed to live in close proximity to each other (thus not forcibly isolated, as was the case for many African slaves in the Southern United States).[3] The biblical tradition describes just such a situation, where former elites, particularly inhabitants of Jerusalem, were forcibly deported in several waves by the Babylonians, but allowed to settle together in communities such as Tel-Aviv in Southern Iraq near Nippur. Thus congregated, these displaced former elites could form a new community of experience, much like traumatized former prisoners of war (or, more generally, military veterans). Together, they could rehearse and interpret their experience of trauma, reorganize their community life, and become the "sons of the exile" (בני הגולה/גלותא) mentioned in the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative (Ezra 4:1; 6:16, 19, 20; 8:35; 10:7, 16).

As Smith-Christopher suggests, radical change is the norm for most contemporary groups experiencing such forced displacement, and so we can look for signs of similarly significant shifts in biblical traditions associated with exile. In particular, the collapse of the state and struggle to find communal integrity in a foreign majority culture can lead to new emphasis on the importance of family structures and practices that define and protect communal boundaries. Yet Smith-Christopher also emphasizes the disintegrating effects of experience of warfare and prolonged refugee status. Such effects can resemble the complex of symptoms now associated with the term "post-traumatic stress disorder" (hereafter PTSD), including "recurrent and intrusive distressing recollections of the [traumatic] event," "dreams of the event," "acting or feeling as if the event were recurring," "efforts to avoid thoughts, feelings… associated with the trauma," and "feeling of detachment or estrangement from others…."[4]

3. Daniel Smith-Christopher, *The Religion of the Landless: The Social Context of Babylonian Exile* (Bloomington, IN: Meyer-Stone Books, 1989), 50–65.

4. The descriptors come from the description of PTSD in the standard reference for mental disorders: *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV-TR* (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2000); cf. John B. Murray, "Posttraumatic Stress Disorder: A Review," *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs* 118: 316. Several studies have studied biblical texts, particularly the book of Ezekiel, from the perspective of trauma and literature surrounding it. Some examples include: Daniel Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002); David Garber, "Traumatizing Ezekiel: Psychoanalytic Approaches to the Biblical Prophet," in *Psychology and the Bible:*

Groups experiencing the trauma of life in long-term refugee camps often attempt to place such suffering in a meaningful frame of reference, with particularly well-documented tendencies toward self-blame on the one hand ("we are suffering for past sins") and enhancement of radical nationalism on the other ("we are suffering for the good of our nation"). The instability of identity in such situations often leads to a new focus on creating a history that locates the individual and his/her group, a history through which the person/group is defined by who *they were*. The shortage of resources and lack of power among refugees can lead to intense rivalries within the community, and the exigencies of survival can cultivate behaviors—for example, lying, trickery—that would not have been typical of such groups when they were in positions of dominance. Displaced peoples often do not just experience the loss of stable state structures and their replacement with often lawless crime bosses, but also the collapse of religious structures associated with their past life, for example, shamans no longer offer visions. This produces a need for reproduction of those structures from home that can be reproduced (e.g., replicated neighborhoods, clan groups, etc.) and the retrieval of those rituals from home that can be practiced in the new circumstances.[5]

Any such overall hypotheses, of course, must be tested against potential exilic material in the Hebrew Bible, such as it is. In the rest of this chapter, I start by surveying those parts of the Hebrew Bible that are the most explicitly connected to the destruction of Jerusalem and Babylonian exile, especially various literary texts associated with mourning the destruction of Jerusalem and/or its temple, the prophecies associated with Ezekiel, Isaiah 40–55 (60–62?), and Samuel-Kings (a narrative ending in the middle of exile). As in other chapters, these texts will facilitate the development of a profile of some of the themes and concerns that were typical of at least some of the Judean texts composed during this time.

■ LITERARY MOURNING IN THE EXILE

My starting point is a set of texts, lamentations, and literary dirges that explicitly refer to the destruction of the nation and trauma of exile, texts designated here by

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A New Way to Read the Scriptures, J. Harold Ellens and Wayne G. Rollins, eds. (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2004); Hyun Chul Paul Kim, Louis Stulman, *You Are My People: An Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2010); Tod Linafelt, *Surviving Lamentations: Catastrophe, Lament, and Protest in the Afterlife of a Biblical Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000); and William Morrow, "Vicarious Atonement in the Second Isaiah," in *Psychology and the Bible: A New Way to Read the Scriptures,* Vol. 1, *From Freud to Kohut*, ed. J. Harold Ellens and Wayne G. Rollins (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 167–83.

5. Note, for example, the replication of Palestinian neighborhood and village organization inside Palestinian refugee camps described in Julie M. Peteet, "Transforming Trust: Dispossession and Empowerment among Palestinian Refugees," in *Mistrusting Refugees*, ed. E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 174. We may see some reflection of this in Ezekiel's references to a Babylonian Judean settlement named "Tel-Aviv" (Ezek 3:15) or the "city of Judah" mentioned in Babylonian legal documents (discussed in Laurie Pearce, "New Evidence for Judeans in Babylon," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period*, ed. Oded Lipschitz and Manfred Oeming [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007], 400–403).

the term "lamentation literature" and located in large part during the sixth century (whether composed in Judah or Babylon). Several such texts link to this period through their explicit mention of the destruction of Zion (Lam 1:4, 8–9; 2:1; 4:11–12; Isa 64:9) and the temple (Ps 74:3–8; Isa 63:18; 64:10; see also Ps 79:1–2 and Lam 1:10), the desolate temple mount (Lam 5:18; note also 1:1), and/or the ceasing of sacrifice on the temple mount (Lam 2:6–7). Others refer to the end of kingship (Lam 2:6, 9; 4:20; Ps 89:38–45), another event specific to this period. A few such texts refer to the scattering of Judeans, sometimes termed "Zion's children," among the peoples (Lam 1:3, 5, 16; Ps 44:12[ET 4:11]; also Lam 4:16), a process that certainly occurred both before and after the Babylonian exile, but was particularly intense in the Neo-Babylonian period. Written specifically out of the experience of Babylonian diaspora, Psalm 137 struggles with the question of how to sing a "song of Zion" on foreign soil, ending with curses against Edom and Babylon for each of their roles in Judah's destruction (137:7–9). Though most of these motifs have precedents in earlier city-lament literature of various contexts, the historical occasion for the use of these motifs in these Judean texts (Psalms 44, 74, 79, 89, 137; Lamentations 1, 2, 4, 5; Isa 63:7–64:11 [ET 63:7–64:12]) probably is the destruction of the Judean state and exile of much of its elite in the sixth century. This then provides a more specific context for descriptions in these texts of military defeat (Pss 44:10–11 [ET 44:9–10]; 89:41–43[ET 40–42]), slaughter and unburied corpses (Lam 1:20; 2:4, 22; 4:1–2; 5:3; Ps 79:2–3), humiliation of princes and other once respected leaders (Lam 1:6, 19; 4:16; 5:12); domination by foreigners (Lam 3:34; 5:2, 8; Isa 63:19), famine and other hardship especially for women and children (Lam 1:11; 2:11–12, 20; 4:3–5, 9; 5:4–5, 9–11, 13–15; Ps 74:21).[6] These recollections, in turn, bear some resemblance to the repeated and intrusive recollection of trauma typical of individuals and communities suffering from PTSD. For this lamentation literature, there is no escape from the visions of unburied corpses, parents boiling their children, starvation, and exile.

Most important for our exploration of other potential exilic texts in the Hebrew Bible is a survey of the broader mix of themes in these texts that evoke the emotional dimensions of this period. Certainly mourning and weeping are prominent in Psalm 137 and Lamentations (Ps 137:1; Lam 1:4, 11; 2:11; note also Lam 3:49–51), often in the form of the weeping of a personified Zion (Lam 1:2, 16, 21–22; 2:18), motifs that may have been adapted from the weeping goddess of the Mesopotamian lament genre[7] or from a more indigenous ancient Canaanite-Israelite version of the genre.[8] A yet more widespread motif is an emphasis on this disaster being a manifestation of Yhwh's anger (Pss 44:10; 74:1; 79:5; 89:47; Lam

6. For comparison with Mesopotamian lament literature, see particularly Frederick William Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1993), especially the tables on pp. 167–82 along with the contrast in Edward L. Greenstein, "Lamentation and Lament in the Hebrew Bible," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford, 2010), 75–79.

7. Dobbs-Allsopp, *City-Lament Genre*, 178.

8. On this possibility, see Greenstein, "Lamentation and Lament," 72–75, which argues against assuming direct dependence of lamentation literature on Sumerian city laments and proposes that an ancient lament over the destruction of Shiloh may be embedded in portions of Psalm 78.

2:1, 3–4, 22; 4:11; 5:20, 22; Isa 63:8; 64:8), an emphasis lacking in the Mesopotamian city laments but typical of many groups undergoing forced migration. Following on this, the Judean exilic texts are also distinguished from their Mesopotamian counterparts by their reflection on how Yhwh's anger, or the disaster more generally, has been caused (Lam 1:5, 8–9, 13–14, 18, 20; 5:7–8; Ps 79:8; Isa 63:17; 64:4–5; note also Isa 63:10–14) or not caused (Ps 44:18–23 [ET 44:17–22]) by the guilt of the community and the failure of prophets to help them avoid such sin (Lam 2:14). This prompts requests for Yhwh to not remember past misdeeds (Ps 79:8), stop causing the people to sin (note Isa 63:17; 64:6), or redeem them despite their sin for the sake of Yhwh's name (Ps 79:9; Isa 64:1). Even if Yhwh might still be angry, some texts suggest, Yhwh should intervene to stop foreign nations from mocking him (Pss 74:10, 22–23; 79:10). Meanwhile, several texts protest the way Zion and/or its (past) inhabitants are now mocked (Lam 1:7; 2:15–16; note also 3:45–46), especially as a "disgrace" (חרפה Ps 89:51–52 [50–51]; Lam 5:1) by their foreign "neighbors" (שכנים in Pss 44:14–15 [13–14]; 79:4; 89:42 [41]). This leads to wishes for revenge (Ps 79:6–7, 10), especially on Edom and Babylon (Lam 4:21–22; Ps 137:7–9), and the hope that foreign nations experience themselves the shame they have heaped on Judah (Pss 44:14–15 [ET 13–14]; 79:12; Lam 1:21–22).

Several of these exilic lamentation texts also bring memory to voice as they seek to persuade Yhwh to rescue the community from disaster, a dynamic akin to the push of refugees to find meaning through the creation of new collective memory. At their simplest, such recollections ground a plea to God for rescue from exilic disaster by recalling Yhwh's past demonstrations of power, particularly through achieving victory over primeval forces at the Reed Sea (Pss 74:12–14; 89:10–11[9–10]; Isa 63:12). Often such recollections are contrastive, such as the recollection of conquest traditions in Ps 44:2–9[1–8] that precedes a description of Israel's current distress and call for help (44:10–27 [9–26]). In two instances, Lamentations 4 and Psalm 89, probable exilic poems remind God of past commitments to the king (Ps 89:3–5, 20–38 [2–4, 19–37], Lam 4:20) and Zion (echoes of Zion theology in 4:12), protesting Yhwh's failure to follow through on those commitments. Somewhat differently, Isa 63:7–64:11[12]grounds a call for Yhwh to save his sinful people (seen in 63:15–64:11 [63:15–64:12]) through a recollection of Yhwh's past acts of covenant faithfulness to his faithless people (63:7–14, note the contrast of Yhwh's חסדים in 63:7 with the people's מרה in 63:10). More specifically, this section recalls how Yhwh, the one who eternally "redeemed" his people (63:9), gained an "eternal" (63:12) and "glorious" (63:14) name by himself in the past when he moved from being an enemy of his people after they rebelled (63:10) to remembering the "ancient days" (63:11) and gaining victory for them at the Reed Sea (63:12) and shepherding them to safety (63:13–14). The rest of the psalm then calls on Yhwh to again remember his ancient "name" of "our redeemer" (63:16) and again extend fatherly love to his people by no longer making the people sin (63:17; 64:4–6 [ET 5–7]) and instead restoring the ruins of Judah (64:11 [ET 12]). In this way, Isa 63:7–64:11[12] links with the above-discussed sense of sinfulness in several probable exilic texts, as well as the attempt to secure Yhwh's rescue despite such misdeeds through appeal to his name.

Much speculation has circled around the original context for these traditions, with most scholars opting for a relationship between them and the annual fasts mentioned

in Zechariah to commemorate the siege of Jerusalem, breach of its walls, destruction of the temple, and murder of Gedaliah (Zech 8:19; see also 7:1–3 and the post-exilic debate about fasting in Isa 58:1–7). Such fasts could well have been a setting for use of some lamentation traditions like these. As mentioned above, the experience of displacement often elicits compulsive memories of past suffering along with a craving for stable ritual, dynamics that probably combined to help produce the forerunners of the texts discussed so far in this chapter. Nevertheless, the above-discussed texts in Psalms, Lamentations, and Isaiah 63–64 have a pronounced literary dimension that probably points to further development of such lamentation traditions in scholarly contexts. This is most obvious in the case of the book of Lamentations, where four out of the five compositions are acrostics (and the fifth also numbered according to the alphabet), and the whole follows a concentric structure with a didactic psalm at its center, Lamentations 3, which coordinates the voice of communal suffering in the rest of the book with an individual lamenting/instructing "I."[9] These and other features would have facilitated the use of such communal lamentations in the context of individual recitation, meditation, and study. And we see a similar interweaving of individual voice with the communal voice in most other communal laments about exile, such as Psalms 44 (44:5, 7, 16 [4, 6, 15]), 74 (74:12), 89 (89:2, 48, 51 [1, 47, 50]) and Isa 63:7–64:12 (63:7, 15). This individual voice, to be sure, can be read on the surface level of the text as having been that of the king (e.g., Pss 44:7[6]; 89:51[50]) or cantor (e.g., Ps 89:2 [1]; Isa 63:7), but pragmatically this voice becomes that of any reciting person when the psalm is performed in individual study.

The force of these latter reflections on context is to be cautious about treating such texts of mourning as transcripts from the exilic period or exact records of the sort of liturgical texts developed for use at exilic-period days of mourning. On the one hand, they provide some of the most explicit response to the disaster of exile, thus standing among the most probable reflections in the Hebrew Bible of the sorts of themes and questions in circulation during the exile. Moreover, there is a good case to be made that at least some levels of this sixth-century lamentation literature reflect perspectives of those Judeans who did not go into exile.[10] On the other hand, they are literary compositions that stand at some remove—whose extent is difficult to determine—from those events, and they seem adapted for longer-term use rather than as a response only to the trauma of 587 BCE, etc.

One possible index of how these texts circulated is comparison of echoes of laments in the book of Ezekiel on the one hand and the exilic material of Isaiah on the other. Though each collection (to be discussed in more detail below) almost certainly underwent growth, their cores relate to two different points in the exile. At least on the surface, the materials of Ezekiel are placed toward the first two

9. For contrast of Lamentations 3 with the rest of the book and an argument that Lamentations 3 represents a recasting of Lamentations toward (Babylonian golah) tendencies exemplified in Second Isaiah, see Jill Middlemas, "Did Second Isaiah Write Lamentations III?" *VT* 56 (2006): 505–25, which builds on and reverses observations of links between Second Isaiah and Lamentations 3 collected particularly in Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*, SBLDS 161 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), 215–20.

10. For a recent argument in this direction, see particularly Jill Middlemas, *The Troubles of Templeless Judah* (New York: Oxford, 2005), 171–228.

decades of exile (593–73 BCE), while the anticipations of victory by Cyrus in exilic Isaiah material (e.g., Isa 45:1–8) have led most scholars to date some of those texts to the period between 550 and 538 BCE when Cyrus's power was on the rise. These two bodies of texts both reflect the prominence of literary reflections of mourning during the exile, but in different ways.

Several of the disputation sayings in Ezekiel polemically quote sayings by exiles and those still in the land that are akin to psalm complaints. For example, the quotes "the city is the cooking pot and we are the meat" (11:3) and "our bones have dried up, our hope has perished, we are totally destroyed" (37:11) are reminiscent of more extensive vivid descriptions of suffering in Lamentations 5 and other exilic texts discussed above. At two points, the book of Ezekiel depicts the people of Israel asserting that Yhwh "cannot see" and "has abandoned the land" (Ezek 8:12; 9:9), protests of divine abandonment akin to the divine abandonment motif widespread in city-lament literature and particularly the protest of divine abandonment and forgetting at the conclusion of Lamentations 5 (5:20). The quote of Ezekiel's contemporaries saying, "our crimes and sins weigh upon us, and we waste away because of them, how can we live?" (33:10) expresses a similar sense of sinfulness to that seen in texts such as Psalm 79, Lamentations 1, and Isa 63:7–64:11[12]. The proverb in Ezek 18:2, "the fathers have eaten rotten grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" addresses the same issue of intergenerational guilt that is protested in Lam 5:7. Of course, all of these quotes are literary representations (in many cases, caricatures) within the prophetic book of Ezekiel's contemporaries that serve broader roles in the composition. The point here, however, is twofold: that (1) these literary representations express ideas that are at home in the broader matrix of exilic lamentation literature and (2) they do so without specifically appropriating the language and phraseology of the above-discussed exilic lament literature. The closest that sayings in Ezekiel come to the above-discussed lamentation literature is the quote יאריכו הימים ואבד כל־חזון ("days pass, and every vision perishes"; Ezek 12:22) that expresses similar loss to the lament in Lam 2:9, "נביאיה לא מצאו חזון מיהוה ("her [Zion's] prophets cannot find a vision from Yhwh"), but here again the overlap of the sayings combined with contrast mean that there is no clear relationship of dependence between the two sayings. Instead, they both stand as ancient biblical reflections of the broader trend, documented among contemporary displaced groups, of the disintegration of past means of access to the divine (e.g., shamans).

In the exilic material of the book of Isaiah, however, we do see a variety of specific echoes of exilic biblical mourning literature, especially various parts of the book of Lamentations.[11] Isa 40:1; 51:12, 19; and 54:11 proclaim the coming of

11. In my view, the level of verbatim parallels between Lamentations and Second Isaiah surveyed in this paragraph, including apparent quotes and then responses to parts of Lamentations in Second Isaiah, renders unlikely the suggestion by Greenstein ("Lamentation and Lament," 74) that the commonalities between the books can be explained by the authors of both works "drawing on the conventions of an established city-lament genre." Furthermore, this specific reflection of Lamentations in a late exilic text (Isaiah 40–55) makes it less likely that Lamentations was composed around the rebuilding of the temple (on analogy with Sumerian city-laments), as proposed by Greenstein ("The Book of Lamentations: Response to Destruction or Ritual of Rebuilding," in *Religious Responses to Political Crisis*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman [New York: T&T Clark, 2008], 52–71).

"comfort" [נחם/מנחם] to Zion who had "no comforter" [מנחם] in Lamentations (1:2b, 9, 16, 17, 21). Point by point, Isaiah 47 pictures Babylon as undergoing the same suffering that Zion did in Lamentations (Lam 1:1, 8–9, 20; 2:10), thus fulfilling the call in Lam 1:21–22 for Zion's enemies to suffer what she has suffered.[12] The cry at the conclusion of Lamentations that Yhwh has "forgotten" (שכח) and "abandoned" (עזב) the people(5:20) is placed in Zion's mouth in Isa 49:14 ("Yhwh has abandoned [עזב] me, my lord has forgotten [שכח] me")[13] and then answered twice in the following material, both in a speech in Isa 49:15–26 that echoes and reverses various parts of Lamentations, and in the later promise of Yhwh to take Zion back as wife in Isa 54:6–8 after temporarily abandoning her.[14] Isa 51:9–10 introduces a word of comfort by referring to a collection of remembrances of Yhwh's acts of power found in the above-discussed exilic communal laments (Pss 44:2, 4, 5 [ET 1, 3, 4]; 74:12–15; 89:11–12 [ET 10–11]).[15] Isa 51:17–23 draws on multiple and specific elements of the descriptions of Zion's suffering in Lam 2:13–19 and 4:1–22, affirming that Yhwh now truly has transferred the cup [כוס] of suffering from Zion's mouth to her enemies (Isa 51:22–23; see Lam 4:21–22)[16] The call in Isa 52:11 for the people to "turn away, turn away [סור], go out from there and touch [נגע] no unclean thing [טמא]" stands as an inversion of the description in Lam 4:15 of how the nations told Israel "turn aside [סור], unclean [טמא], turn aside, turn aside, do not touch! [נגע]."[17]

In sum, insofar as the materials in Isaiah 40–55 reflect a literary world toward the end of the exilic period, it is a literary world already influenced by the language and theology of the above-discussed sixth-century lamentation literature. Moreover, insofar as the representations of exilic discourse in the quotes of Ezekiel reflect the world of the earlier exile, they show an atmosphere of exilic distress, protest, and reflection akin to that of lamentation literature, but not clearly influenced by that literature. These are but scraps of evidence, not definitive proof of anything. Nevertheless, taken together, the common and distinctive elements in Ezekiel and Isaiah 40–55 add support to the idea that the above-discussed lamentation literature was composed in large part during the sixth century and grew in importance, at least in some circles, across the four decades extending from 592–50 BCE.

■ EXILIC PROPHECY

Having just used Ezekiel and Second Isaiah material as an index for the expanding circulation of lamentation literature, I turn now to look more directly at these two bodies of material, this time focusing on how each connects with and confirms the

12. Willey, *Former Things*, 167–70; Benjamin Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66*, Contraversions (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 271–72.

13. Note that the reversal of adjectives in the allusion could be an instance of Seidel's law, marking ancient allusions to earlier literature.

14. Willey, *Former Things*, 189–91, 233–39.

15. Willey, *Former Things*, 146–51.

16. Willey, *Former Things*, 159–65; Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 127–30. As Sommer points out (p. 128), the echoes of Lam 2:13–19 are continued in an even more specific way in Isa 62:6–7.

17. Willey, *Former Things*, 127–28 (building on earlier proposals by Kaufman, Gottwald, and others, see Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 172).

profile of exilic concerns that emerged from the above-discussed lamentation literature, while also exploring how these bodies of prophecy might expand that profile.

This is not to say that these prophetic materials are unproblematic sources for examination of exilic literature. Even insofar as each corpus shows signs of exilic origins, they come filtered through centuries of post-exilic oral-written transmission. Some recent scholarship has attempted to detail the shape of this revision process, often with uneven results. Aside from identification of later material in sections such as Ezekiel 40–48, this research has not produced many secure conclusions. Indeed, even on the surface of each corpus, the boundaries of potentially exilic material in both corpora are unclear. In the case of Ezekiel, some prophecies are dated, at least by their explicit superscriptions, to a time before the destruction of the Second Temple and contemporary with Jeremiah's later prophecies. In this sense, they provide a potential window to discourses prior to many of the worst catastrophes that characterized the exile, in this case (as opposed to Jeremiah) discourses carried out in Babylonian exile amidst priestly groups, but they are less easily used as testimony to the concerns and themes characteristic of 587 BCE and the years that followed. In the case of Second Isaiah, there is the question of whether to include Isaiah 60–62 among the texts to be considered as part of the exilic layer of the latter part of the book. Though many have pointed out ways that these chapters are distinguished from and dependent on material in Isaiah 40–55, they share with those chapters a view of return and restoration *in the future* and thus might be another example of *exilic* literature in the Isaianic tradition, albeit perhaps at some remove from that seen in Isaiah 40–55.

Despite these qualifications, the book of Ezekiel resonates with and develops many of the themes seen in the above-discussed lamentation literature, particularly the portion of the book of Ezekiel, 33:21–37:28, that is explicitly set in the immediate aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple. For example, like that literature, this portion of Ezekiel depicts the land as covered with ruins roamed by wild animals (33:27–29; see Lam 1:4; 2:2, 5; Ps 79:2; Isa 64:9–10 [ET 64:10–11]), describes the people mocked by the nations surrounding them (36:3–6, 13–15; see Pss 44:14–15 [ET 44:13–14]; 79:4 [ET 74:10]; Lam 1:7; 2:15–16; 3:46; 5:1), expresses a wish that these nations suffer the disgrace they inflicted on Judah (36:7; see Lam 1:21–22), and reflects the reality of a scattered diaspora (36:19; see Ps 44:12 [ET 44:11]). Furthermore, this portion of Ezekiel unfolds the image of the people as Yhwh's "flock" (צאן) seen in lamentation literature (e.g., Pss 44:12 [ET 44:11]; 74:1; 79:13; Isa 63:11), now promising that Yhwh will gather the dispersed members of this flock from surrounding nations and replace their faulty shepherds with a Davidic king as a single good shepherd (Ezek 34:1–31; 37:24–28; cf. Ezekiel 17 and 19). Where some lamentation texts either denied that present suffering was caused by the community's sin (e.g., Ps 44:18–23 [ET 44:17–22]) or attributed present suffering to the past sins of a previous generation (Lam 5:7–8), Ezekiel 18 explicitly asserts that each generation rises or falls on the basis of its own virtue, and other texts in Ezekiel insist that the exile was brought on by the community's own disobedience (e.g., 33:27–29; 36:16–19). Indeed, where Lamentation 1 pictured Zion as a woman made "unclean" by her

disobedience (Lam 1:17), the book of Ezekiel extensively develops a picture of both Jerusalem and Samaria as females made "unclean" from the beginning by their Canaanite origins and sexual unfaithfulness to Yhwh (Ezekiel 16; see also 23). This strong stress on the people's sinfulness, however, is not the last word in Ezekiel, especially chapters 33–37. Confronting the people's despair over whether they have any future with Yhwh (e.g., Ezek 33:10 and 37:11), the book of Ezekiel parallels some lamentation literature (e.g., Ps 79:9; Isa 63:14; 64:1 [ET 64:2]) in asserting that Yhwh's rescue depends not on the people's virtue, but on his wish to restore his reputation/"name" damaged by their current disaster (Ezek 36:20–23; 39:7, 25; see also Ezekiel 20). Finally, like the lamentation literature, the material in Ezekiel 33–37 voices anger, now divine, against the foreign nations that oppressed Judah in the sixth century, particularly Edom (Ezek 35; 36:7; see Lam 4:21–22 and Ps 137:7). Though such elements could fit in later periods as well (and help explain the relevance of Ezekiel to later communities), these and other resonances with lamentation literature reinforce the impression that at least certain portions of Ezekiel originated in and spoke to a sixth-century context, indeed (at least for some portions of Ezekiel) a context where exiled Judeans were accommodating some elements of their practices—for example, the Babylonian-influenced festal calendar in Ezek 45:18–25, etc.—to their foreign context.[18]

Furthermore, the book of Ezekiel includes themes that connect with many of the above-discussed dynamics documented among contemporary peoples who have been displaced and forced to live as refugees for a prolonged period. As pointed out in recent work by Smith-Christopher, Ezekiel does not just repeatedly envision the destruction of his people in a way reminiscent of someone suffering from PTSD, but his sign-actions actually rehearse the trauma for his people.[19] The strong emphasis on communal sin in Ezekiel is akin to the efforts of displaced groups to place their suffering in a meaningful context. This strong sense of sinfulness is also reflected in Ezekiel's reviews of communal history, such as the survey of unfaithfulness by the exodus-wilderness generation in Ezekiel 20 or the allegories of Jerusalem and Samaria as politically/sexually promiscuous in Ezekiel 16 and 23. Yet Ezekiel seems to respond with particular wrath to various rumors of sayings circulating both among those remaining in Jerusalem and certain subgroups among the exiles, again reflecting dynamics of rumor and inner-communal rivalry particularly typical of displaced refugee groups. Finally, much like such displaced groups who often focus on cultivating rituals and ceremonies that can be practiced in the diaspora, Ezekiel features a particular focus on practices such as Sabbath and circumcision that could be performed and reinforce Judean communal identity in Babylonian exile. In these and other ways, Smith-Christopher's work has been particularly helpful in showing how the study

18. Jan Wagenaar, *The Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Calendar*, BZAR 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), especially pp. 101–46.

19. On this, see particularly Daniel Smith-Christopher, "Ezekiel on Fanon's Couch: A Postcolonialist Dialogue with David Halperin's *Seeking Ezekiel*," in *Peace and Justice Shall Embrace: Power and Theopolitics in the Bible (FS Millard Lind)*, ed. Ted Grimsrud and Loren L. Johns (Telford, PA: Pandora Press, 1999), 108–44 and idem., *Biblical Theology of Exile*, 89–104.

of contemporary refugees can sharpen our sense of how the book of Ezekiel, however much shaped by later tradents, reflects experiences particularly typical of people who have been forcibly displaced.

We have already seen that the texts of Second Isaiah (here especially Isaiah 40–55) reflect a different and later stage of the exilic experience.[20] For example, any attempt to explore common motifs between Second Isaiah and lamentation literature must grapple with the fact that Second Isaiah seems genetically dependent on some parts or forms of that literature. Nevertheless, we can observe ways in which the material in Isaiah 40–55 is similar to or different from the types of overlap with such texts seen in Ezekiel. The devastation of the land is described in terms similar to those of Lamentations, but—in contrast to Ezekiel—that description now serves primarily as a prelude to predicting Zion's restoration and the inflicting of suffering on her enemies, particularly Babylon (e.g., Isa 51:17–23). There is a sense that the people's exilic distress was divine punishment for their sinfulness (e.g., Isa 40:2; 42:24–25; 43:22–28), but (in contrast to Ezekiel) the accent in Second Isaiah now lies firmly on the side of reassurance of Yhwh's imminent restoration of the people (e.g., Isa 40:2; 43:1–7; 44:1–8) whose sins Yhwh will wash away (e.g., 43:25; 44:22). The surety of this restoration is reinforced in Second Isaiah through appeals to fulfillment of past prophecy, "the former things," a stark contrast to exilic laments about the lack of prophets (Lam 2:9; Ezek 12:22) and prophecies in Ezekiel against false prophets (e.g., Ezek 13:1–23; 14:9–11). As in lamentation literature (Ps 79:9; see also Isa 63:14) and Ezekiel (Ezek 36:20–23; 39:7, 25), the idea of restoration for the sake of Yhwh's "name" occurs in Second Isaiah (Isa 48:1; 52:5–6), as does the epithet "our redeemer" (Isa 47:4) that is seen also in Isa 63:16. Nevertheless, these ideas are synthesized and expanded through repeated affirmations of Yhwh's name as revelatory of his power and intent to save (e.g., 42:8; 48:2; 54:5) and especially intense emphasis on Yhwh as the redeemer of Israel ("your redeemer" in 41:14; 43:14; 44:24; 48:17; 49:26; 54:5, 8; "his redeemer" in Isa 44:6 and "redeemer of Israel" in 49:7). Where Ezekiel resonated with Isa 63:7–64:11[12] in depicting Israel's past as characterized by the sinfulness of their "fathers" in the exodus-wilderness generation (see especially Ezekiel 20), Second Isaiah (e.g., 51:9–10; also 43:16–17) reinforces the promises of rescue through the same combination of recollection of divine cosmic battle and victory at the Reed Sea seen in Pss 74:12–14 and 89:10–11[9–10] (see also Isa 63:12). Where Isa 63:16 mourns that Abraham and Israel do not recognize the present community and Ezek 33:23–29 refutes the idea circulating among those still in the land that they can count on inheriting the land that Abraham once did, Isa 51:2 insists that the exiles can look to Abraham and Sarah as modeling the kind of fertility blessing that they can expect (see also Isa 41:8). Like the above-discussed exilic texts, Second Isaiah reflects the loss of an existing monarchy, but it does not *mourn* the loss of the Davidic monarchy

20. I do not attempt here a more detailed stratification of Isaiah 40–55, along with related reflections on different contexts. Cf., however, the recent proposal in Erhard Blum, "Der leidende Gottesknecht im Jes 53," in *Gottes Wahrnehmungen*, ed. Stefan Gehrig and Stefan Seiler (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009), 138–59 that places both of two layers of Second Isaiah in the thirty years immediately after the victory of Cyrus in 539.

(cf. lamentation literature discussed previously) nor envision its restoration (so the book of Ezekiel). Instead, Second Isaiah transfers elements of royal ideology to Cyrus on the one hand (Isa 44:28–45:2) and the community on the other (Isa 55:3–4). Second Isaiah is also distinctive in how it discusses other nations. For example, it focuses more on the imminent downfall of Babylon under Cyrus (e.g., Isaiah 47) rather than following Ezekiel in focusing on divine revenge for Edom's role in the ravaging of Judah in 587 BCE (cf. the focus on both Babylon and Edom in Ps 137:7–8). In addition, Second Isaiah does not feature the emphasis on other nations mocking Israel that was seen in Ezekiel and the lamentation literature, but it does include extensive parody of the gods of other nations (e.g., 40:18–20; 41:6–7; 44:9–20), a partial fulfillment of the wish seen in lamentation literature and Ezekiel that other nations experience the mocking they once inflicted on Judah/Israel (Ps 79:12; Lam 1:21–22; Ezek 36:7).

When we compare Second Isaiah to the dynamics documented among contemporary groups experiencing forced displacement, there is less evidence in Isaiah 40–55 (than in lamentation literature or Ezekiel) of processing of trauma, emphasis on sin, or intra-communal rivalry. The creation of history and identity amidst diaspora remains prominent in Second Isaiah, and there still is a tendency to place the experience of exile in the frame of communal disobedience and punishment. Nevertheless, compared to Ezekiel, Second Isaiah puts far more of an accent on use of communal memory, including the recollection of creation and ancestral traditions, to ground hope for defeat of Babylon and an imminent end to the diaspora. At least within these chapters, there is little in the way of reflection of intra-communal rivalry nor of emphasis on diaspora rituals (e.g., Sabbath, circumcision). We do see, however, a move in Second Isaiah away from state structures, a move typical of groups experiencing prolonged displacement. Where the lamentation literature and parts of Ezekiel mourned the loss of kingship and/or envisioned its restoration, Second Isaiah features a typical diasporic reapplication of state-structure themes, in this case Davidic royal ideology, for use with other figures—Cyrus and the community as a whole.

To be sure, we should not make too much of these contrasts between Ezekiel and Second Isaiah. Even if these bodies of literature have cores originating at different points in the exile, they also are distinguished along other vectors, such as Ezekiel's apparent links with Zadokite Priestly traditions and Second Isaiah's possible associations with Levitical priestly groups mentioned before.[21] More specification of the institutional loci of these two corpora is not required to know that, together, they represent a tableau of themes and concerns in circulation during (and perhaps immediately after) the exile, prominent to varying extents at different times and places and among different priestly groups. Nevertheless, taken

21. Here again, see especially Robert Wilson, "The Community of Second Isaiah," in *Reading and Preaching the Book of Isaiah*, ed. Christopher Seitz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 53–70 and Ulrich Berges, *Jesaja 40–48: übersetzt und ausgelegt*, HKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 38–43. And (for further reflections), see Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Development of Jewish Sectarianism from Nehemiah to the Hasidim," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 393–97.

together with the lamentation literature of the sixth century, Ezekiel and Second Isaiah provide additional documentation for common strands spanning this diverse literature such as the following: emphasis on the exile as punishment for communal sin (a sin repeatedly manifest in its past history), hope for Yhwh to restore the community for the sake of his holy name, the disintegration of state structures, and the emphasis on and creation of communal memory of both sin and rescue, particularly recollections of events (e.g., the Reed Sea) and figures (e.g., Abraham) of Judah's *pre-state* period.

■ TEXTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEPOSED DAVIDIC MONARCHY

As summarized above, the Davidic monarchy did not cease in the period of Babylonian exile. Instead, the history in 2 Kings reports that young king Jehoiachin was carried into exile with the rest of the royal household and "Jerusalem" after his father was killed in a rebellion against Babylon (597; 2 Kgs 24:8–16), and we have Babylonian documents from around five years later (592 BCE) that record Jehoiachin's household as receiving rations at the king's table.[22] Meanwhile, the Babylonians appointed Jehoiachin's uncle, Mattaniah, as king in Jerusalem, where he ruled as "Zedekiah" for eleven years until he was captured and his family killed in the wake of the rebellion in 587 BCE (2 Kgs 24:17–25:7). Judging from other biblical traditions, many Judeans never regarded Zedekiah/Mattaniah as a legitimate Davidic king, and instead placed their hopes on the return and restoration of Jehoiachin to the throne. For example, the Jeremiah tradition records a narrative about Jeremiah's refutation of Hananiah's prediction of Jehoiachin's imminent return (Jeremiah 28; see especially 28:4) and includes oracles against Jehoiachin along similar lines (Jer 22:24–30). For many Judeans, the exile of Jehoiachin and the royal household was the decisive event marking the beginning of "exile." This is the orientation point both for the superscription to Jeremiah's letter to the exiles (Jer 29:2) and the datings in the exile given by the superscriptions to Ezekiel's prophecies (Ezek 1:2, etc.). Judging from the final notice about Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30, he was imprisoned at some point in his exile in Babylon, since that text records that king Evil-merodach of Babylon removed him from prison and restored his ration and place at the king's table in the 37th year of his exile, probably about 562 BCE. In addition, both biblical and nonbiblical sources record Jehoiachin as having several sons while in exile (1 Chr 3:17–18; Babylon 28122, 28178, 28186 [ANET 308b]). As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of Jehoiachin's grandsons, Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:19; cf. Ezra 3:2) briefly served as "governor" in Judah (Ezra 3–6) and is the focus of some hope for fuller restoration of the Davidic monarchy in prophecies attributed to Haggai and Zechariah (Hag 2:20–23; Zech 3:8; 4:14; 6:11–13*). Nevertheless, though the Bible records several additional generations of Davidides, many of whom bear names expressing hope for restoration (1 Chr 3:19–24; note also "Anani" [cf. 1 Chr 3:24] in AP 30:18–19//31:17–18), none after Zerubbabel appears to have been the focus of concrete hopes for restoration of the Davidic monarchy.

22. For a translation of three such texts, see ANET 308 (2nd column).

At least two texts in the Hebrew Bible appear to originate—at least in part—in scribal circles somewhat connected to/focused on the experience and prospects of the exiled Davidic king, Jehoiachin: Psalm 89 and historical texts, particularly a series of texts added to the end of 2 Kings. As we will see, both are complex cases, involving exilic-period revisions/appropriations of probable pre-exilic works. That is why they are treated at this point, where we can use the above survey of exilic themes and concerns to help identify specifically exilic portions of these multilayered texts.

I start with Psalm 89, a lament over the sad fate of the Davidic king. After quoting past Davidic promises to the king (Ps 89:2–4, 20–38 [ET 1–3, 19–37]) and an older (probable Northern) hymn to Yhwh's power over creation (89:6–19 [ET 5–18]), it protests Yhwh's failure to protect the king from what sounds like decisive military failure (89:39–44 [ET 38–43]). Certainly, kings other than Jehoiachin experienced major military defeats, but the following description of the ending of the king's splendor and fall of his throne (89:45 [ET 44]) along with the cutting short of his youth and covering him with shame (89:46 [ET 45]) are reminiscent of Jehoiachin's time in exile, especially any time he spent imprisoned.[23] Moreover, the protest against the fate of the king in Ps 89:39–46 [ET 38–45] resembles the mourning over loss of kingship in lamentation literature (Lam 2:2, 6, 9), including dirges over Jehoiachin and the loss of the monarchy (Ezekiel 19) seen in the above-discussed exilic texts. Lam 4:20 is especially close to the tone of Ps 89:39–46 [38–45] in its protest that "the breath of our life, Yhwh's anointed, has been captured in their pits, the one of whom we said, 'we shall live under his shadow among the nations.'" This text seems to protest to God about the degrading imprisonment of a king under whose protection the exiles still saw themselves living "among the nations." Together, texts such as Ps 89:39–46 [38–45] and Lam 4:20 may articulate the particular despair of exiles over the fate of their exiled king during the period of imprisonment leading up to 562 BCE, when he was released.

The probable exilic locus of Psalm 89 may be yet more significant since it might once have served as the exilic conclusion to a preliminary collection of psalms that featured a uniquely royal focus. This collection is united by a series of three similar concluding doxologies (41:14 [ET 41:13]; 72:18–19; 89:53; cf. the different "Amen" formulation of 106:48) and distinguished in numerous ways from Psalm 90 and those that followed (which have different superscription systems, no selas, no melodies, etc.).[24] Two of these doxologies are preceded by a royal psalm (72 and 89), and the whole probably was introduced by another major royal psalm, Psalm 2. Starting with Yhwh's adoption and promises of dominion to the Davidic king in Psalm 2 and concluding with the anguished pleas about the thrown down throne and disgraced monarch in Psalm 89, this

23. Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.*, trans. David Green, Studies in Biblical Literature 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 145.

24. Erich Zenger, "'Es sollen sich niederwerfen vor ihm alle Könige' (Ps 72,11): Redaktionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Psalm 72 und zum Programm des messianischen Psalters Ps 2–89," in *"Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 85–86.

collection of largely "Davidic" psalms seems uniquely suited to articulate the mix of concerns circulating around Jehoiachin and the Davidic monarchy more generally prior to his release around 562 BCE.

The note in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 (//Jer 52:31–34), in turn, reflects the particular hope connected with the release of Jehoiachin at that point. Indeed, in contrast to more extensive narratives found in Jeremiah (Jer 40:7–41:18), 2 Kings devotes only a brief paragraph to Gedaliah's governorship (2 Kgs 25:22–26) and otherwise records no events between the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE, and the release and restoration of Jehoiachin to the king's table twenty-five years later. Through this notice, we know that the present form of 2 Kings could not have been written earlier than 562 BCE. Rather, the conclusion to the book of Kings appears to have been composed by an author who, like the author of Psalm 89 or Lam 4:20, was particularly concerned about king Jehoiachin's fate. Furthermore, the books of Samuel-Kings taken together show a preoccupation with Yhwh's past promises to the Davidic monarch, and there are particular parallels between the way these promises are articulated between Ps 89:2–4, 20–38 [ET 1–3, 19–37] and the quote of the Davidic covenant in Nathan's prophecy (2 Sam 7:11–16). However 2 Sam 7:11–16 and Ps 89:20–38 [19–37] are related to each other,[25] they betray a common concern about how Yhwh will be faithful to his "covenant" with the Davidic house, especially his successors. Such concerns were particularly acute as the exiles contemplated Jehoiachin's current conditions (e.g., Lam 4:20; Ps 89:20–38 [19–37]) and possible future restoration (e.g., Jer 28:4).

Since I have not yet discussed the profile of any pre-exilic texts, it is difficult at this point to discriminate between exilic and pre-exilic portions of Samuel and Kings. Nevertheless, I can note a few elements of Samuel-Kings that resonate with the themes and concerns characteristic of the exilic texts discussed so far. Certainly, it is not hard to see exilic elements in the description of the destruction of Jerusalem and punishment of its leadership in 2 Kgs 25:1–21, elements that resonate with passionate descriptions of disaster in Lamentations. Moreover, several portions of the latter parts of Kings—none of which have parallels in Chronicles—affirm the idea of intergenerational sin seen in Lam 5:7–8 and rejected in Ezekiel 18, asserting that Judah's exile was caused in large part by Manasseh's grave misdeeds (2 Kgs 21:11–16; 23:26–27; 24:3).[26] Like Ezekiel (e.g., Ezekiel 23), these texts toward the end of Kings compare the destruction of Jerusalem and exile of its leadership with the downfall of the North (2 Kgs 21:13; 23:27). Indeed, as others have observed, much broader portions of Kings, including large sections about the North without parallel in Chronicles, stress the way the downfall of the North anticipated the fall of the South. Texts such as Solomon's temple prayer include specific requests that Yhwh eventually hear and forgive his sinful people in the future when they sin and

25. These parallels and the issues surrounding them are discussed in Chapter 13, pp. 391–2, of this book.

26. Jacob Myers, *2 Chronicles*, AB 13 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 198–99; M. Elath, "The Political Status of the Kingdom of Judah within the Assyrian Empire in the Seventh Century B.C.E," in *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency*, ed. Yohann Aharoni, Lachish 5 (Tel Aviv: Gateway Publishers, 1975), 66–69; Steven McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, HSM 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984), 163.

are taken into exile (1 Kgs 8:46–50), reminding Yhwh of his commitment to them through Moses during the exodus (8:51–53). Overall, many texts in Samuel-Kings contain recollections of Israel's past inclinations toward sin from the exodus period forward (e.g., 1 Sam 12:9–13; 2 Kgs 17:7–18) that are reminiscent of similar indictments in Ezekiel (e.g., Ezekiel 20) and Isaiah 63 (10–14). And though a few Judean kings such as Hezekiah and Josiah are singled out for praise (e.g., 2 Kgs 18:3–6; 23:25; note also Asa in 1 Kgs 15:11–15 and Jehoshaphat in 1 Kgs 22:43), most others, including Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:9), are criticized for failing to follow Yhwh's statutes and commands. Whatever earlier function some of these royal narratives once may have had, they now serve as part of an extended description of the sinfulness of pre-exilic Israel, North and South, that explains the disaster that hit their kingship and nation. Moreover, at some points, such as the apparent insertion of an additional second-person *plural* warning to Solomon in 1 Kgs 9:6–9 (cf. 9:3–5), references to the unconditional divine promise to David (1 Sam 7:11–16) seem to have been modified to explain the destruction of the nation and exile.[27]

Of course, similar concerns can be found in the historical books that precede Samuel-Kings. Not only is the emphasis on past sin similarly prominent across all these books, but we also find words of hope to exiles in places such as Deut 30:1–10 that base a promise of hope on Yhwh's past faithfulness to Israel's "fathers" (see Isa 63:10–14; Second Isaiah) and parallel Ezekiel in the promise of a new heart to obey Yhwh's commands (30:6; see Ezek 11:19–20; also 18:31 and 36:26). Aside from other issues surrounding the specifics of the formation of these historical books, it appears that they have undergone revision along similar lines with similar theological concerns and some interlinking frameworks, some of which resonate with concerns attested in the exile. Decisive decisions in favor of exilic origins for individual texts are difficult, however, since exile would have been seen as much or more of a threat in the Neo-Assyrian period as it was an ever-present reality for sixth-century diaspora Judeans during the Neo-Babylonian period.[28] Thus, anticipations of potential exile in these books or apparent revisions of narratives to include judgments explaining future calamity could come from the sixth century, but also other times.

For the purposes of this study, we are on the safest ground in attributing the portions of 2 Kings following the narrative about Josiah to one or more layers of exilic revision. This extension is prepared for by the explanation of the exile because of the sin of Manasseh (2 Kgs 23:26–27), a section inserted unusually between the evaluation of Josiah (2 Kgs 23:25) and final source notices for him (2 Kgs 23:28). In contrast to earlier portions of Samuel-Kings that juxtapose the individual

27. Initially proposed in Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic; Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 287 and developed particularly in Richard D. Nelson, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup,18 (1981), 73–76, 99–118.

28. I was alerted to this initially through David Petersen, "Prophetic Rhetoric and Exile," in *The Prophets Speak on Exile (Forced Migrations): In Major and Minor Cadence*, ed. John Ahn, LHBOTS (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2011). See also the comparison of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian materials on this point in David Vanderhooft, "Babylonian Strategies of Imperial Control in the West," in *Jews and Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschitz and Joseph Blenkinsopp (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 247–50.

actions of kings with the Davidic promise to the dynasty, this passage about Manasseh renders irrelevant the actions of Josiah or any king after him by attributing the entire exile to the evil of Manasseh. Furthermore, the framework evaluations for the four following kings (2 Kgs 23:32, 37; 24:9, 19) are distinguished from all that follow by their rigid structure and blanket condemnation of prior Judean kings.[29] Notably, the portion of Chronicles that parallels this portion of Kings does not show knowledge of these formulae nor of other major sections of 2 Kings concerning the final kings of Judah.[30] It is possible that these more approximate links of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings at this point result from a process where a narrative extending through Josiah was extended at a later point to lead up to and explain the exile, mainly through reference to Manasseh's sin.[31]

This revision probably also involved revisions to the narrative itself, such as the insertion about Manasseh in 2 Kgs 23:26–27 and a revision to the narrative about Manasseh that is not paralleled in Chronicles (2 Kgs 21:11–16; cf. 2 Chr 33:11–17). Indeed, in some cases, multiple revisions may have been done during the exile. For example, the oracle of Huldah in 2 Kgs 22:15–20 combines a probable pre-exilic oracle incorrectly predicting a peaceful death for Josiah (2 Kgs 22:20; also in 2 Chr

29. Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 29–42.

30. For arguments, some more persuasive than others, regarding the lack of relationship between Chronicles and Kings for material after Josiah, see McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 174–76, 184–87, 190–91.

31. Cf., however, the extensive arguments for an exilic setting for the Isaiah-Hezekiah narratives given in Christof Hardmeier, *Prophetie im Streit vor dem Untergang Judas: erzählkommunikative Studien zur Entstehungssituation der Jesaja- und Jeremiaerzählungen in II Reg 18–20 und Jer 37–40*, BZAW (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), particularly 288–408. In general, Hardmeier argues that these narratives serve as a veiled early-sixth-century (588) response to Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's prophecies, depicting their positions regarding Babylonian withdrawal and reliance on Egypt (e.g., Jer 37:9//2 Kgs 18:29 and 2 Kgs 18:21; Ezek 29:6b-7) as echoes of Assyrian propaganda offered during the time of Isaiah and directly refuted at that time through a divine oracle (1 Kgs 19:7; cf. Jer 37:7–8; 2 Kgs 19:32–33; cf. Ezek 17:17). This footnote is not a context well suited for offering a detailed response to Hardmeier's extensive arguments offered for this hypothesis. For the present purposes, I would just observe that his thesis assumes a remarkable level of credulity on the part of the contemporary audience of 2 Kings 18–20//Isaiah 36–39, who—according to Hardmeier—is being told to reject the words of contemporary prophets on the basis of newly composed (and thus previously unknown) speeches attributed to the Assyrian Rabshekah and Yhwh. Furthermore, assuming that audiences of the time were able to understand the indirectly expressed polemical intentions of the Isaiah-Hezekiah narrative vis-à-vis events of 588, Hardmeier would have us believe that very soon afterward, when Jeremiah and Ezekiel's words about the persistence of Babylonia and the unreliability of Egypt proved accurate, that same audience then continued to read and preserve these narratives as straightforward historical accounts of the eighth century (on this point, see especially the review of Hardmeier's book by Christopher Seitz in *JBL* 110 [1991]: 512–13). On closer examination, however, many of the relationships of intertextual dependence used by Hardmeier to establish his striking thesis are not as clear as first supposed. And even if there might be a relationship of intertextual dependence in some instances between parts of the Isaiah-Hezekiah narratives and literary prophecies associated with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, it is easily possible that they could have run in a reverse direction. For example, Ezekiel 29 in the sixth century could appropriate part of an earlier (late pre-exilic) characterization of Egypt by the Rabsheqah in 2 Kgs 18:21, and Jeremiah 37 might be composed partly in relation to the Isaiah-Hezekiah narratives, insisting that the sort of Zion theology that seemed to work there will not hold in the case of the Babylonian siege. For these reasons, I do not include the Isaiah-Hezekiah narratives for treatment in this chapter on materials composed during the Neo-Babylonian period. Instead, they fall among the block of royal-historical narratives that will be discussed in Chapter 10 of this book as likely composed during the Neo-Assyrian period.

34:28) with an anticipation of the exile paralleled in 2 Chronicles (2 Chr 34:24–25) *and* a plus not paralleled in Chronicles that offers yet an additional anticipation of the exile that focuses on the theme—seen in the texts above—of Israel being mocked and despised among the nations (להיות לשמה ולקללה "to become a horror and a curse" 2 Kgs 22:19; cf. 2 Chr 34:27). If this last addition was also done during the exile (there is no surety here), it would be an example of gradual adaptation of a pre-exilic prophetic saying to better anticipate the catastrophe that hit the people.

To be sure, the micro-addition in 2 Kgs 22:19 and many other texts in Samuel-Kings could well have been added in the Persian or Hellenistic periods as well. I already discussed several major candidates for very late additions in the chapter on the redaction of the Hebrew Bible under the Hasmoneans. Nevertheless, the final note on Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 suggests that the middle exile was the time when the books of Kings, at least this recension of it, received their final broader shape. If the narrative was *substantially* reshaped later, why not extend it to include elements such as Cyrus's edict or the rebuilding of Jerusalem, especially since it was relatively easy to add sections to the ends of scrolls? Of course, we do have such an extended narrative, the books of Chronicles (and Ezra-Nehemiah), but that redaction of Samuel-Kings-like material ended up being a parallel, separately transmitted work. The Samuel-Kings work now found in the Bible appears to be largely an exilic work at the latest, aside from a variety of small-scale additions of uncertain date.

The complexity of the transmission process renders difficult any attempt to establish a specific social setting for the final shaping of this work during the exile. On the one hand, the use of Jehoiachin's release as the final note in the work suggests an interest in him that parallels the above-discussed material in Ps 89:29–38 [ET 28–37]. On the other hand, the exilic extension of what is now 2 Kings includes a blanket condemnation of Jehoiachin, 2 Kgs 24:9, that seems unlikely to have been written by a scribe in the Judean court in exile. It is possible that the narrative about Jehoiachin and other late pre-exilic kings was composed by a different scribe than the one who wrote the note about Jehoiachin's release in 2 Kgs 25:27–30, or it could be that interest in Jehoiachin's imprisonment and release was so widespread among exiled Judeans that it was shared even by scribes otherwise critical of the Judean kingship. We probably do not have the data to provide a decisive solution to this problem.

All of the above can be said without blanket theories about the existence of a broader "Deuteronomistic History" or its dating as a whole to the exilic period. Certainly, there are signs of exilic retouching in Deuteronomy, Samuel-Kings, and the books in between. Nevertheless, the post-exilic book of Chronicles primarily revises and expands a form of Samuel-Kings, suggesting that—even at that late point—Samuel-Kings was being treated as a separate document.[32] Moreover, as

32. For preliminary reflections on this phenomenon, see my "'Empirical' Comparison and the Analysis of the Relationship of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets," in *Pentatuech, Hexateuch or Enneateuch: Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings*, ed. Konrad Schmid and Thomas Dozeman (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming in 2011).

has been recognized by a couple of recent studies, the book of Judges, despite containing a possible early kernel of stories, seems to represent a relatively late portion of the history now extending from Deuteronomy-2 Kings, perhaps formed in part as a bridge between Deuteronomy-Joshua and Samuel-Kings.[33] I shall return to this topic in Chapter 9. For now, it is enough to note that these books seem to be shaped in a common Deuteronomistic scribal context—in part during the exile—and though Samuel-Kings features an apparent reference to the law (2 Kings 22) featured in Deuteronomy-Joshua, the evidence for an overall exilic Deuteronomistic history composition is scant.

■ OTHER WORKS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE POTENTIALLY SHAPED OR COMPOSED IN THE EXILE

The discussion of the exilic shaping of Samuel-Kings and parts of Deuteronomy-2 Kings more broadly already highlighted some of the difficulties that attend any effort to trace exilic shaping of Hebrew Bible books outside of more clearly exilic laments and prophecies. Especially given the fluid character of the transmission process, the seams between earlier and later additions were not always preserved. Moreover, I have not discussed up to this point the sorts of profiles that might help us distinguish pre-exilic layers of texts from their exilic reshaping.

Both the possibilities and challenges of such analysis of exilic material are highlighted by two cases where probable pre-exilic Hebrew Bible texts were modified in an anti-Babylonian direction—the Tower of Babel story in Gen 11:1–9 and the oracle now directed against Babylon in Isaiah 14. As argued in particular by Christoph Uehlinger, the core of the Tower of Babel story seems to play off of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology, particularly parts of that ideology as developed under Sargon II that focus on royal building projects and the uniting of the world around "one speech," while also echoing the failed construction and abandonment of Sargon II's magnificent palace at Dur-Sharrukin.[34] Yet the present form of the "constructed myth" (as Uehlinger terms it) in Gen 11:1–9 is directed against Babylon by the etiology that concludes it (11:9), and other elements, such as the second speech introduced in 11:4a. This form of the text probably was produced by exilic authors who redirected this story from the form it had in the Neo-Assyrian period to its present anti-Babylonian form. Similarly, Barth and others have argued plausibly that the oracle in Isa 14:4b-21 against a specific king who will die violently and be buried away from home was originally directed against Sargon II, a Neo-Assyrian king. Nevertheless, it is now introduced (Isa 14:3–4a) and concluded (Isa 14:22–23) by sections that (re)direct this oracle against

33. Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments*, WMANT 81 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999), 220 (ET 203–204); Phillipe Guillaume, *Waiting for Josiah: The Judges*, JSOTSup, 385 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 227–53.

34. Christoph Uehlinger, *Weltreich und "eine Rede": eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11, 1–9)*, OBO 101 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1990), especially pp. 516–42.

Babylon.[35] In both of these cases, it probably is not possible to identify precisely which parts of the texts are pre-exilic, only to suppose, plausibly on the basis of indicators still in the texts, that their cores originate in the Neo-Assyrian period. What is significant for our present purposes is the fact that these texts, Gen 11:1–9 and Isaiah 14, illustrate a process of introduction of an anti-Babylonian sentiment that is well documented in exilic period texts (e.g., Ps 137; Second Isaiah) to pre-exilic texts that probably originally had another focus. Moreover, they both illustrate a tendency most clear in Second Isaiah of directing parody and taunts against the foreign nations that once mocked Judah (e.g. Isa 44:9–20; 47; see also Pss 79:12; 44:14–15 [ET 13–14]; 79:4; Lam 1:21–22; 3:45–46; 5:1).

The book of Jeremiah is a prime example of a larger book that probably was significantly shaped during the exile. Already the prophecies of Jeremiah are dated well into the beginning of the exilic period, and parts of at least one, Jeremiah 29, address members of the first deportation. In this sense, some material in Jeremiah is virtually contemporaneous with material from Ezekiel, though Jeremiah is located in Jerusalem. The book containing Jeremiah's prophecies, in turn, is yet later. As has been established by numerous studies, its structuring discourses and framework show strong affinities with the language and theology of Deuteronomy and related historical books.[36] Nevertheless, the book of Jeremiah is also distinguished from that work (in its present form) by a stronger emphasis on the importance of social solidarity and its inclusion of an uncompromising rejection of Jehoiachin, all his heirs, and any future Davidic king (Jer 22:24–30; cf. Hag 2:20–23; note also Jer 10:21; 13:18; 22:13–19).[37] Whether or not the scribes of the book were geographically separate from those who shaped Deuteronomy-Joshua and Samuel-Kings,[38] they appear to represent a distinctly different tradition stream

35. Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung*, WMANT 48 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 125–41, especially pp. 135–36.

36. For an overviews of scholarship, see Siegfried Herrmann, *Jeremia: Der Prophet und das Buch*, Erträge der Forschung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 66–87 and Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 303–12.

37. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 331–32.

38. There are some weaknesses to the arguments used by some to argue that the Deuteronomists of Jeremiah were in the land whereas the Deuteronomists of the Deuteronomistic History were in exile. Note that arguments from Duhm to Albertz for composition/redaction of Jeremiah in Judah based on the deictic references to "the land before you" or "in this place," fail to note that such (near) deictic structures make perfect sense in a narrative world where Jeremiah is speaking from the standpoint of himself being in the land. They do not necessarily represent the standpoint of the authors. The anti-Canaanite polemics of Jeremiah (e.g., 7:17–19, 31–32; 19:6; 32:35; 44:15–28), also present in the Deuteronomistic History, do not necessarily imply authorship in the land, since it is not at all clear to what extent they are attacks on well-known, existing practices (as opposed to theoretical attacks on an ancient "other"). Cf. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 322. Thomas Römer suggests that the Deuteronomistic history may be silent on Jeremiah because of his close association with the non-exiled Judean population, and he argues that the redaction of Jeremiah may have been aimed at bringing the Jeremiah collection into alignment with the perspectives and ideology of the Deuteronomistic History ("Is There a Deuteronomistic Redaction in the Book of Jeremiah?" in *Israel Constructs its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research*, ed. Albert De Pury, Thomas Römer, and Jean-Daniel Macchi [Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 2000], 399–423 (see especially pp. 417–18).

from that seen in Samuel-Kings and Psalm 89, one with affinities to the Shaphanid scribal family associated with Josiah and depicted in Jeremiah as providing some protection to him. As seen in Chapter 5 of this book, the revision of Jeremiah continued well into the Hasmonean period, including the addition of a royal oracle (Jer 33:14–26) that balanced the anti-royal tone of earlier layers. Nevertheless, aside from the issue of placement of foreign oracles, the bulk of the shaping of the book probably was complete already in the exilic period. Overall, the book of Jeremiah shares the emphasis of other exilic works on a detailed explanation of the exilic catastrophe through reference to the misdeeds of the people and their leaders, as well as condemnation of other nations (including extensive critique of Babylon). In addition, Jeremiah features hopeful promises (e.g., Jer 31:7–14) and themes (e.g., circumcision of the heart [Jer 4:4; 9:24], Yhwh's direct writing on the hearts of the people [31:31–34], redemption for the sake of God's reputation [Jer 14:7, 21; 16:21]) similar to those seen in the latter parts of Ezekiel and Second Isaiah. Finally, specific clues in the work, such as the mistaken prediction of seventy years of dominion of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10) and an apparent reference to Amasis' usurpation of Pharaoh's Hophra's throne around 571–67 BCE (Jer 44:29–30), place the shaping of the Jeremiah tradition in a similar sixth-century diaspora context to that seen for the final shaping of Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets.[39] As with those books, this shaping was a complex and multistage process that extended to include small-scale additions in the Hellenistic period, but the main contents of the tradition appear to have been established already during the period of Babylonian exile.

Somewhat less clear, but still likely, is the exilic shaping of prophetic collections of the words of prophets who long preceded the exile. For example, Blenkinsopp has argued plausibly that an earlier collection of oracles against foreign nations in Isaiah, starting with an oracle against an Assyrian king in Isa 14:4b-20 and moving to oracles against Philistia, Moab, Damascus, Israel, and Egypt/Cush (preserved in parts of Isa 14:28–20:6), was revised during the Babylonian period through the addition of an anti-Babylonian oracle in Isaiah 13, revision of the Isa 14:4b-20 oracle to focus on Babylonia (see above), and addition of yet more anti-Babylonian material in Isa 21:1–10.[40] Though there is some dispute about the Babylonian setting of Isa 21:1–10,[41] scholars have achieved a relatively high level of consensus on the Babylonian setting of the redirection of Isa 14:4b-20 and composition of Isaiah 13.[42] The oracle against Edom found in Isaiah 34 is another element that matches the profile of other anti-Edomite Babylonian-period texts (e.g., Ps 137:7; Ezek 25:12–17), and its location toward the end of material more clearly associated

39. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 318.

40. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 272.

41. For arguments for a Babylonian setting, see, for example, Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, NCB Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 176–77, but cf. Marvin Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39 with an Introduction to the Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 279–83, which places far more of the oracles against nations in the eighth century than many others.

42. See, for example, Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 231–32, which in this respect agrees with the Babylonian setting suggested by many others for the present basic shape of Isaiah 13–14.

with the eighth-century prophet supports the idea that it was added in the sixth century or later. The above-discussed profile is less helpful in decisively identifying Babylonian-period materials amidst other texts in Isaiah 1–33 that appear secondary on other grounds, but some have proposed that the descriptions of the destruction of Jerusalem in Isa 22:5–11 or apparently secondary "on that day" anticipations of total destruction such as Isa 8:21–2 or 17:9 might well date from this period as well.[43]

More recently, Nogalski, Albertz, and others have argued persuasively for the existence of an exilic "book of the four prophets" that included Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah.[44] These prophetic books are distinguished from others in the book of the Twelve Prophets by the shared form of their opening superscriptions.[45] Moreover, the possible exilic origins of this collection of four prophets is suggested by the way this hypothesized collection would have anticipated the exile by coordinating God's past judgment on Northern Israel with the impending judgment on Judah, a theme also seen in Ezekiel and 1–2 Kings. Dated to the pre-exilic past, these (four) prophetic traditions offered concrete diagnoses of where Israel and Judah went wrong. In this way, they helped exiles on the journey from shame to guilt, indicating possible wrong decisions that led to the catastrophe in which they now found themselves. This is the way older prophetic literature of ancient Israel was collected and textualized what Robert K. Lifton has described as the feeling of "failed enactment" among survivors of catastrophic trauma—replaying again and again the mistakes of the past in hopes of achieving, mentally, some kind of mental control over the incomprehensible present and recent past.[46]

As in the case of the book of Isaiah, such Babylonian-period shaping of the four prophets book probably included some expansions as well, most of which moved from guilt to hope. For example, the materials of Micah 4 introduced by "on that day" (Mic 4:6–14) feature speeches to daughter Zion, promises of in-gathering, and visions of revenge against nations who once oppressed her, which were characteristic of lamentations and Second Isaiah in particular. This material, along with the vision of future supremacy for Zion found in Mic 4:1–4 (4:1–3//Isa 2:2–4), likely dates (at the earliest) from the Babylonian period.[47] Like the Ezekiel materials (e.g., Ezek 34:1–31; 37:24–28), these latter chapters of Micah also contain a promise of a future king (Mic 5:1, 3–5), a promise now incorporated into the stretch of sixth-century material with yet another (enigmatic, exilic-sounding) oracle about lady Zion (5:2) and accompanied by other likely Babylonian-period

43. See, for example, the proposals in Ronald E. Clements, "Prophecies of Isaiah and the Fall of Jerusalem," *VT* (1980): 421–36.

44. James Nogalski, *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 217 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 278–80; idem., *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve*, BZAW 218 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 274–75; Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 207–11.

45. For a survey of earlier literature and discussion, see Nogalski, *Literary Precursors*, 84–89.

46. Robert K. Lifton, "Understanding the Traumatized Self: Imagery, Symbolization, and Transformation," in *Human Adaptation to Extreme Stress: From the Holocaust to Viet Nam*, ed. John P. Wilson, Zev Harel, and Boaz Kahana (New York: Plenum, 1988), 8–9.

47. Marvin Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition*, BZAW 171 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 165–74.

(or later) images of the revenge of the "remnant" of Jacob and purification of the land of idolatry (Mic 5:6–14). Earlier in the book, we see yet more probable Babylonian-period material in the promise of in-gathering of the "remnant" and coming of a king in Mic 2:12–13.[48] And this sort of revision is hardly confined to Micah. Its closest analogy is the collection of promises to lady Zion, including revenge against the nations, restoration of the "remnant," and in-gathering of the lame, etc. (Zeph 3:19; cf. Mic 4:6) added as another "on that day" oracle at the very end of Zephaniah (Zeph 3:11–20). The book of Amos likewise concludes with an "on that day" oracle featuring visions of renewed royal leadership, vengeance against Edom, and people enjoying the produce of their own vineyards (Amos 9:11–15; cf. Mic 4:4), which is likely dated to the Babylonian period. In addition, the apparent appendage of a saying in Amos 5:25–27 that mentions exile along with Babylonian deities is a good candidate to be an exilic-period insertion into the book. Specifically exilic additions to Hosea are more difficult to identify and may be less common.

Finally, the book of Habakkuk, though likely formed in large part of materials originating at the very close of the pre-exilic period, has enough resonances with exilic themes to suggest that it was shaped in part during the exile. In concert with the protests against divine justice already documented in Lamentations (and caricatured in Ezekiel's disputation speeches), the prophetic voice here confronts Yhwh over allowing foreign nations to perpetrate wrong against Judah (Hab 1:2–4, 12–17; 2:1). Yet in this case, he receives a divine answer that exhorts its audience to wait patiently and announces the ultimate downfall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire through inverting terms of its own imperial ideology.[49] This includes the sort of mockery of idols (Hab 2:18–19) seen also in Second Isaiah, and the wish of revenge (2:8–13, 15–17) seen throughout exilic traditions.

The further we proceed in this investigation, the more apparent it becomes that the exile was a time of significant collection and reformulation of earlier traditions: an exilic pro-royal collection of Psalms (and pre-exilic psalm materials in Psalm 89 and others);[50] a pre-exilic history of the monarchy (Samuel-Kings) and possibly other materials (e.g., exilically retouched Deuteronomy); and the oracles of Jeremiah and Isaiah and collection and revision of the "four prophets" (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah) and Habakkuk. Generally, the exile was but one important stage in the formulation of these traditions, with scribes continuing to shape them into the Persian and even Hellenistic periods. Moreover, in many cases, we can discern only approximately the extent of exilic reshaping of tradition, especially given the often fluid character of transmission and the prominence of the exile as a theme in post-exilic literature as well. All that said, however, it still seems

48. Note the shepherd imagery in Mic 2:12aβ, which is close to that seen in a number of texts associated with the exile: Ps 44:12 [ET 44:11]; 74:1; 79:13; Isa 40:9–11; 63:11; Ezek 34:23–31.

49. Vanderhooft, *Neo-Babylonian Empire and Prophets*, 152–63.

50. Christoph Rösel, *Die messianische Redaktion des Psalters: Studien zu Entstehung und Theologie der Sammlung Psalm 2–89**, Calwer theologische Monographien A19 (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1999), 36, 82–85; Marko Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms: A Study of the Redaction History of the Psalter*, FAT 13. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 196–97.

clear that the profile of exilic concerns and themes initially built from work with probable sixth-century lamentation literature, exilic prophets, and exilic royal material is manifest across major parts of the Hebrew Bible.

One major test of any such hypothesis is the exploration of whether it is unprovable, and there are parts of the Hebrew Bible that lack many elements of the above-discussed profile. For example, I do not see clear signs of exilic preoccupations in the books of Proverbs or Song of Songs. In later chapters, this lack—admittedly an argument from silence—will be one among several indicators of the possible pre-exilic origins of substantial portions of these works. For the time being, however, it is enough merely to note that at least these books in the Hebrew Bible show few clear signs of shaping in the exile.

■ CONCLUSION

The starting point of this chapter was a reflection on the collective trauma of exile, and this conclusion begins there, too: the experience of disaster of the destruction of Jerusalem, its explanation, and hopes for restoration of Jerusalem and its kingship. This was a trauma experienced on multiple levels: not just bricks and mortar or forced relocation, but shame—including and particularly the perceived taunting of the nations, both of Israel and its God. Also, though there seems to be some debate about this early on, there was a growing solidification of self-blame (sometimes linked to sins of "the fathers" of the wilderness generation) typical of trauma (both individual and collective) that can shade into despair about a future. Later exilic traditions seem aimed to answer this threatened despair with stratagems to ground hope: Yhwh's promises of restoration for the sake of Yhweh's "name" (not any virtue on the part of Israel), announcement that Yhwh is giving Israel a new "heart" (or writing on the heart) so that virtue was not required, a proclamation that Jerusalem's prison sentence is ended, etc. In addition, authors grounded hope for the future in the distant past (thus reaching before the recent history of perceived failure), especially remembrances of the Reed Sea, but also—with time—memories of ancestors: Abraham, Sarah, Israel. Though there is clear regret in lamentation literature about the loss of the monarchy (and blame of leaders for this loss) and some hope for restoration of the monarchy in Ezekiel, the exilic material of Micah and Amos, Psalms, and the exilic edition of Kings, we see exilic Jeremiah materials reject a future for the Davidic kingship, and Second Isaiah in the 550s or 540s seems to suggest a reappropriation of monarchal motifs for nonmonarchal figures (the people and Cyrus). Such reappropriation of state structures to nonstate figures was, I suggested at the outset of this chapter, typical of people in prolonged diasporic situations. Finally, we see a focus on revenge on other nations, especially Edom and Babylon in the materials discussed in this chapter, with a trend in some traditions to anticipate infliction on those nations of the parody, mocking, and taunting that those nations once inflicted on Judah (e.g., Tower of Babel story, Isaiah 14, Second Isaiah).

One thing we do not see much of in these more clearly exilic traditions is detailed appropriation and interaction with Mesopotamian traditions. Machinist and Vanderhooft have found some possible reflections of Neo-Babylonian dis-

courses in Second Isaiah.[51] Nevertheless, the bulk of probable exilic texts in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ezekiel, clearly exilic portions of Deuteronomy and Kings, Psalm 89) are not distinguished by an unusually high level of apparent influence by Mesopotamian, especially Babylonian, traditions. Some scholars have posited that the Babylonian exile would have been a likely time for Judean contact with Babylonian textual traditions, but that thesis is not well supported by the evidence surveyed so far. Rather, it appears that the next period to be discussed, especially the extended time of domination by the Neo-Assyrian Empire, is a better candidate for textual contact.

In contrast to the Neo-Assyrian period, the impact of Mesopotamia on Judean textuality in the mid-sixth century was that of destruction of past state structures, forced relocation, and other traumas related to the devastation of Jerusalem and Judah in the early sixth century. These wounds inflicted on the collective psyche of Judah, particularly via the returnee community(s) that would later dominate Hebrew literary textuality in the Persian period, were processed in various ways through the collection and revision of earlier writings and traditions. To some extent, the impact is evident in absence, for example, the lack of production of many materials specifically about the experience of exile or attributed to figures originating there. To some extent, the impact is evident in direct processing of the traumatic events leading up to and surrounding Jerusalem's fall, and specific visions of Jerusalem's restoration and the restoration of the monarchy or a substitute for it. And to some extent, the impact is evident in a move toward ever-greater focus on an earlier period in the community's history, for example, the exodus or ancestral period, which could be seen to ground hope for Yhwh's restoration of the people, however deep their perceived misdeeds. So far I have traced examples of this latter move toward earlier memory in more clearly exilic traditions, such as exilic laments and Second Isaiah. In the next chapter, I turn to see how such moves in the exile and immediately following it may be evident in Judah's literature that retells its pre-monarchal history, the books of Genesis through Judges.

51. Vanderhooft, *Neo-Babylonian Empire and Prophets*, 169–88; Peter Machinist, "Mesopotamian Imperialism and Israelite Religion: A Case Study from the Second Isaiah," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age Through Roman Palestina*, ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 237–64. In addition, Vanderhooft (pp. 152–63) sees some refractions of Neo-Babylonian royal ideology in Habakkuk.

9 Bible for Exiles

The Reshaping of Stories About Israel's Earliest History

The previous chapter affirmed that the Babylonian exile was a time of increasing focus on the pre-monarchal origins of Israel. This does not mean that traditions about Israel's earliest origins were created then. Future chapters will discuss various indicators that suggest pre-exilic origins for a number of P and non-P traditions about creation, ancestors, and the exodus-wilderness. Nevertheless, it appears that the exile was an important time for the focus on, collection, and reshaping of those traditions as different groups of exiles sought a pre-monarchal orientation point to overcome the disastrous end point of the monarchal history.

One concrete illustration of the move toward memory of early traditions amidst Judean exiles is a comparison of the function of Abraham traditions in the (ostensively) early exilic disputation of Ezek 33:24–29 on the one hand and the (probable) late exilic promise in Isa 51:1–3 on the other. In Ezek 33:24–29 the prophet is depicted as rejecting those back in the land who claim "Abraham was only one, and he took possession (ירש) of the land, we are many, the land is given to us as an inheritance" (33:24). The prophet goes on to quote a Yhwh speech indicting them for their misdeeds and swearing to make the land desolate on their account (33:25–29). Apparently a few decades later, Second Isaiah opens one of his promises of restoration of Zion with a divine call for the audience to "look to Abraham your father and Sarah who birthed you. He was but one when I [Yhwh] called him, and I blessed him and multiplied him" (51:2). Amidst their various differences, these texts offer divergent interpretations of the significance of Yhwh's past promises to Abraham as but "one" person. Whereas Ezekiel rejects claims by those in the land based on Abraham's past inheritance of the land, Second Isaiah encourages his late exilic audience to have faith in Zion's future restoration because of Yhwh's blessing and multiplication of Abraham. And, indeed, this is but one example where promises in Second Isaiah draw on past traditions about ancestors, exodus, and/or wilderness to buttress promises of restoration for exiles. If we are to take these admittedly distinctive texts in Second Isaiah as a reflection of broader developments in the exile, something that is supported somewhat by ways that such traditions are used in other likely exilic texts (e.g., laments), it would appear that stories about Israel's earliest history (ancestors, exodus, wilderness) became increasingly important as a basis for hope amidst exiles who doubted Yhwh's intent to resettle them in the land and restore them as a people.

This focus on the more distant past roughly corresponds to trends found in anthropological studies of people who have undergone forced migration and other collective traumas. Rather than thinking or speaking directly about the experiences of living in diaspora, contemporary immigrants and/or refugees often live in a memorialized past, filled, as suggested by Knudsen in *Mistrusting Refugees*, with

"still life images refusing to yield."[1] Knudsen notes in work with Vietnamese refugees how middle- and upper-class refugees in particular—that is, refugees whose social status would correspond most to that of the elite exiled Judeans—were particularly focused on establishing their identity in diaspora based on identities from the past—as doctors, professors, government officials, etc. As he puts it, by securing "a positive feeling of self ('who I am') through identity management, the individual often tries to negotiate on the basis of past, now lost positions ('who I was') rather than present positions ('who I have become'). Central to these processes of negotiation, as well as the disputes arising from them, is the strategic presentation of self through life histories."[2] Thus, refugees could speak of the past, indeed wanted to speak a lot about it. Nevertheless, Knudsen writes, "When events of the [more recent] past are recalled, whether from Vietnam, the flight, or the camp, they are recounted in very general terms, told in detached or depersonalized ways, with the most painful episodes skimmed over."[3] This sort of selective, generalized memory is a common theme in studies of people who have undergone the traumatic dislocations of forced migration.[4] In the uncertain context of refugee camps and/or life in diaspora, the identities and events of the more distant past become ever more important, now transformed into the basis for fragile identity building in a hostile environment. These assertions of memory are aimed at undermining the dislocations in social position and identity formation that dominate the diaspora present.

Though frequently focused on the more distant past, diaspora communities also often focus on an anticipated future, more particularly a hoped for return to the land from which they have been displaced. For example, in an essay on "transforming trust," Julie M. Peteet notes that Palestinian refugees in camps in Lebanon preferred to refer to themselves as *returners* rather than refugees.[5] Return, Peteet asserts, is a crucial part of the exile's narrative. Similarly, a distinguishing feature of the prophecy dated to the exile in the previous chapter is a focus on the prospect of return, both the visions of restoration in the post-587 prophecies of Ezekiel and the yet more vivid images of return and restoration found in Second Isaiah. These vivid images of return do not, in these cases, necessarily indicate a date already in the post-exilic period, but instead the vivid hope of diaspora Jews for an end to their exile.

Stretched between a distant past and an unrealized future, people living in diaspora often are prone toward dichotomization of their social relationships into "us" and "them." For example, the Vietnamese refugees studied by Knudsen faced an

1. John Chr. Knudson, "When Trust Is on Trial: Negotiating Refugee Narratives," in *Mistrusting Refugees*, ed. E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 19.

2. "Trust on Trial," 25.

3. "Trust on Trial," 25.

4. Even an overview that emphasizes the presence of memory, such as McNally, notes that generalized memory is typical for those suffering from PTSD and related syndromes (*Remembering Trauma* [Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003], 130–34).

5. Julie M. Peteet, "Transforming Trust: Dispossession and Empowerment among Palestinian Refugees," in *Mistrusting Refugees*, ed. E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 177.

incredibly fraught, shifting, and unpredictable social world from the time they boarded a boat carrying them illegally to a neighboring shore to the series of refugee camps in which they stayed on the way to hoped-for asylum in the United States or another country. Where such people might once have lived amidst a more porous and overlapping set of expanding set of social circles defining near and far social relations, they now were thrown into a context where the only constant social relations were those that defined them more generally as Vietnamese and those that defined the not-Vietnamese nations, aid agencies, etc. with whom they had to work.[6] In an evocative statement of this process in relation to the creation of Cambodianness in the United States, Mortland, says, "Exile creates not only homelessness, thus refugeeness, it creates ethnicity, for it is exile that allows, rather forces, a group to see 'difference'…, to see 'others.'"[7]

This process relates to a broader tendency toward enhanced nationalism among forcibly dislocated peoples. In particular, studies of Palestinian refugees have documented how refugee camps for Palestinians have proven fertile grounds for the growth of extremely nationalist elements. Rather than allowing the displaced individuals to disperse into the broader culture, such camps concentrate a vulnerable and frustrated population in one place. Thus concentrated, they are particularly attracted to ideological options that conform to the "us" versus foreign "them" mentality already encouraged by the experience of traumatic forced dislocation. Nationalism becomes an emphatic articulation of their shared identity in a hostile foreign context. In the absence of land, they hold ever tighter onto the idea of land. In the absence of power, they hold that much tighter onto dreams of power. The camp is a place of purity of suffering and nationalist identity, while people outside that experience are polluted by contact with the outside world. Within that culturally protected space, Palestinian refugees built an ever more essentialized picture of their common past, the "days of paradise" that orients their hope for a brighter future.[8]

Judean exiles did not live in refugee camps, but they do seem to have been settled together, in Ezekiel's Tel-Aviv or the "city of Judah" that appears in some recently published Babylonian legal documents.[9] Such settlements provided an important context for Judean exiles to cultivate a like sense of nationalist identity and a shared sense of a common past. Judging from the biblical record, the common narrative that they developed was hardly the days of paradise, but instead was an articulation both of their sense of guilt for their present predicament and a grounding of their hope for eventual restoration of the land.

6. Knudson, "Trust on Trial," 21.

7. Carol A. Mortland, "Cambodian Refugees and Identity in the United States," in *Reconstructing Lives, Recapturing Meaning: Refugee Identity, Gender, and Culture Change*, ed. Linda A. Camino and Ruth M. Krulfeld (: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 8.

8. Peteet, "Transforming Trust," 179–81. Note also the focus on hope in Muhammad Siddiq, "On Ropes of Memory: Narrating the Palestinian Refugees," in *Mistrusting Refugees*, ed. E. Valentine Daniel and John Chr. Knudsen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 87–101.

9. Preliminarily, see Laurie Pearce, "New Evidence for Judeans in Babylon," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period*, ed. Oded Lipschitz and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 399–412, especially pp. 400–403.

Biblical texts, of course, do not constitute the sorts of transcripts collected by anthropologists interviewing refugees and others who have experienced trauma. Rather, the narrative texts of the Hebrew Bible are stylized literary documents aimed at shaping the collective memory of a group of people, both exiles and future generations. Nevertheless, I suggest that these findings from anthropological studies of people who have experienced collective trauma, particularly the trauma of forced relocation of the sort experienced by Judean exiles, can help us more reliably identify exilic features in texts discussing other topics altogether. For example, we will see a particular stress in texts discussed in this chapter on Israel's divinely ordained dispossession of the Canaanites and prohibitions of intermarriage with them, themes that cohere with the above-discussed tendencies among traumatized groups toward us/them social mapping and nationalism. Their focus on threatened ultimate disaster and on processing ancient communal guilt conforms well to previously discussed tendencies of traumatized individuals and communities to struggle with memories of "failed enactment" and find a way to put their suffering in a meaningful frame of reference. And just as the central challenge faced by many diaspora communities is the struggle to reproduce their distinctive culture in a foreign context where their children can be influenced by alien elements, so also texts treated in this chapter build on earlier Deuteronomic precedents in emphasizing the central task of teaching the next generation, in part enforcing fidelity to the past through the use of the very narratives about the past being joined together and reshaped through (probable exilic) additions.

To anticipate, this chapter focuses on two apparent crystallizations of these trends found now in the first six books of the Hebrew Bible: the previously mentioned non-P Hexateuch, and an originally separate Priestly document extending at least through the end of Exodus. The particular thesis advanced here regarding the non-P Hexateuch has a number of new elements that require extended argument, and that will be the focus of the bulk of the following section. Once the scope, basic character, and proposed dating of that document have been discussed, I will turn to briefer discussion of two blocks of material that likely post-date it: an extension of the post-D Hexateuchal narrative through the creation of a book of Judges on the one hand and a counterwriting of the post-D narrative through the creation of an originally separate Priestly document on the other. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the scope and potential exilic character of some of the materials presupposed in the non-P and P compositions.

■ THE NON-P HEXATEUCH

The starting point for this discussion must be an argument for the existence of a non-P Hexateuch embedded in what are now the books of Genesis-Joshua in the Hebrew Bible. The contours of non-P material in these chapters already have been established by prior studies and will not be rehearsed here. What has not been established by previous studies, and is particularly under debate in recent years, is the existence of a pre-Priestly composition extending from Genesis through the Moses story and beyond. The groundwork for the following argument was built to a limited extent in Chapter 4, where I critiqued recent arguments for

the *post*-Priestly character of some key texts to be discussed below. In addition, I noted there that we do not have documented cases of growth involving multiple stages of substantial revision/conflation (multiple and complex cases of micro-revision are quite evident). This would be a prima facie reason to prefer relatively simple hypotheses regarding the growth of biblical books and avoid hypotheses positing scores of layers of addition and conflation. The following set of hypotheses still allows for plenty of complexity, but also involves an attempt toward elegant simplicity in place of what I argue to be (transmission-historically) implausible complexity.

The Scope and Characteristics of the Post-D Hexateuchal Compositional Layer

The starting point for this argument actually is a disjunction between these books that appears to have been a major prompt for later harmonizers and coordinators—that is, the set of conflicts and partial agreements between the reviews of prior events in Deuteronomy (especially 1–3 and 9–10) and the narrations of (some of) those events in the non-P portions of Exodus and Numbers. Since Noth, most scholars have recognized that the historical reviews in Deuteronomy, especially in Deuteronomy 1–3, would not be typical of a document that was preceded by the texts it surveys. Originally, Deuteronomy 1 and the books that followed marked the beginning of a new composition.[10]

Now, however, Deuteronomy *continues* a narrative begun in the books of Genesis-Numbers. Thus, we can posit a distinction between a time when the materials in the Tetrateuch presupposed by Deuteronomy were not followed by that book, and a time when they were. Correspondingly, we can distinguish between a time when Deuteronomy was conceived as the beginning of a separate work, and a time when it was seen as a continuation of what precedes. This has implications

10. On this, see particularly Erhard Blum, "Pentateuch-Hexateuch-Enneateuch? Oder: Woran erkennt man ein literarischer Werk in der Hebräischen Bibel?" in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque*, ed. Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2007), 67–97, building on earlier classic observations by Wellhausen (Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexatuechs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed. [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963 [orig. 1876]], 193) and others. Kratz ("Die literarische Ort des Deuteronomiums," in *Liebe und Gebot: Studien zum Deuteronomium*, ed. Reinhard Kratz and Hermann Spieckermann [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 101–20 [especially p. 109]) and Schmid (*Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments*, WMANT 81 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999], 34–37 [ET 29–32]) have argued on various grounds that Deuteronomy 1–3 was written from the outset as a *continuation* of what precedes. Kratz especially notes the fact that the review in Deuteronomy 1–3 is set in the plains of Moab, precisely where the preceding narrative left off (Num 22:1; 25:1; 27:12–13a). Nevertheless, in view of the normal striving toward coherence on the part of editors and later harmonizing copyists, it should be no surprise that our present Numbers-Deuteronomy narrative is constructed in such a way that the itineraries concluding Numbers and the setting of Deuteronomy 1 are compatible. Schmid mainly focuses on the fact that Deuteronomy 1–3 presupposes readerly knowledge of some form of the preceding events, yet, as Blum points out ("Woran erkennt?" 90–93), this is not the same thing as being part of the same literary work.

for how elements of Deuteronomy were read in relation to the preceding and originally separate Tetrateuchal narratives. Originally, the reviews in Deuteronomy stood as highly theological, often selective re-presentations of Israel's prior history, with little attempt to correspond precisely to the referred-to events as narrative in whatever sources the author(s) had. Nevertheless, when Deuteronomy was taken as a continuation of the preceding narratives, a problem was created by disagreements between those preceding narratives and the reviews in Deuteronomy. Particularly problematic were cases where the theological reviews in Deuteronomy mentioned events or parts of events that were not present in the pre-D materials of the Tetrateuch. Narrative logic allowed that Moses would not necessarily review absolutely everything that came before, but issues could be created where the Moses of Deuteronomy appeared to be talking about things that had not happened.

As we will see in what follows, this disjunction appears to have been *one* main prompt for the modification of both Deuteronomy and its Tetrateuchal precursors. Moreover, further examination of these modifications will show that they are part of a broader *compositional* layer that did not just conflate Deuteronomy with non-P materials in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, but created a compositional whole concluding in Joshua. Thus, the starting point for this chapter is a study of the sorts of scribal coordination of one set of texts (non-P materials in the Tetrateuch) with another (Deuteronomy) that is so well documented in the Ancient Near East. A study of these secondary coordinations of non-P Tetrateuchal materials with each other then will serve as an entry point into study of a hypothesized broader compositional layer that created the first non-P Hexateuch.

I begin with the frequent occurrence in Deuteronomy (and Joshua) of back-references to a "promise of the land by oath to the fathers" (e.g. Deut 1:8, 35; 4:21; and many others), at least some of which probably originate in relatively early levels of the tradition. Whether one sees these texts as originally referring back to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob or not, a problem would have been created when the ancestral narratives found now in Genesis were included in a document including Deuteronomy-Joshua. For it appears that those non-P ancestral narratives of Genesis, despite their inclusion of a theme of promise of land to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, did not originally formulate that as an *oath* promise of the sort referred to in Deuteronomy-Joshua. This idea is only introduced secondarily into Genesis by the covenant narrative in Gen 15:(1–6)7–21* (with an oath implied in the concept of ברית in 15:18), and then picked up by expansions of the story of Abraham's (almost) sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22:15–18) and the speech to Isaac in Gen 26:3bβ-5, the late narrative about avoidance of intermarriage in Gen 24:7, and the transitional speech by Joseph in Gen 50:24–25.[11] Through these additions, the

11. See Erhard Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), 362–83 (also idem., "Die literarische Verbindung von Erzvätern und Exodus. Ein Gespräch mit neueren Endredaktionshypothesen," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, BZAW 315 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002], 141, note 101) on how Genesis 15 can serve as the anchor point for later references to Yhwh's "oath" promise to Abraham and other ancestors, irrespective of whether or not such oath promises originally had Genesis 15 in view. Schmid critiques this hypothesis (*Erzväter und Exodus*, 295–96 [ET 275–76]) mainly on the basis of his own (and others')

Genesis 12–50 stories, which already featured various promise speeches, now feature a "promise of the land by oath" later referred to so frequently throughout Deuteronomy (Deut 1:8, 35; 6:10, 18, 23; 7:12–13; 8:1; 9:5; 10:11; 11:9, 21 [note the oath of multiplication in 13:18 and to be a people in 29:12]; 19:8; 26:3, 15; 30:20; 31:7; 20–23; 34:4) *and* Joshua (Josh 1:6; 14:9; 21:43–44) but no further (except for Judg 2:1; on this, see below). Similarly, the oath promise of multiplication featured in Gen 22:16–17a along with the promises of Gen 15:1–6 provides an anchor point for the isolated reference to God's oath of multiplication in Deut 13:18. Indeed, several of these secondary texts (Gen 15:5; 22:17; and 26:4) feature promises that Israel will be as numerous as the "stars in heaven" and/or the "sand on the seashore" that point forward to promises in Deuteronomy that the people will be as numerous "as the stars in the sky" (Deut 1:10; 10:22; note also Deut 28:62) and the conquest of the land in Joshua by people "as numerous as the sand on the sea" (Josh 11:4). Finally, Genesis 15; 22:15–18 and 26:3bβγ-5 are distinguished from other promises in Genesis in adding a D-like emphasis on God's provision for Abraham *because of his obedience*, an emphasis also seen in the reference to Abraham teaching righteousness to his children in the doubled

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questionable post-Priestly dating of biblical texts that Blum uses to show the equivalence of "oath" and "covenant" (Deut 4:31; 7:12; 8:18; Judg 2:1), along with the contrast between the focus in later references on "the fathers" or all three patriarchs and the focus in Genesis 15 (and related texts in 22:15–18; 26:3b-5; but cf. 50:24) on Abraham alone. Nevertheless, the association of oath and covenant is part of the more general cultural background of ancient Israel and not specific only to such passages. Furthermore, the secondary passages surveyed here (Gen 22:15–18; 26:3bβ-5; 50:24) actually do narrate Yhwh's sworn transmission of Yhwh's promises of multiplication and land/conquest to Isaac (Gen 22:15–18; 26:3b-5) and Jacob (Gen 50:24), even if they do not focus as much on the latter two patriarchs as Schmid would like them to.

Furthermore, though Schmid follows others in taking Genesis 15 and the texts that Blum cites (Deut 4:31; 7:12; 8:18; Judg 2:1) as post-Priestly, the grounds for this assignment of Genesis 15 to a post-Priestly layer are weak, such as the possible link to the Priestly chronology of 430 years until Exodus in the prediction of 400 years of exile in Gen 15:13 and the occurrence of the words רכוש in 15:14 and שבה טובה in 15:15. Though רכוש is particularly frequent in late texts, such an isolated word bears no specific link to Priestly ideology and is an insecure basis on which to base literary decisions. The expression שיבה טובה occurs once in P (Gen 25:8), but also in a non-P context (Judg 8:32) and seems to be a standard expression for death at a ripe old age. And the chronology can be interpreted either way, as built on the Priestly chronology or disagreeing with and yet partially anticipating that chronology. In either case, all of these features occur in material marked as potentially secondary by the repetition of themes seen in 15:12 and 15:17a.

One other reason for supposing that Genesis 15 is post-Priestly is its connection in the present text with Genesis 14, a text whose supposed post-Priestly character was questioned in Chapter 4 (especially p. 137, note 83) and even if Genesis 14 were taken to be post-Priestly, Genesis 15 shows signs toward its outset of secondary revision (e.g., the contrast between 15:1a and 5; doubling in 15:2/3) that might point to a secondary link to Genesis 14 (Blum, "Verbindung," 143).

Finally, supposing that Genesis 15 is post-Priestly, this would suggest a convoluted history to the counterparts to the Priestly covenant (Genesis 17), where that text was preceded by a non-Priestly account of child-announcement (Gen 18:1–16//Gen 17:15–17) and then followed by a post-Priestly covenant narrative that duplicated many of P's promises within the same narrative context (Gen 15// Gen 17:1–14). Much simpler and, in my view, more compelling is a model that posits both Gen 15 (or most of it) and 18:1–16 as part of a pre-Priestly document that Genesis 17 and other parts of P originally were designed to replace (hence, the duplications).

explanation of God's decision to inform him about Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:19; cf. 18:17–18 and Deut 6:7, 20–25; 11:19).[12]

It would be a mistake, however, to understand these additions purely as harmonizations of Genesis 12–50 with Deuteronomy (and Joshua). After all, Deuteronomy grounds God's grace toward Israel *not* in Abraham's obedience, but in the obedience of each generation standing before God. Moreover, Deuteronomy does *not* feature an emphasis on belief, corresponding to that seen in Gen 15:6, nor does it speak specifically of a covenant with Abraham along the lines of Gen 15:7–21. In these ways and others, additions such as Gen 15; 18:19; 22:15–18; 26:3bβγ-5; 50:24–25 and related texts (e.g., 28:21b; Gen 32:10–13 [ET 32:9–12]) enrich their narrative contexts in Genesis 12–50 with theological elements that are informed by, but often go beyond similar elements seen in Deuteronomy and Joshua.[13] So enriched, the non-P ancestral narrative of Genesis 12–50 now anticipates multiple elements of Deuteronomy and Joshua (e.g., wording of the multiplication promise [15:5; 22:17; and 26:4], the child instruction motif in 18:19, the Jordan threshold in Gen 32:11 [ET 32:10] as in Deut 3:27; 31:2; Josh 1:2, 11) even as it diverges from Deuteronomy (and Joshua) in important respects. The secondary layer of additions to Genesis 12–50 is part of a post-D Hexateuchal compositional layer, informed by, *yet distinct from* properly D materials, expanding Genesis 12–50 into a theologically-charged, numinous prelude to the quite limited references to ancestors in Deuteronomy and Joshua.

We find far less evidence of such intervention in the non-P primeval history materials. Of course, this portion of Genesis does not correspond to *any* survey in Deuteronomy-Joshua, so there would be less of a prompt to coordinate parts of Genesis 1–11 with those books. And, there is little in Genesis 1–11 that can connect concretely with the oath promise to the ancestors so central in the post-D insertions to non-P material in Genesis 12–50. Nevertheless, we see some evidence of the same hand at work in the secondary expansion of the list of descendants of Canaan in Gen 10:15 to include a list of nations that will be dispossessed in Joshua (Gen 10:16–18a), a list corresponding in general contents to Gen 15:19–21 and likewise providing an early anticipation of the conquest in Joshua. Another potential example of the work of this author may be the redirection of the post-flood Noah curse from Ham to Canaan (Gen 9:25–26), again providing a primeval precedent for promises of conquest and domination that come later. Together, the (redirected) curse of Canaan (9:25–26) and anticipatory list of Canaanite nations to be dispossessed (10:16–18a) provide a primeval anticipation of the oath promise of their lands to Abraham and his descendants (added to Genesis 12-50), and both show the orientation of this layer of composition not just to Deuteronomy, but also to conquest and dispossession in Joshua.

12. Note also how the list of dispossessed peoples tacked on to the conclusion of Genesis 15 (15:19–21) anticipates similar lists in Deuteronomy (Deut 7:1; 20:17) and the dispossession of these peoples in Joshua (Josh 3:10; 5:1; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 17:15; 24:11; note also 13:4, 10, 21*).

13. For a discussion of Gen 28:21b and 32:10–13 (ET 32:9–12), see David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 169–70.

In contrast to the non-P primeval history, we see far more evidence of such secondary intervention in the non-P Moses story, again parallel to the corresponding greater focus in Deuteronomy and Joshua on events in the Moses story. At some points we can trace a fairly simple process of harmonization of the Tetrateuchal Moses story with materials in Deuteronomy. For example, there is evidence in Num 21:21–35 that a pre-D narrative about Sihon in Num 21:21–32 that agrees in overall substance with Deut 2:26–37 (but with limited verbal overlap with its Deuteronomistic counterpart) has been secondarily supplemented with an additional narrative about Og in Num 21:33–35, with *extensive* verbatim parallels to its counterpart in Deut 3:1–7. The hypothesis that Num 21:33–35 is a harmonizing insertion of material from Deut 3:1–3 into Numbers would explain the much larger amount of verbal agreement between Num 21:33–35 and Deut 3:1–3 when compared to the more approximate links between Tetrateuchal materials and Deut 2:21–32 (and other pericopes). The prompt for such an insertion of material from Deut 3:1–3 just after the narrative about Sihon in Num 21:21–32 would have been to produce a *pair* of narratives in Num 21:21–35 about the conquest of Sihon and Og that could anchor the back-reference to both these conquests in Deut 2:26–3:7 and the repeated mention of these two Amorite kings together elsewhere in Deuteronomy (Deut 1:4; 4:46–47; 29:6; 31:4).[14] It would represent a fairly mechanical, non-theological form of harmonization.[15]

In other cases, texts that coordinate Deuteronomy with its Tetrateuchal precursors add new theological accents to their contexts, some of which link to accents seen in the coordinating texts added to non-P material of Genesis. For example, there has long been agreement that Exodus 32 originally moved from (some form of) the divine command for Moses to descend in Exod 32:7–8 to Moses's execution of that command and subsequent interactions with the people and God in 32:15ff. This narrative has been enriched through an addition that encompasses (at least) Exod 32:10–14 and that features an interaction around divine mercy (32:11–14) which is not presupposed later in the chapter (32:30–35).[16] The

14. Erhard Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 127–28.

15. An additional example might be the secondary harmonization of a pre-D (seven-part?) version of the Ten Commandments with its Deuteronomic counterpart, such as posited in Erhard Blum, "The Decalogue and the Composition History of the Pentateuch" in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch Schwartz, FAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 289–98.

16. For a useful survey of various arguments for the secondary character of this material, see Suzanne Boorer, *The Promise of the Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch*, BZAW 205 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 262–66, which however includes 32:7–8 as part of the insertion. This is based partly on the idea that the divine announcement of the people's misdeed here contradicts Moses's outrage at seeing the misdeed in 32:19 and partly on identification of Deuteronomistic language concentrated in 32:8. Nevertheless, there are no indicators that Exod 32:7–8 as a whole is secondary and it helps introduce Moses's descent in 32:15. Moreover, the delayed anger of Moses in 32:19 is not a decisive indicator. As Brevard Childs points out (*The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*, OTL [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974], 559; note also Blum, *Studien*, 73, note 125), there are numerous parallels to the delayed outburst of anger seen here (Childs cites Num 12:2, 9), and the narrative follows a typical pattern of contrasting scenes. Though the divine speech features Deuteronomistic language, especially in 32:8, and may have been enriched with such, much

precursor and model for this addition appear to be portions of the Deuteronomic review of disobedience at Sinai in Deut 9:8–21, 25–29, a review that—in keeping with its general theme (9:8)—opened with a focus on the idea that Yhwh wished to destroy Israel because of the golden calf (Deut 9:13–14) and then included both a general description of Moses's intercession on Israel's behalf on the mountain (Deut 9:18–19) and a quote of Moses's prayer (Deut 9:25–29). The secondary material in Exod 32:(8*)10–14 adds a parallel to many of these materials into the pre-D narrative. The inserted speech of Moses in Exod 32:11–13 adapts the report of Moses's intercessory prayer given later in Deut 9:25–29 so that Moses's speech now climaxes with the oath promise of multiplication and land (Exod 32:13) that was seen in the above-discussed additions to Genesis (Genesis 15; 22:15–18; 26:3bβγ-5; 50:24).[17] Without this material, the pre-D narrative in Exodus 32 would

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of the command to descend in 32:7, including God's acceptance of the people's previous claim that Moses was the one to bring them out of Egypt (32:7bβ; cf. 32:1bβ), probably was part of the pre-D narrative. As Jan Gertz observes ("Beobachtungen zu Komposition und Redaktion in Exodus 32–34," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, Vol. 18, ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum, Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie [Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001], 99), Deut 9:12 (//Exod 32:7) deviates from other such formulations in Deuteronomy in taking up this alteration of the exodus formula (so Moses is subject) that is at home in Exod 32:1–7 and the following narrative (albeit with a modification of the original העלה of Exod 32:1b, 7b to the more typical Deuteronomistic יצא [H-stem]). This blind motif in Deut 9:12 is an indicator that Deuteronomy is dependent on the Exodus story (32:7) at this point, rather than the reverse. Perhaps this initial command in Exodus was enriched with the addition of 32:8 as part of the broader harmonization of this part of the story with elements from Deut 9:12b-14. This enrichment would have produced more of a contrast between 32:(7-)8 and the anger of Moses in 32:19, since it is only in 32:8 that Moses hears exactly what the people have done. Previously, the narrative would have moved from Yhwh's command to descend because the people have "acted wrongly" (32:7 שחת) to Moses's discovery of what they actually did (32:19a).

17. Cf. Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, FAT 68 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 162, which insists that the second speech introduction in Deut 9:13 (supposedly appropriating that in Exod 32:9) proves that Exod 32:7–8, 9–14 was a unit prior to its adaptation by D. As discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 103–4), Exod 32:9 is absent in the LXX and this exact equivalent to Deut 9:13 (even including the doubled speech introduction) is a probable harmonization of that portion of Exodus with its Deuteronomic parallel.

Note, though, that although Gertz argues the speech would flow more smoothly and be better balanced if 32:13 was eliminated as a secondary addition to the speech ("Exodus 32–34," 96), there are no clear indicators of seams to justify seeing any insertion here. Moreover, Exod 32:13 represents an appropriation and expansion of Deut 9:27a, much as other parts of Exod 32:(8)9–14 represent similar such appropriations of other parts of the review in Deuteronomy 9–10.

Boorer's treatment is the most extensive attempt to establish that the relationship of dependence is the reverse, with Exod 32:(7–8)9–14 dependent on corresponding materials in Deuteronomy 9–10*, representing a movement "from incoherent to coherent, illogical to logical or from concrete story to abstract theological statement." A closer examination, however, establishes that many of Boorer's arguments actually do not pertain to Exod 32:7–14 (e.g., the forty days and nights theme on 307–308; more such arguments on pp. 309–10, 313, 317–20). Other observations by Boorer are easily turned into arguments for the dependence of Exod 32:8, 10–14 on Deuteronomy, rather than the reverse. For example, Boorer argues that the materials in Deuteronomy 9–10 contain a number of absences and abbreviations compared to material in Exodus 32, all features which she sees as indicators of the dependence of Deuteronomy on all of Exodus 32 (including 32:8, 10–14): for example, lack

have lacked these crucial elements of Moses's review in Deut 9:8–21, 25–29. Yet the addition of this material does not just quote its Deuteronomic parallel or merely build on Deuteronomic precedents. Rather, it accentuates the preexisting idea of *Yhwh* bringing *Yhwh*'s people out of Egypt (Exod 32:11)[18] and grounds Moses's request for continuing divine deliverance on the *oath promise* to the patriarchs (32:13; cf. Deut 9:27 where the patriarchs, but not the promise are featured).

Indeed, if we are to take the Deuteronomic review of the Sinai narrative in Deut 9:7–21; 10:1–4 as a potential indicator of the (minimum) scope of the pre-D narrative, it would establish the potential pre-D character of roughly Exod 32:1–7, 15a, 19–20; 34:1, 4, and 28 in the non-P Sinai account, along with associated materials regarding Moses's petition and God's response later in Exodus 32 (especially 32:30–35).[19] Together with the long-recognized clash between Moses writing the tablets in Exod 34:27 and God writing the tablets in Exod 34:1, 4, 28, the limited scope of the Deuteronomic parallel to this portion of Exodus (in comparison with otherwise fairly close parallels between Deut 9:7–21, 25–29 and other parts of the non-P Sinai narrative) *raises the question* of whether much of the material not reflected in Deuteronomy, e.g. Exod 33 and 34:2–3, 5–27, was added to a pre-D form of the narrative reflected in Deuteronomy.[20] To be sure, it

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in Deut 9:12 of the description of the people's actions toward the calf found in Exod 32:8, the much shorter mention of the theme of God's multiplication promise in Deut 9:14b compared to Exod 32:10 and 13, and a shorter Mosaic argument for divine mercy involving the ancestors and concern for God's reputation in Deut 9:27–28 when compared with Moses's separate arguments based on God's reputation and God's oath promise of land to the ancestors in Exod 32:12–13. Nevertheless, especially given the previously discussed "trend toward expansion," these gaps and absences are better explained by the hypothesis that Exod 32:8, 10–14 *expands on and develops* its parallels in Deuteronomy 9–10* rather than Boorer's reverse hypothesis of abbreviation and elimination. Furthermore, Boorer herself undermines several other arguments relating to the complex logic of the Exodus 32 text now including the insertion (pp. 314, 317, 320) with her discussion of how the insertion of material in Exodus 32 (identified in this book as insertions in Exod 32:8, 10–14 with a post-LXX harmonization in Exod 32:9) needed to be placed where it was (Boorer, pp. 265–66). Perhaps her most compelling argument is the idea that Moses's invocation of the memory of "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" in Deut 9:27a is an unexplained "blind motif" building on the more explicit citation of Yhwh's oath promise of land to these three figures in Exod 32:13 (see especially pp. 305–306, 366). What she fails to note, however, is that, within the D-context of Deut 9:28, this terse reference hardly stands unexplained, coming as it does after three previous references to Yhwh's promise of land by oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, including one reference, Deut 9:5, that is quite closely placed to the mention of these ancestors in Deut 9:27 (see also Deut 1:8 and 6:10). In contrast, the author of the insertion in Exod 32:10–14 could not presuppose these references, so made the mention of the land oath to the patriarchs explicit in the parallel to Deut 9:27.

18. For the point about the contrast between 32:11 and 32:7, see Blum, *Studien*, 35, building on the insights of earlier scholars. For a discussion of 32:7 as part of the earlier narrative, see above, note 16.

19. Exod 32:1–6 is generally presupposed in Deut 9:12, 16, 21. Exod 32:7–8 is parallel to Deut 9:11–12, with at least 32:7 prior to it (see above, note 16). Exod 32:15a, 19–20 is parallel to Deut 9:15–17, 21. And Exod 34:1–4, 28b is paralleled by Deut 10:1–4.

20. The qualification "much of the material" indicates that Exod 33 and 34:2–3, 5–27 show signs themselves of having undergone growth. For example, Blum well summarizes indicators that the outset of Exodus 33 may contain additions (33:2, 4; also 32:34aβ) that are part of a broader compositional layer that he terms the "Mal'ak-Bearbeitung" (Blum, *Studien*, 58–60).

is always possible that the particular interests of the Deuteronomic review in Deut 9:8–21, 25–10:4 occluded irrelevant parts (for its purposes) of the pre-D Exodus narrative (e.g., 32:15b-20). Moreover, parts of Exod 32:1–8, 15a; 34:1–4, 28 (e.g., much of 32:8; certainly 32:10) could well be post-Deuteronomistic harmonizations and/or expansions. Nevertheless, both the clash of 34:27 with 34:1, 4, 28 and the limited scope of the D review of the non-P narrative stand as potential clues that, not only Exod 32:9–14, but also large sections of Exodus 33 and 34 (e.g., 5–27), might likewise represent an enrichment and expansion of a pre-D Sinai narrative.

These initial suppositions are strengthened by the way the materials in Exodus 33 and 34 *not paralleled by D* happen to unfold narrative themes introduced by the addition in Exod 32:9–14 and prominent in the above-discussed additions to Genesis.[21] This starts in Yhwh's command at the outset of Exodus 33 for Moses to lead *his* people that *he* brought out of Egypt to the land "sworn on oath to the fathers" (33:1; cf. 32:11, 13) even as Yhwh also refuses to go "in their midst" because they are "stiff necked and stubborn" (33:3; cf. Exod 32:9). In addition to echoing the oath promise theme and description of the people as "stiff necked" seen in 32:9, 13, this speech forms a transition to a focus in Exodus 33–34 on repairing the breach between Yhwh and the people, a breach expressed in Yhwh's continued description of them to Moses as "your people whom you led out of Egypt" (33:1//32:7; despite Moses's contradiction of this in 32:11) and Yhwh's refusal to "go in their midst." The effects of this breach are reflected in the description that follows of a "tent of meeting" where Moses can meet Yhwh *outside the camp* (33:7, 11). This tent provides an ongoing locus for interaction between Yhwh and Moses (e.g., Numbers 11, 12; Deut 31:14–15, 23). Meanwhile, the narratives in the rest of Exodus 33 show how Moses, building on his special relationship with Yhwh (33:12–13; "if I find favor with you"), gradually attempts to overcome this breach and convince Yhwh to renew the relationship and the covenant annulled by the making of the calf and the breaking of the tablets (Exod 24:3–8; 32:19). The material not paralleled by D in Exodus 34 makes clear how this is successful: Echoing elements of the original covenant ceremony (34:2–3), God comes down again in a cloud and proclaims his name and mercy (34:5–7). In response, Moses in Exod 34:8–9 petitions God to forgive the "stiff necked and stubborn" people mentioned at the outset of chapter 33 (Exod 33:3), go "in the midst" of this people, and take ownership of the people as Yhwh's own (not Moses's people; cf. Exod 32:7; 33:1). Yhwh responds by making a new covenant (34:10) with a view toward dispossession of the Canaanite peoples featured in the additions to Genesis (34:11), rejection of covenant or intermarriage bonds with them (34:12–16), rejection of the golden calf (34:17), and an overall selective summary of laws given up to that point, from the conclusion of the Covenant Code in Exodus 23, to the laws in Exodus 12–13, and then back to Exodus 23

21. These arguments supplement considerations raised in Chapter 4 of this book against considering this block of material (not paralleled in Deuteronomy 9–10) as having originated as a separate source.

again (34:18–26).[22] At the conclusion of this new material, *Moses* is instructed to write down the broad legal basis of this new covenant (34:27; including laws of the Covenant Code, Decalogue, etc.) as he had with the first (24:4), an instruction that contrasts with the original focus of the pre-D narrative on *God's* writing down of the *Ten Commandments* (34:28, reflected in 10:4; see also 34:1, 4). In summary, aside from possible late additions in Exod 33:18–23[23] and 34:11–26,[24] the rest of Exod 33 along with 34:2–3, 5–27 builds on themes seen in Exod 32:9, 10–14 to describe the gradual repair of the relationship between Yhwh and Israel and the making of a new covenant to replace the old. In this sense, it goes beyond its parallel in Deut 9:8–21, 25–10:5, grounding this process of reconciliation in Yhwh's oath promise(s) to Israel, providing an explicit dialogical unfolding of the more general description of Moses as intercessor already in Deut 9:18–20, 25–29; 10:1–5, and explicating that Moses's intercession for Israel resulted not just in the

22. In prior work, I built on earlier studies to argue that Exod 34:11–26 was a post-Priestly harmonizing insertion into the Sinai narrative ("Method in Determination of Direction of Dependence: An Empirical Test of Criteria Applied to Exodus 34,11–26 and Its Parallels," in *Gottes Volk am Sinai: Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, Vol. 18, ed. Matthias Köckert and Erhard Blum, Veröffentlichungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie [Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001], 107–40; see Erhard Blum, "Das sog 'Privilegrecht' in Exodus 34,11–26: ein Fixpunkt der Komposition des Exodusbuches?" in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction, Reception, Interpretation*, ed. Marc Vervenne, BETL 126 [Louven: Peeters, 1996], 347–66 (building on his earlier reflections in *Studien*, 67–70, 372–74, and elsewhere) and Shimon Bar-On [Gesundheit], "The Festival Calendars in Exodus XXIII 14–19 and XXXIV 18–26," *Vetus Testamentum* 48 (1998): 161–95, along with an oral version of work by Bernard Levinson that helped to prompt my own work on this passage, was presented in fuller form at the 2010 Zurich Pentateuch conference, and is in preparation for publication in his *Revelation and Redaction: Biblical Studies and Intellectual Models* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). I remain convinced that the sort of appropriation and redeployment of diverse legal traditions seen in Exod 34:11–26 is roughly akin to that seen in documented revisions of Pentateuchal traditions in various Second Temple texts discussed there. Nevertheless, I do not believe this means all such revisions must be placed in the post-Priestly phase, particularly given the significantly higher level of creativity and new composition evident in Exod 34:11–26 when compared with such documented Pentateuchal revisions. Moreover, the main potential indicator of post-Priestly origins in Exod 34:11–26, a prohibition toward making אלהי מסכה in 34:17 that is parallel to a similar prohibition in H (Lev 19:4aβb), is marked off from the other specifically legal parallels in Exod 34:11–26 (as opposed to D exhortations) by the fact that it is the only one without a precedent in the preceding Tetrateuchal narrative (otherwise, the material in 34:17–26 constitutes [as Blum points out] an abbreviated overview of previous non-P law from beginning [Exodus 13] to end [Exodus 23]). I now think that this prohibition of molten god manufacture probably originated here in Exod 34:17 as a context-specific divine prohibition of the sort of idol-making that precipitated the need for a renewed covenant (Exod 32:4). The H prohibition in Lev 19:4, then, would appear to be a later echo of that prohibition, expanded with the typical H clause (אני יהוה אלהיכם, which—in this case—refutes Aaron's assertion about the עגל מסכה in Exod 32:4b). The particular echoes of Exod 32:4 in Lev 19:4 stand as blind motifs marking the latter verse as an imitation of the former text. Exod 34:11–26, in turn, shares with the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal materials an orientation toward insertion of D-like material in Tetrateuchal contexts (on this, see the tables in my "Method" article, pp. 137–39). To be sure, one could read this case otherwise, and the broader argument being made here regarding a post-D Hexateuchal compositional layer does not stand or fall on this assignment of Exod 34:11–26 to a pre-Priestly or post-Priestly stage of composition.

23. On this, see Blum, *Studien*, 64–65.

24. It remains possible that this could be a later scribal coordination of diverse laws.

rewriting of the Ten Commandments on tablets Deut 10:4//Exod 32:28), but also in the making of a new *covenant* encompassing the broader scope of legal regulations given up to that point (34:10–27).[25]

Moses's intercession on behalf of the people in the spy story of Numbers 13–14 is another probable example of the enrichment of the Tetrateuchal Moses narrative with material linking to Exod 32:10–14 on the one hand and to the D review of the Horeb covenant in Deut 9:8–21, 25–10:5 on the other. However one identifies P and/or other material in Numbers 13–14, the text appears to contain a substratum of non-P material usually identified as encompassing all or most of the following verses: 13:17b-20, 22–24, 27–31; 14:11–25, 39–45.[26] The Deuteronomic review of this story in Deut 1:19–46 seems to reflect much of this non-P spy story in Numbers[27] with the following important exception: Deuteronomy's description of Yhwh's angry replacement of Moses with Joshua in Deut 1:37–38 does not seem to presuppose the extended description of how Yhwh wished to start over and make a new people with Moses in Num 14:11–12 and Moses's successful intercession on the people's behalf in 14:13–19. Indeed, terminological indicators have led many scholars to identify all or part of Num 14:11–25 as a D or post-D addition to the non-P spy story, though attempts to delimit this insertion further have not led to repeatable results. On the one hand, the non-P spy story almost certainly had a concluding divine judgment, and the verbal parallels between the divine response seen in Num 14:22–25 and that in Deut 1:34–36, 40 (14:23–24//Deut 1:35–6; 14:25//Deut 1:40) suggest that Num 14:22–25 may contain the remnants of a pre-D conclusion to the pre-D spy story reflected in Deuteronomy 1. On the other hand, several indicators suggest that, at the very least, the interaction between God and Moses in Num 14:11–21 is part of the same set of harmonizing expansions discussed above in Exod 32:8, 10–14, and 33–34.[28] Moses's intercession explicitly refers back to and cites Yhwh's forgiveness in Exodus 34 as grounds for Yhwh's forgiveness here (Num 14:17–19; cf. 34:6–9). Indeed, overall, Num 14:11–21 has its closest parallels *not* in Deuteronomy, but in the above-discussed expansionary portions of Exodus 32–34 (Num 14:12//Exod 32:10; 14:17–18//Exod 34:6–7; 14:19//Exod 34:9).[29]

The insertion of Moses's intercessory interaction with Yhwh (Num 14:11–21) into Numbers 14 provided a Tetrateuchal parallel to the report of Moses's

25. This reading is particularly dependent on Blum, *Studien*, 57–67.

26. Something close to this delimitation is shared by recent analyses as different in other ways as Blum (*Studien*, 133, note 129) and Baden (*J, E and Redaction*, 114–17).

27. In Chapter 4 of this book, it was mentioned that one mark of Deuteronomy's dependence on the non-P Numbers story are blind motifs such as the fruit in Num 13:20, 23–24 (see Deut 1:25) and the exclusion of Caleb from punishment in Num 13:30; 14:8–9 (see Deut 1:36).

28. The reshaping probably extended more broadly, but this discussion will focus on Num 14:11–21, the clearest importation of elements from Deuteronomy.

29. Again, cf. Boorer, *Promise of the Land as Oath*, 357–62, which notes these and other parallels, but sees a number of differences between the theology of Exod 32:7–14 and Num 14:11b-23a (Boorer's delimitation of the additions). She sees these differences as signs that Num 14:11b-23a postdates Exod 32:7–14, while the present author sees the most salient differences between these insertions as prompted by the different narrative contexts in which they occur.

intercession on the people's behalf in Deut 9:25–29, a report that is associated by placement in Deuteronomy with the spy story and people's rebellion at Kadesh Barnea (9:23–24). To be sure, within Deuteronomy 9, this report of Moses's intercession functions as a flashback of sorts, with 9:25–29 redirecting the narrative focus from stations in the wilderness (9:23–24) back to the Horeb focus of 9:8–21. Nevertheless, the strange placement of the intercession at this point in Deuteronomy 9:25–29, contiguous with the spy incident at Kadesh Barnea (Deut 9:23) rather than with Horeb/Sinai, may have been a prompt for scribes to associate the petition of Moses not only with Sinai, but also with the spy story at Kadesh Barnea. Thus, they enriched the non-P spy story in Numbers 14 with elements paralleling Moses's intercession on behalf of the people seen in Deut 9:25–29.[30] Furthermore, this insertion played an important role in the presentation of Moses. It counterbalanced the negative tone connected to Moses found in their D parallel (1:37–38). In other words, the expansionary material concentrated particularly in Num 14:11–21, like many of the above-discussed insertions in Exodus 32 and elsewhere, represented both a harmonization of the non-P spy story with its Deuteronomic parallels (e.g., Deut 9:23–29 in this case) and corrective response to them (e.g., Deut 1:36–37 in particular). In this case, it enriched the non-P spy story with motifs now well familiar from other secondary, post-D additions to the Tetrateuchal narrative. These include not just the explicit back-reference to those additions (e.g., Num 14:17–19 to Exod 34:6–9) and parallel picture of Moses's successful intercession in the face of the divine decision to start over with him (Num 14:11–21//Exod 32:10–14), but also themes such as the appeal to Yhwh's concern about his honor (14:13–16; Exod 32:12), the implications of the idea that Yhwh is now "in the midst of the people" (14:14; cf. Exod 33:1–3, 12–16; 34:5–27), and the citation of the oath promise of land to the fathers as the concluding and climactic argument for mercy (14:16; see Exod 32:13).

Such focus on coordination with Deuteronomy, of course, is not limited to non-Priestly narrative portions of the Tetrateuch. Already, the above-discussed potential post-D Hexateuchal material in Exodus 34 includes a section, Exod 34:11–26, that reviews the laws given before Sinai and combines them with

30. Another prompt for this importation of motifs from Deut 9:25–29 into Numbers 14 may have been the insinuation by Moses reported in Deut 9:28aα that Yhwh might be thought by foreigners not "able" to bring the people into the land, a theme easily thought more appropriate to the land entry context of the spy story (=Numbers 14) than the mountain of God context of Exodus 32. And indeed, insofar as Exod 32:10–14 and Num 14:11–21 derive from the same hand, that person inserted the motif of Yhwh's "ability" to bring the people into the land from Deut 9:28 into Num 14:16, but not earlier in the Sinai insertion (cf. Exod 32:12, which only echoes the question of God's murderous intent in Deut 9:28bβ). On this, cf. Boorer, *Promise of the Land as Oath*, 304, 366, which argues that Deut 9:28 adds a motif of God not being "able" to bring the people into the land from Num 14:16 into its parallel with Exod 32:12. Though this is one way of understanding the distribution of motifs, it is not the only one. Moreover, Boorer's model does not explain the curious presence of secondary, semi-Deuteronomistic material in both Exodus 32 and Numbers 14. The model proposed here, with its theory regarding scribal double-interpretation of Deut 9:24–29 (as related to both Horeb and [by way of contiguity with 9:22–23] Kadesh Barnea), explains why scribes would have secondarily enriched both Tetrateuchal chapters with this material.

Deuteronomic injunctions against intermarriage with any people of the land and other D-like materials. This text, in turn, links back to two other blocks of non-P legal material in Exodus 12 and 13 that show signs of post-D composition. In Exodus 12, some form of early Passover law contained in Exod 12:21–24 appears to have been expanded with a D-like instruction of children (12:25–27; cf. Deut 6:20–25). Then, in chapter 13, the Mazzot (13:3–10) and firstborn (13:11–16) laws both feature the telltale oath promise of land to the fathers (Exod 13:5, 11), a list of peoples to be dispossessed (Exod 13:5), two more instructions for children (Exod 13:8, 14), and a mixed dependence on various Deuteronomic precursors similar to that in Exod 34:11–26.[31] Together, these texts in Exod 12:25–27, 13:3–16, and 34:11–26 point to a process of apparent secondary supplementation of the non-P narrative in Exodus with legal materials featuring D motifs combined with themes particularly characteristic of this post-D composition.

This model of harmonizing expansion of Tetrateuchal materials with their D counterparts also could explain why an author enriched the quail murmuring story in Numbers 11 that occurs just after departure from Sinai with a version of the story of Moses sharing his leadership spirit with others (Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30). Scholars long have distinguished in Numbers 11 between a murmuring story about quails in the bulk of the chapter and a strand of materials in that chapter describing (at least) Yhwh's spreading of Moses's spirit on the seventy elders (Num 11:16–17, 24b-30). They have disagreed, however, on the extent to which such a layer also included parts of Moses's complaint in Num 11:11–12, 14–15,[32] whether such a layer was once independent of its present context in the quail story, and the relationship of this layer to its parallels in Exod 18:13–27 and Deut 1:9–18. These parallels both report human proposals for spreading Moses's responsibilities (Exod 18:17–23; Deut 1:9–13), human approval of these proposals (Exod 18:24a; Deut 1:14), and execution of them (Exod 18:24b-26; Deut 1:15–18). In contrast, the materials about Yhwh spreading Moses's spirit to the elders in

31. The characteristic post-D Hexateuchal emphasis on land possession may also be likewise in the special stress in Exod 13:12 on future possession of livestock (Jörn Halbe, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes: Ex 34, 10–26: Gestalt und Wesen, Herkunft und Wirken in vordeuteronomistischer Zeit*, FRLANT 114 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht], 55; Molly M. Zahn, "Reexamining Empirical Models: The Case of Exodus 13," in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk*, ed. Eckart Otto and Reinhard Achenbach, FRLANT 206 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004], 52). Zahn is right to note ways in which this feature and the mention of בהמה and אדם link this text to its context (it is hardly a separate source!), but (contra Zahn) these minor, context-related pluses vis-à-vis Exodus 34 do not constitute sufficient grounds for positing Exodus 13 as later than Exodus 34. Similarly, her arguments for post-Priestly origins on the basis of three isolated words in the text (p. 46) suffer from the methodological shortcomings of similar linguistically focused arguments critiqued in Chapter 4 of this book: a limited text basis from which to conclude any significance from the appearance of a given word in a few contexts, the reality that all Hebrew authors had to work with a limited vocabulary of common words, and the susceptibility of oral-written texts to slight changes, particularly in harmonizing one text (e.g., perhaps Exod 13:9 זכרון) with another (perhaps Exod 12:14).

32. Cf. Blum, *Studien,* 82–84 and Baden, *J, E and Redaction,* 108–109, who include all of it, partly on the basis of the common theme of "bearing burden" that crosses the material, and Benjamin Sommer, "Reflecting on Moses: The Redaction of Numbers 11," *JBL* 118 (1999): 611–12, who argues that none of Moses's complaint was part of the layer involving the elders.

Num 11:16–17, 24b-30 diverge from that structure and conform instead to the divine response portion of the murmuring story structure (Num 11:18–20). These materials in Numbers 11, in turn, parallel their D counterpart in Deut 1:9–18 both in placement of the story—occurring at the departure from Sinai/Horeb—and theme/wording—focusing on Moses not being able to "bear" (נשא) the burden of the people alone.[33] This would suggest that they are a harmonizing expansion adapted to its context, placing a story of the spreading of Moses's spirit near the departure from Sinai (Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30) to correspond to the appearance of a similar story at a similar place in the D review of Israel's travels (Deut 1:9–18). Finally, it appears that this harmonizing expansion in Numbers 11 is part of the broader layer discussed here, since the materials surrounding the spreading of the spirit of Moses in Num 11:16–17, 24b-30 *and* 11:11–12, 14–15 are saturated with motifs already seen in expansionary harmonizations discussed above: such as Moses citing his favor in [Yhwh's] eyes (11:11, 15//Exod 33:13, 16, 17; 34:9), the promise of the land as oath (Num 11:12; Exod 32:13; 33:1; Num 14:16; etc.), and the focus on the tent of meeting as the locus where Yhwh descends to speak with Moses (11:16, 24–26; Exod 33:7–11; also Num 14:10b introducing 14:11–21). The hypothesis that Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30 is part of the above-discussed layer of post-D expansions of non-P Tetrateuchal contexts would explain the unusual placement of these elders materials in combination with the quail materials of Numbers 11, the way the elders materials in Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30 presuppose and build on the idea (present in the quails story) of the unbearably rebellious people, and the divergence of the Numbers version of the spreading of Mosaic authority from the structure seen in its counterparts (Exod 18:13–27; Deut 1:9–18) so that it conforms to the pattern *of its murmuring story context* (thus it's not a separate source). Yet once again, there is more to this enrichment of Numbers 11 than mere mechanical harmonization of a Tetrateuchal story with its D counterpart. In this case, the picture of Moses's angry despair over the people and Yhwh's response in Num 11:11–17* forms a precise balance to pictures of Yhwh's angry despair and Moses's intercession in Exod 32:10–14 and Num 14:11–21. Together, these three stories detail the impact on both Yhwh *and Moses* of the people's deep-seated rebelliousness.

33. Seebass (Horst Seebass, *Numeri 10:11–22:1*, BK 4 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002], 43) cites as parallels between Exod 18:13–27 and Numbers 11 the idea of Moses's special relationship with God, the sharing of his privileges with others, and the divine role in ordering a solution (citing the parenthetical remark in Exod 18:23aβ). On closer examination, however, no transfer of Moses's abilities to others occurs in Exod 18:13–27, and the remark about divine approval in Exod 18:23aβ is so marginal (and possibly secondary) as to heighten the contrast of this narrative (along with Deut 1:9–18) with Num 11:16–17, 24b-30. Perhaps more significant (and not mentioned by Seebass) is the verbal correspondence between Jethro's arguing for delegation because the job of judging is "too heavy for" Moses (כי כבד ממך; Exod 18:18) and Moses's complaint that the people are too heavy for him (כי כבד ממני; Num 11:14). Certainly, all three stories focus on Moses's inability to deal with various types of difficulty, whether of the job or the people. The common use of the standard Hebrew word for heaviness here in an expression "too כבד for" may be coincidental in light of the parallel treatment or the result of harmonization at a later point (as we see later in the Samaritan Pentateuch; see Tigay). In any case, it is too slender a thread to hang a theory of dependence of Exod 18:13–27 on Numbers 11* or vice versa.

Other non-P Tetrateuchal materials share characteristics with the above-discussed harmonizing expansions, many of which have marks of being secondary to their contexts. For example, some version of the story of Miriam being struck with leprosy in Numbers 12 is presupposed in Deut 24:8–9, but Numbers 12 appears to have been revised through the addition of Aaron to the rebellion (cf. ותדבר in 12:1 before the plural subject of Miriam and Aaron) along with the insertion (at the least) of a doubled speech challenging Moses's authority in 12:2 (//12:1b) and a theophany affirming Moses's authority in Num 12:4–10a that shares the tent of meeting and divine descent in a pillar of cloud motifs with harmonizing expansions in Exod 33:7–11; Num 11:16, 24b-26 (also Exod 34:5).[34] Furthermore, these apparent new materials concerning the challenge to Mosaic authority (12:2) and divine response (12:4–10a) connect with the post-D insertion about the spreading of Moses's spirit in the previous chapter (Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30) to form a balanced exploration at the outset of the post-Sinai narrative of the relationship between Mosaic authority and that of the elders on the one hand (Numbers 11) and prophetic authority on the other (Numbers 12).[35]

Several secondary additions to the outset of the Moses story seem to open this discourse about Mosaic authority, this time not harmonizing with D parallels but in preparing for the picture of him as the sort of prophetic intercessor who can play the role that he does in the post-D expansions of Exod 32:9–14; Num 14:11–21; and elsewhere. This starts with portions of the prophet-like report of his commissioning in Exod 3:1–4:18 that was discussed in Chapter 4 (in an excursus) as a secondary intrusion into its context. What is relevant for our purposes here are the ways in which *some* of the material in this commissioning report shares the profile of above-discussed post-Hexateuchal materials. For example, the latter portion of Exodus 3, along with a related insertion in Exod 11:1–3, provides a Tetrateuchal anchor for the order in Deut 15:13–15 to provide a freed slave money (Deut 15:13–14) based on a recollection of the experience of slavery in Egypt (15:15). Apparently taking that *combination* as an implicit reference to the Israelites' reception of goods in Egypt after having been freed from slavery, Exod

34. The remaining materials in Numbers 12 do not form a fully readable narrative, probably because these insertions replaced some earlier elements.

35. In addition, the non-P portion of the story of Baal-Peor in Num 25:1–5 may have been enriched with descriptions of the people's idolatry in 25:2–3a (or possibly just 25:3a) and Moses's issuing of a command to punish the people who attached themselves to Baal Peor (25:5), additions that produced a contrast between the divine command focused on the killing of leaders (25:4) and an earlier report of Moses's command for the judges (//leaders) to punish the people (25:5). Contrary to some hypotheses, these possibly secondary elements cannot stand alone as a parallel "source," but they might be additions conforming a story focused on intermarriage to the back-reference to Baal-Peor in Deut 4:3. To be sure, Deut 4:3 refers to God destroying those who followed Baal of Peor, not the judges instructed by Moses (Num 25:5). Yet the potentially pre-D story already had a divine command to Moses to impale the leaders of the people in 25:4. Therefore, the reviser composed a follow-up speech of Moses in 25:5 that could extend and yet refocus the divine command in 25:4, both mentioning the sin of idolatry and more general focus on the people seen in Deut 4:3. Of course, Deut 4:3 occurs in a chapter often seen as one of the latest layers of Deuteronomy. Nevertheless, the possible additions in 25:(2-)3b, 5 would represent another potential coordination of a non-P Tetrateuchal narrative with a counterpart (of whatever date) in Deuteronomy.

3:21–22 uses terminology from that law (רקם 3:21//Deut 15:13) to predict to Moses that the people will be provided for by Egyptian wealth when they are freed from slavery. In this way, Exod 3:21–22 and 11:1–3[36] (like a number of post-D additions discussed above) secondarily harmonize this portion of Exodus with Deuteronomy, providing a narration that then can be recollected in Deut 15:15. Furthermore, Exod 3:16–17 links with the above-discussed post-D expansions of non-P materials through commissioning an address to the "elders of Israel" (see the emphasis on them in Num 11:16, 24b, 30) that almost precisely echoes Joseph's prediction of Yhwh's intervention in the post-D expansion in Gen 50:24:

Gen 50:24 ואלהים פקד יפקד אתכם והעלה אתכם מן . . . אל הארץ

Exod 3:16–17 פקד פקדתי אתכם . . . אעלה אתכם מ . . . אל ארץ

Indeed, going yet beyond parallels in other post-D expansions, God's speech to Moses in Exod 3:1–4:17 features *two* lists of the peoples to be dispossessed in the conquest (Exod 3:8, 17; cf. Gen 10:16–18a; 15:19–21) and it anticipates expansions in Exodus 33–34 and Numbers 11–12 in their focus on Moses's special authority and favor with God.[37] In addition, if Exod 4:1–17 is part of the same (post-D Hexateuchal) compositional layer,[38] it introduces the figure of Aaron that is so prominent in the Sinai and (expanded) Miriam narrative as one means by which Yhwh answered Moses's objections to his prophetic office (Exod 4:10–16). Furthermore, building on Deuteronomistic precedents (e.g., Josh 3:7; 4:14), Exod 4:1–16 unfolds the theme of "belief" originally seen in Abraham's "belief" in Yhwh in the post-D text of Gen 15:6 into a new focus on the need for the people to "believe" not just in God, but in Moses (Exod 4:1–9).[39] In sum, multiple elements of Exod 3:1–4:18, *particularly concentrated in Exod 3:16 and what follows*, connect with the emerging profile of the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal compositional layer.[40]

36. 11:1–3 is often seen as an E fragment. For discussion of its secondary character and links to context, see Blum, *Studien*, 28–30.

37. As Rendtorff in particular has pointed out (Rolf Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, BZAW 147 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977], 69–70 [ET 88–9]), the promise to the fathers does not appear here, not even the oath promise of land, as one might expect from its prominence in other expansions discussed above. Instead, only the three patriarchs are mentioned (Exod 3:6) and the land is described to Moses as if he has not heard of it (Exod 3:8). Yet this fits into the narrative unfolding of the story, where Moses is depicted up to this point as having been raised away from his people and thus unaware of things such as the divine name (Exod 3:13–15) or traditions such as the divine promise. In addition, it appears that the theme of the "oath promise" to the patriarchs is invoked in these materials in two specific loci—the initial giving of the oath promise to the ancestors (e.g., Gen 15; 22:15–18) and the securing of divine mercy in places where the people's existence and entry into the land is threatened (e.g., Exod 32:13; Num 14:16). Neither condition holds here.

38. On this, see the discussion of this material in Chapter 5 of this book.

39. Blum, *Studien*, 31–2, which also notes parallels to 1 Sam 12:16, 18 (though in this case, I would be inclined to consider a reverse direction of dependence of 1 Samuel 12 on precursors in Exodus and Joshua).

40. As suggested by Blum in his argument for inclusion of the bulk of this text (minus potential post-P materials regarding Aaron in Exod 4:10–16) in his KD layer (Blum, *Studien*, 40–41), this text shows signs of inclusion of an older theophany narrative. One might even interpret these indicators as

As one would expect from a selective post-D expansion of its non-P context, the themes so prominent in the above-discussed portions of Exod 3:1–4:18 are not consistently attested in the warp and weave of the following narrative. Nevertheless, they do recur at several specific points in several passages, some of which show signs of being secondary additions to their contexts. These include the execution of signs and commissioning of Aaron in Exod 4:27–30 that was anticipated in Exod 4:1–16 so that the Israelites "believe" in Moses (Exod 4:31; cf. Exod 4:1, 5, 8–9) and worship when they hear of Yhwh "taking note of" Israel (פקד; see Gen 50:24; Exod 3:16–17), the addition of the staff (also featured in 4:1–9, 17) to the narration of the first plague (7:15b, 17b, 20aα*) and of Aaron irregularly to the following non-P materials (e.g., 5:1, 4; 8:4, 8, 21; 9:27; 10:3, 8, 16; 12:31), the addition of divine instruction about despoiling the Egyptians in Exod 11:1–3 (cf. 3:21–22), the climactic authentication of Moses and Yhwh at the Reed Sea (Exod 14:13, 31) in terms of "signs" and "belief" first seen in Exod 4:1–9, and the reframing of the Sinai "cloud" revelation as yet another means for the people to "believe" not only in Yhwh but also Moses (Exod 19:9).[41]

Later we see another expression of this post-D presentation of Moses as a super-prophet at the end of Deuteronomy, in 34:10–12, where it is stated that there never was another prophet in Israel whom Yhwh "knew face to face" (cf. Num 12:8) and—as in proposed post-D Hexateuchal materials listed above (e.g., Exod 4:1–9, 27–31; 14:13, 31)—emphasis is laid on the signs and wonders Yhwh sent him to do. To be sure, this verse has been identified by some as a post-Priestly addition designed to close a specifically Pentateuchal composition.[42] Nevertheless, this set of verses lacks clear links to the Priestly tradition, and the superlative emphasis on Moses may point to a particular emphasis on Moses in the post-D Hexateuch rather than an effort to conclude a particular composition. On the one hand, the authors of this composition seem to have worked with a composition beginning with Deuteronomy, but extending further at least into Joshua. On the other hand, the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal texts (Exod 3:1–4:18; 4:27–31; 14:13, 31; etc.) seem to put a special premium on Moses above all other prophets and other figures. Thus, Deut 34:10–12 can be taken as a post-D element designed to reinforce Moses's unique authority precisely at the point of transition to Joshua where one might (mis)understand Joshua as Moses's full successor.

Potential post-D Hexateuchal additions to other parts of Deuteronomy and the beginning of Joshua seem to show a particular care taken to depict this transition

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pointing to the existence in Exod 3:1–15* of remnants of the highly hypothetical "E" Moses story proposed and then critiqued in Chapter four of this book. For the purposes of the discussion in this chapter, it is enough to note links to the post-D Hexateuchal layer concentrated in Exodus 4 and the latter portions of Exodus 3, along with the possibility of earlier material (whether from a broader Moses story layer or not) in the earlier verses of Exodus 3 and 4:18.

41. Blum, *Studien*, 47–8, 71, 78, 104. Note the resumptive repetition of 19:8b in 19:9b.

42. See, for example, Thomas Römer and Marc Zvi Brettler, "Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch," *JBL* 119 (2000): 401–19; Konrad Schmid, "The Late Persian Formation of the Torah: Observations on Deuteronomy 34," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, ed. Oded Lipschitz, Gary Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 237–51.

from Moses to Joshua, emphasizing God's role in this process and Joshua's subordination to Moses. Take, as an initial example, the set of verses relating God's confirmation of Joshua as Moses's successor in Deut 31:14–15, 23. This section is marked as secondary by the way it (along with a late introduction to the song of Moses in 31:16–22)[43] interrupts the focus of its surrounding D context on the writing, recitation, and deposit of the law (31:9–13, 24–28; note the resumptive repetition in 31:24a). Though some in the past have assigned this material about Joshua to J, E, or R^{JE}, it does not link to a story or particular location of the preceding Tetrateuchal non-P narrative. Moreover, the wording of Yhwh's exhortation to Joshua in Deut 31:23 is closest in formulation to and apparently modeled on *Moses's* exhortation to Joshua in the preceding D text in Deut 31:7:

31:7 חזק ואמץ כי אתה תבוא את־העם הזה אל־הארץ אשר נשבע יהוה לאבתם . . . ויהוה הוא ההלך לפניך הוא יהיה עמך

31:23 חזק ואמץ כי אתה תביא את־בני ישראל אל־הארץ אשר־נשבעתי להם ואנכי אהיה עמך

Thus, these new materials add an explicit *divine* component to Joshua's commissioning to complement Deut 31:7–8, one on which they are modeled. Furthermore, in addition to building on and intensifying its D context, the insertion links closely with the above-discussed post-D expansion layer. Previous such post-D compositional materials in Exodus and Numbers featured a focus on Joshua as Moses's assistant (משרתו) at the tent of meeting (e.g., Exod 33:11; Num 11:28), while this section represents a report where God commands Joshua and Moses "station themselves" (התיצב) before the tent of meeting (Deut 31:14a//Num 11:16; 12:4 [no התיצב in the latter]; but note also התיצב in Exod 14:13; 34:5), descends in a pillar of cloud (Deut 31:15//Exod 33:9–10; 34:5; Num 11:25; 12:5), and exhorts Joshua to be strong as he leads Israel into the land promised on oath to the Israelites (Deut 31:23). This material in Deut 31:14–15, 23 thus joins the post-D expansion in Num 14:11–21 in offering a different take from Deut 1:37–38 on the process leading to Joshua's appointment as Moses's successor. As such, the addition again confirms the *Hexateuchal* orientation of this overall layer (even materials that privilege Moses!), this time in its preparation for the narrative of Joshua in undergirding the transition from Moses to Joshua as the divinely appointed leader of the people.[44]

Overall, these post-D materials suggest a mixed position regarding the broader scope of the narrative. On the one hand, multiple post-D additions show marked links to the story of dispossession of Canaanites and Israelite occupation of the land in Joshua 1–12, from anticipations of conquest in the primeval history (Gen 10:16–18a and focus on Canaan in 9:25–26) to the particularly intense focus on the oath promise of land, dispossession of the Canaanites, and succession of Joshua to Moses in subsequent probable post-D materials.

43. Note that the subject of the verb at the outset of 31:23 (Yhwh) is left unclear by the intervening insertion in 31:16–22, an insertion that disrupted the movement from Yhwh's descent in a pillar of cloud in 31:15 and Yhwh's speech in 31:23.

44. Here, I'm informed particularly by Blum, *Studien*, 83–88.

On the other hand, we have seen several post-D Hexateuchal additions that stress Moses's character as a prophet without peer, someone who would never have a successor to equal him, even Joshua (e.g., Num 12:6–8; Deut 34:10–12). With this contrast, one can well ask how the post-D composition squared the climactic emphasis on Moses as one of a kind (Deut 34:10) with the continuation of a narrative into Joshua that resolved many of its themes. One possible answer to this may be a clearly secondary addition to its context found in Josh 1:7–9, which—standing just after the conclusion of Deuteronomy toward the outset of Joshua—calls on Joshua to be careful to keep the whole Torah of Moses, not swerving to the right or left. As many recognized previously, this speech reiterates and reinterprets (including a final resumptive repetition) a preceding call on Joshua to "be strong and firm" (Josh 1:6) now interpreting this earlier call as pertaining particularly to his adherence to the Torah legacy of Moses.[45] This idea of a "Torah of Moses" is prominent across Deuteronomy and is particularly prominent toward the end of the book (e.g., Deut 31:9, 11, 24, 26; 32:46). That concept certainly was not invented by the author of Josh 1:7–9. Yet the addition in Josh 1:7–9 uses the idea of a "Torah of Moses" as a bridge concept showing how Moses's legacy was continued by his divinely appointed (Deut 31:14–15, 23) successor, Joshua. *If* this coordinating element was part of the post-D compositional layer, it suggests that the "Torah of Moses" was seen as a privileged whole within its broader post-D Hexateuchal literary context. Thus, rather than seeing "Pentateuch" and "Hexateuch" as irresolvably opposed wholes, I suggest that the post-D Hexateuchal materials integrally intertwined a privileging of Moses and his Torah with a focus on the authorized (and Torah-facilitated) transition from Moses (the privileged figure) to Joshua.

The conclusion to this Hexateuchal orientation is the covenant that Joshua leads the people to join at Shechem in Joshua 24. Though the chapter does not touch on every element of the preceding post-D layer, it connects with many.[46] Joshua begins by having the officials of Israel "station themselves" before God (Josh 24:1; parallels to Deut 31:13 and others) before giving them a brief review of history featuring post-D themes such as the bringing of Abraham out of Mesopotamia (Josh 24:2–3; Gen 15:7), the sending of both Moses and Aaron (Josh 24:5; Exod 4:10–16, 27–31), emphasis on the people "seeing" the wonders of the exodus (Josh 24:7, 17; Exod 14:13, 31, note also Exod 3:20; Deut 34:11–12), the conquering of the two Amorite kings (Josh 24:8, 12, 15; linked to the post-D harmonizing insertion in Num 21:33–35), and the listing of dispossessed Canaanite peoples (Josh 24:11; Gen 10:16–18a; 15:19–21; Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5). The following interaction between Joshua and the people likewise features links with post-D materials (e.g., the particular stress laid on pronouncements that Yhwh is a "jealous God"; Josh 24:19//Exod 34:14 אל קנ[ו]א הוא; cf. Exod 20:5//Deut 5:9), and Joshua's climactic covenant with the people depicted in terms parallel to the Sinai

45. Rudolph Smend, "Das Gesetz und die Völker: Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte," in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1971), 495–97.

46. See pp. 134–6 for engagement with previous proposals that Josh 24:1–32 is post-Priestly.

covenant. The people's emphatic acceptance of Yhwh's legal obligations in Josh 24:16–24 parallels the exodus generation's prior doubled acceptance of such legal obligations (Josh 24:16–24//Exod 19:8; 24:7). Like Moses at Sinai, Joshua records and ceremonially affirms these obligations by making a "covenant" (Josh 24:25; Exod 24:7–8; note also Exod 34:10; Gen 15:18), and again echoing Moses, Joshua writes down the legal basis of the covenant (Josh 24:26; Exod 24:4, 7; 34:27). The whole concludes with a death and burial report for Joshua featuring yet other connections to post-D materials, including the overall focus on Joshua and the "elders" as the successors of Moses (Josh 24:31; Num 11:16–17, 24b-30; Deut 31:14–15, 21), a report of the death of Joshua exactly parallel to the post-D report of the death of Joseph (Josh 24:29//Gen 50:26a), and the concluding burial of the bones of Joseph anticipated in Gen 50:25 (Josh 24:32; note also Exod 13:19).[47]

As Erhard Blum has pointed out, the description of Joshua writing "these words" in a "scroll of the Torah of God" (ספר תורת אלהים; Josh 24:26) implies the recording of the preceding Hexateuchal narrative.[48] In this way, the narrative of Joshua 24 presents the preceding post-D Hexateuchal narrative as part of Joshua's process for affirming the "covenant" made by the new conquest generation with the God who had liberated and preserved their parents. This is but one indicator that Josh 24:1–32 probably was the original conclusion of the post-D narrative. Another is the overall concluding character of this material, reviewing past events and describing an audience response to them. One final indicator is the way it provides a cursory overview of the impact of that response. The death report for Joshua says that Israel successfully served Yhwh throughout the days of Joshua *and the days of the elders who succeeded him* and witnessed the acts of Yhwh done for Israel (Josh 24:31b). The rehearsal of this material again in Judg 2:7 introduces

47. To be sure, as in Exod 3:1–4:17, there is no mention anywhere in Joshua 24 of the oath promise of land to the fathers, but that promise mainly figured in post-D Exodus and Numbers materials as a grounding for God's continued provision for the people in times of crisis (especially Exod 32:13; Num 11:12; 14:16; also Exod 13:5, 13 and Deut 31:23 building in this case on its D parallel in Deut 31:7). The focus in Joshua 24 is on something else: the successful assumption by the people of legal obligations under Joshua.

This grounds the fact that Joshua 24 does not review the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 15) that has been assigned here to this same post-D layer (note Schmid's observations on similarities between these texts [along with Exodus 3] in *Erzväter und Exodus*, 241–50 [ET 224–33]). As argued above, Genesis 15 and related texts serve primarily to ground the back-references to the oath promise of land (and multiplication) to the fathers//Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Deuteronomy and Joshua (along with secondary elements now inserted in Exodus and Numbers). The issue in Joshua 24 is the choice faced by the people for Yhwh or the gods worshipped by their "fathers," and so it focuses on/generates (e.g., Terah's gods) other traditions. Here and elsewhere, care must be taken on forming suppositions about what an author of a given stratum must have included if it were available to him/authored by him.

48. As Blum points out (*Vätergeschichte*, 60–61; idem., *Studien*, 364–65; idem., "Der kompositionelle Knoten am Übergang von Josua zu Richter. Ein Entflechtungsvorschlag," in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: FS Brekelmans*, ed. M. Vervenne and J. Lust, BETL 133 [Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 203–204), this expression is derivative of the expression "Torah of Moses" prominent throughout Deuteronomy and possibly appropriated on the post-D level in Josh 1:7–9. If Joshua's "Torah of Elohim," in fact, was meant to refer to the preceding Hexateuchal non-P narrative, it was a narrative understood as encompassing (and privileging) a "Torah of Moses" that concluded no later than Deuteronomy 34.

material about apostasy and deliverance that follows, but the original note in Josh 24:31b does not obviously have such apostasy of the people in view. Instead, in pointed contrast to the earlier locus in the post-D Hexateuch where the people said they would obey and did not succeed in doing so (Exod 19:8; 24:3; 32:1–6), the note in Josh 24:31b insists that *this* generation successfully completed the obligations they took on under Joshua. This, then, is the decisively different outcome to the covenant at Shechem when compared to the otherwise parallel covenant at Sinai. With this climax, Joshua 24 as the conclusion to the (non-P) Hexateuch makes an implicit meta-claim for the preceding text: Later generations who witness Yhwh's signs by way of the Hexateuchal text inscribed by Joshua and likewise take on the obligations of this covenant can enjoy similar success.

Finally, both the scope and substance of Josh 24:1–32 establish the interest of this post-D layer in linking and coordinating the ancestral and Moses periods with each other. Deuteronomy itself exhibits minimal, if any, interest in the ancestral period, only speaking in general of Yhwh's oath promise of land to the fathers or (occasionally and in possible later materials) Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Its detailed reviews are focused exclusively on the Moses story. In contrast, as we have seen already, there is evidence of extensive post-D compositional interventions across the non-P ancestral stories, including the covenant narrative of Genesis 15* to the final mention of the oath promise of land and commissioning of brothers by Joseph in Gen 50:24–25. Moreover, the historical review in Josh 24:2–13 contrasts with Deuteronomy in giving substantial attention to the ancestors (24:2–4) as crucial precursors to the Moses story, and many of the post-D additions to the Moses story feature further references back to the central (oath) promise of land to the fathers (Exod 13:5, 11; 32:13; 33:1; Num 11:12; 14:16, 23; see also Exod 12:25). Given this evidence for the particular interest in linkage of the ancestral and Moses stories (compared to Deuteronomy toward which these post-D additions are otherwise so oriented), it should be no surprise that the non-P transition from the Genesis to Moses stories appears to have been part of the same post-D layer. As Gertz has argued most recently, it appears that the post-D report of Joseph's speech and commissioning of his brothers in Gen 50:24–25 is of a piece with the following note about Joseph's death and age at death in Gen 50:26a, a note formed in exact agreement with the post-D notice about Joshua's death in 24:29.[49] Furthermore, the preparation of Joseph's bones in 50:26b is part of the preparation for post-D notices in Exod 13:19 and Josh 24:32 about the burial of those bones at Shechem. Thus, 50:24–26 *together* is a post-D addition depicting Joseph's death in terms parallel to the eventual death of Joshua and preparing for his burial at Shechem after Joshua's covenant there. This, in turn, connects well with the first non-P materials in Exodus:

> [According to] Gen 50:26 Joseph died at the age of a hundred and ten. He was embalmed and put in a coffin in Egypt. . . . Exod 1:8 And a new king arose over Egypt who did not

49. See Jan Christian Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*, FRLANT 186 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 361–2 (the agreement between Gen 50:26a and Josh 24:29 is also noted in Blum, *Studien*, 364, note 14). This precise agreement of Gen 50:26a and Josh 24:29 militates against my prior assignment of this half-verse to P in *Reading the Fractures*, 109–10.

know Joseph. Exod 1:9 And he said to his people, "Look, the Israelites are more numerous and mighty than we are."

וימת יוסף בן־מאה ועשר שנים ויחנטו אתו וישם בארון במצרים . . . ויקם מלך חדש על־מצרים אשר לא־ידע את־יוסף ויאמר אל־עמו הנה עם בני־ישראל רב ועצום ממנו . . .

To be sure, as others have noted, the Pharaoh's report of the growth of the Israelites in Exod 1:8 appears unmotivated so soon after the death of Jacob's sons. Either an intervening non-P note of the growth of the Israelites was eliminated in the process of combining P and non-P or (more likely) the report of multiplication now in Exod 1:7 may be a selective conflation of parallel P and non-P reports of the multiplication of the Israelites (note especially, the non-P term עצום and perhaps בני־ישראל?).[50] Meanwhile, the intervening verses (Exod 1:1–6) are best assigned *as a block* to P, including Exod 1:6 that (along with the age notice in 50:22b) represents the P death notice counterpart to Gen 50:26a, including a report of the death of Joseph's brothers that follows up on the Priestly overview of Joseph's brothers in Exod 1:2–4.[51] How much of the following non-P materials of Exodus 1–2 belong to the post-D or pre-D Moses story materials will be discussed below in relation to the reconstruction of the materials used by the post-D redactor. Nevertheless, at least Gen 50:24–26 and Exod 1:8–9 are part of the post-D materials that eventually lead to Joshua 24, and it is in these materials that the bridge between the ancestral and Moses story narratives is built and the contrast between the depiction of Egypt in those materials is resolved.[52] Moreover, Exod 1:9–12, 15–21 then introduce narrative motifs that are crucial to the non-P narrative in Exodus 1: Pharaoh's fear that Israel's military greatness will lead to escape (1:9–10) and the way his following attempts to reduce the people through hard labor (1:11) and killing at childbirth (1:15–19) lead instead to the people multiplying even more (1:12) and becoming yet "mightier" (עצום 1:20; see 1:9). In this way, Exod 1:9–12, 15–20 unfolds a picture of an Israel that is becoming inexorably *militarily* powerful, a picture that anticipates the conquest.

These conclusions strengthen the impression that one major achievement of the post-D, Hexateuchal composition was the establishment of a compositional connection between non-P materials in the ancestral history on the one hand and the Moses story materials on the other (and of both to a narrative including Deuteronomy and Joshua). So far, virtually all explicit links between these two tradition blocks have been assigned to this compositional layer: the references forward to the exodus in Genesis 15 (especially 15:13–15); the links back to the ancestral story in Exod 3:1–4:18 (especially 3:6, 15, 16); a whole set of compositional materials bridging between the two complexes (Joseph [50:24–26] and the transition to a fearful Pharaoh who does not know him [Exod 1:(7*)8–12, 15–20]);

50. See Gertz, *Exoduserzählung,* 366–68.

51. Exod 1:6 that fits so well in its present (and prior Priestly) context appears to have been harmonized at a later point to match Judg 2:10. For further discussion, see below, note 63.

52. See the following on the transitional character of these materials (even though these analyses diverged from that given here in positing a post-P origin for these texts): Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 230–37 [ET 214–17]; Gertz, *Exoduserzählung*, 357–70.

and the explicit back-references in the (non-P) Moses story to the promise of the land by oath to the fathers/Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 13:5, 11; 32:13; 33:1; Num 11:12; 14:16, 23). Without these materials, the non-P Joseph story (concluding with the reconciliation scene in 50:21) does not directly connect with the remaining Moses story materials (Exod 2:1–23aα), and—as pointed out by others—the two bodies of material strongly contrast in their depictions of Egypt (seen in the need of a post-D redactor to bridge between these depictions in 1:8).[53]

The main remaining candidate to be a pre-D link between pre-D Genesis materials and a potential pre-D Moses story is Yhwh's speech to "Israel"/Jacob in Gen 46:2–4, a speech that anticipates themes of Israel's future growth to greatness described in the above-discussed Exod 1:8–12, 15–21 materials: "do not be afraid of going down into Egypt, for I will make you into a great nation there" (אל־תירא מרדה מצרימה כי לגוי גדול אשימך שם; 46:3b). To be sure, this speech closely parallels preceding travel and promise speeches, especially those in Gen 12:1–2a and 26:2 (note also the corresponding travel command in 31:13b) and it does not feature unmistakable marks of other post-D texts. Nevertheless, it diverges from other travel and promise speeches in its lack of their central focus on the blessing of Abraham (Gen 12:2b-3; 26:2) and is formulated in ways that stand in remarkable parallel to the post-D narrative of Moses's call.[54] It may be that Gen 46:2–4 is part of the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal layer, or it may be that it stands as a—rather slender—anticipation of the exodus in an ancestral story otherwise not directly connected to the Moses story.

In either case, Gen 46:2–4 does not constitute a sufficient ground for positing a compositional connection between pre-Hexateuchal ancestral and Moses story materials.[55] Instead, the post-D Hexateuchal compositional layer was the first to link such materials together, and this constituted one of its major innovations vis-à-vis its precursor in Deuteronomy. The latter text betrayed the separateness of its pre-D precursors to some extent by its quite different treatment of the Moses story (detailed review) and ancestral materials (at most, general references to the promise of land and/or multiplication by oath to "fathers"//Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob). In contrast, a central agenda, apparently, of the post-D Hexateuchal composition was compositional linkage of a pre-D ancestral narrative (now recast as a story of Yhwh's gift of a covenantal, oath promise of land and multiplication to

53. See especially Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 38–39 [ET 34–35].

54. On this, see Gertz, *Exoduserzählung*, 277–78. Cf. Blum's questions about the commonplace character of many of these elements ("Verbindung," 131–32). Though Blum's points are well taken and show that a compositional link is not established as indisputable by such parallels, the coincidence of several such parallels, however commonplace each one is individually, nevertheless is worthy of note and significant for this discussion.

55. Thus, I am revising my opinion (published most recently in David M. Carr, "What Is Required to Identify Pre-Priestly Narrative Connections between Genesis and Exodus? Some General Reflections and Specific Cases," in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, SBLSymS 34 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006], 176–79) that Gen 46:2–4 (especially considered on its own) is a crucial datum establishing a link between the ancestral and exodus narratives (though I continue to think it is a pre-Priestly text).

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) and pre-D Moses story materials (now enriched with stories of Yhwh's preservation of the people on the basis of that promise). In this sense, the post-D Hexateuchal compositional materials did not just constitute a conflation of a composition beginning in Deuteronomy with non-P materials preceding it.[56] It also, at the same time, constituted a compositional connection between non-P ancestral and pre-D Moses story materials. In this sense, the post-D compositional process combined *at least three compositions*: non-P Genesis materials (whose scope will be clarified shortly), a pre-D Moses story, and a composition starting with Deuteronomy and including (at least) Joshua.

Concluding Overview of the Post-D Hexateuch and Issues of Dating

So ends the detailed survey of major texts that seem to be part of this post-D compositional layer. The list could go on to include other candidates, such as the anticipation of Joshua's leading of the people in discarding "foreign gods" at Shechem (Joshua 24) in Jacob's leading of his family in doing the same in Gen 35:1–5.[57] Moreover, judging from documented cases of transmission history, there almost certainly are additional cases where the post-D scribe(s) intervened in the text in such a fluid way that these interventions are not marked in any way in the present text as secondary insertions. Nevertheless, by now the profile should be clear. Aside from minor elements easily attributable to post-P harmonization (e.g., Josh 24:6b//Exod 14:23), the character of these texts is overwhelmingly non-Priestly and they all occur in otherwise non-Priestly contexts.[58]

Moreover, the scope of the texts is resolutely Hexateuchal. Though the primary emphasis of the compositional layer, as seen in the review of Josh 24:2–13, is on the history from Abraham onward,[59] we already see some anticipation of the conquest and dispossession of Canaanites in probable post-D revisions of the non-P primeval history (Gen 10:16–18a; focus on Canaan in Gen 9:25–26). This then is continued in the particularly intense focus on Yhwh's oath promise (covenant) of land (Gen 15:1–18; 26:3b, 4bβ; 50:24) and future conquest of Canaanite peoples (15:19–21; 22:17b) in probable post-D additions to the ancestral history, perhaps

56. The term "conflation" is appropriate here insofar as it is likely that Deuteronomy and Joshua overlapped, in part, the conclusion of the pre-D Moses materials with which they were combined.

57. Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 35–61.

58. Following on relevant discussions of linguistic criteria and determination of textual dependence in Chapter 4 (pp. 105–10, 137–44), I would just add that the clearest parallels with P language and/or themes that are found in such post-D texts are best explained on the one hand as loci where P appropriated and developed elements of its precursor narrative (e.g., the covenant narrative with Abraham, its negative portrayal of Aaron, the staff of Moses, etc.) and/or minor harmonizations with P materials (e.g., the echoes of the Reed Sea in Josh 24:6–7aα). It is always possible, to be sure, that the non-Priestly character of post-D materials conforms with a date in the late Hellenistic/Hasmonean period (see Chapter 5 of this book). Nevertheless, the bulk of non-Priestly additions discussed in that chapter (e.g., in Joshua 20) were more small-scale revisions and/or more mechanical scribal coordinations than the texts discussed under the rubric of post-D Hexateuchal materials here.

59. Note that much of the focus of this review in Josh 24:2–13 on the history from Abraham onward is also explainable by the fact that it grounds the obligation of the people to Yhwh through a review of *the people's* previous history with Yhwh.

including the story of proto-conquest in Genesis 14. And then links to Joshua continue in continued rehearsals of Yhwh's oath promise of land and impending dispossession of Canaanites in several post-D additions to the Moses story (Exod 13:5, 11; 32:13; 33:1; note also 34:11) along with a focus on Joshua (Exod 33:11; Num 11:28) and the transition from Moses to Joshua (Deut 31:14–15, 23; Josh 1:7–9). None of these cross-references *demand* that these texts be conceived as part of the same literary work as a form of the book of Joshua, but they do suggest a particularly Hexateuchal horizon for this set of additions that would favor the idea that their authors were interested in creating a specifically Hexateuchal composition. And this hypothesis receives further support from the above-discussed multiple links of Josh 24:1–32 to preceding non-P (especially post-D) materials, and its thematization (24:26) of the idea of a "Torah of God" that potentially could encompass (pre-P portions of) Joshua* as part of a Hexateuchal work.

Though it is inherently difficult to date such early history, especially a compositional layer often subtly added to such historical narratives, an initial clue is provided by Joshua 24, where the post-D Hexateuchal narrative diverges from its fictive setting to include potential elements of its audience's contemporary world—in this case, Joshua's call on the people who have just left *Egypt* to discard at Shechem the gods whom their fathers worshipped *in Mesopotamia* (Josh 24:14–15). The bulk of the chapter stays within the fictive world of the Hexateuchal narrative, building on the orders surrounding the covenant at Shechem in Deuteronomy-Joshua (Deut 11:29–30; 27:2–13; Josh 8:30–35) to describe Joshua's making of a new covenant with the people there after the conclusion of the conquest. Nevertheless, the choice that the people of the exodus are presented there, between worshipping Yhwh or the gods that their fathers worshipped in Mesopotamia and Egypt, imports into this fictive world the push to have exiles maintain faith in Yhwh and reject the Babylonian and other gods of their surroundings. This builds on a broader idea in post-D expansions that already long ago Yhwh successfully brought Israel's ancestors out of *Mesopotamia* (Josh 24:2–3), indeed "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen 15:7; linking to 11:28–30).[60] In this way the post-D compositional layer develops a striking counterpart to Second Isaiah's vision of a "second exodus" out of Babylon. Where Second Isaiah envisioned the move out of Babylon as akin to the earlier exodus out of Egypt, the post-D expansion layer implicitly envisions the exiles' return from Mesopotamia as following an earlier semi-exodus of Abraham out of Ur (Gen 15:7; Josh 24:2–3) and demands that the exiles similarly reject the gods of Mesopotamia as Abraham once did (24:2, 14–15). This would suggest an exilic or later dating for Joshua 24 and other texts that are more (e.g., Gen 50:24–6; Exod 13:19) or less (other probable post-D Hexateuchal texts) connected to it.

A general exilic placement for the post-D layer is confirmed by other ways in which its texts share characteristics with more clearly exilic texts discussed in the previous chapter. As we saw in texts such as Lamentations (e.g., Lam 5:20) and the

60. It is not material here whether 11:28–30 is part of the post-D expansion or just built on it. I do, however, maintain that Gen 11:28–30 is non-P, contra Blum et al.—for the arguments, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 110–11.

quotes of Ezekiel's opponents (Ezek 8:12; 9:9), there was an intense concern in the exile about whether Yhwh had abandoned the people and/or land. Although we see some emphasis on the people's sinfulness in probable pre-exilic prophetic and Deuteronomic texts, the catastrophe of the destruction of Jerusalem and exile of many leading Judeans had led them to question whether Yhwh had given up on them (e.g., Psalm 79; Lamentations 1; Isa 63:7–64:11[12]; Isa 40:2; 42:24–25; 43:22–28). The post-D expansions in the Sinai and Spy narratives image Yhwh as initially choosing this option, before Moses successfully persuades him otherwise. Moreover, the description of Moses's gradual persuasion of Yhwh to make a covenant so that he can go "in the midst of the people" in Exod 33; 34:5–27 represents a distinctive post-D elaboration of the problematic divine presence amidst exiles that is likewise raised, but treated in a different way in Ezek 9:3; 10:4, 18–22; 11:22–24. Through expansions such as these, the author of the post-D Hexateuch encouraged exiles despairing of Yhwh's presence in their midst that they could trust a Sinai covenant made in the full recognition of their (self-perceived) stiff-necked nature. It anticipates the disaster of the destruction of Jerusalem in Joshua's prediction that the people will eventually disobey and that Yhwh will return and "destroy" (כלה piel) the people if they forsake Yhwh and serve foreign gods (Josh 24:19–20), but the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal materials (especially in Exodus 32–4* and Numbers 14*) also place that destruction within the context of an abiding commitment by Yhwh to the people that cannot be abrogated by their misdeeds.

In addition, the post-D expansion responded to exilic concerns by particularly emphasizing certain themes already present in its precursor compositions, especially Deuteronomy. Where clearly exilic compositions discussed above often ground a call for rescue on Yhwh's past sworn commitments to the king (Psalm 89:3–5, 20–38 [2–4, 19–37], Lam 4:20), the post-D Hexateuchal composition joins with other probable exilic texts (e.g., Deut 30:5; Jer 32:22; cf. Ezek 20:6, 15, 28, 42) in emphasizing the Deuteronomic idea of Yhwh's oath promise of land to the fathers (e.g., Genesis 15; 26:3b, 4b; 24:7; 50:25; Exod 13:5, 11; Deut 31:23). This then becomes the primary ground for a call for Yhwh to persevere with the people despite their stiff-necked nature (Exod 32:13; Num 14:16), a way this narrative addresses the typically diasporic issue of abiding guilt and shame. The same concerns about guilt and shame may lie behind the expansions on Moses's appeal to Yhwh's honor (seen already in Deut 9:28) in Exod 32:12 and especially Num 14:13–16, expansions that resonate with the widespread idea in exilic literature that Yhwh's impending rescue depends on (appeals to) Yhwh's zeal to defend his "name" (Ps 79:9; Isa 63:14; 64:1 [ET 64:2]; Ezek 36:20–23; 39:7, 25; Isa 48:1; 52:5–6).

In both the previous chapter and this one, I noted the particular struggle that diaspora communities face in protecting the cultural integrity of their community in a foreign environment, particularly socializing children into the homeland culture and attempting to ensure that they intermarry within the diaspora community so that they too can socialize the next generation. It is in this light that we should see an exilic background to the particular stress in post-D narratives such as Genesis 24 and Exod 34:12–16 (if the latter is post-D Hexateuchal material) on reaffirming older D stipulations against intermarriage and other contact with

foreign peoples (especially Deut 7:1–6). In addition, several post-D texts enhance their older contexts with a focus on the challenge of making sure each subsequent generation is faithful, starting with the added speech of Yhwh in Gen 18:19 singling out Abraham as having been chosen to "command his sons and dynasty after him to follow the way of Yhwh. . .." This emphasis then continues with additions in Exodus 12–13 (12:25–27; 13:3–10, 11–16) modeled on Deuteronomic precursors in Deuteronomy 6 and 11, which stress the importance of using various festivals and rituals as opportunities to teach later generations of children about the exodus. And it concludes with the final picture in Josh 24:1–32 of Joshua rehearsing past history to the generation of conquest, calling on them to choose to serve Yhwh, and writing the above-mentioned "Torah of God," which could serve as a written memorial for future generations facing the same choice.[61]

One of the best past discussions of the setting of Joshua 24, that of Erhard Blum, theorizes that the most likely setting for such a text would be the early post-exile, when returnee Judeans faced a choice similar to that faced by the conquest generation addressed by Joshua in the story world of that text.[62] Though that setting is certainly possible, the frequent focus on fantasies of return found both in biblical traditions (e.g., Second Isaiah) and among diaspora groups studied by anthropologists suggests that the narrative vision of Joshua 24 could as easily be created amidst exile as post-exile. As mentioned above, some exiles prefer to speak of themselves as "returnees" even though their return still lies in the future.

It is always difficult, of course, to date any anonymous narrative that generally focuses on a time far distant from its probable time of composition. Nevertheless, both anthropological studies and study of more clearly exilic traditions provide indicators that the *collection and reshaping* of earlier traditions seen in the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal layer probably occurred in the exile, or (if later) at least was significantly shaped by that experience. This post-D Hexateuchal narrative in turn, or at least a form of Deuteronomy already thoroughly redacted (e.g., Deut 30:1–5; cf. Neh 1:8–9), appears to have been presupposed already in the mid-fifth century Nehemiah Memoir, which depends largely on non-P materials in its rationale for separation from the Persian-period counterparts to the conquered peoples of Joshua. Moreover, as I will suggest in a later portion of this chapter, this post-D Hexateuchal narrative may then establish the Hexateuchal scope of subsequent Persian-period conflation with a P document (which itself may have

61. To these considerations, I would add an intriguing observation (given to me by private communication from Reinhard Achenbach) of mention of Yhwh "knowing the name" of Moses in Exod 33:12, 17 (post-D) and a similar motif of calling the servant and Cyrus by name in Isa 43:1, 7; 45:3; 49:1. These may represent similar reapplications of the idea of Yhwh calling the king by his name to non-royal figures in the exilic period. As discussed in the last chapter, these sorts of reappropriations of state traditions (to nonstate figures) are typical of diaspora groups.

62. Blum, "Knoten," 194–206. On pp. 197–201, he suggests further that the picture of an all-Israelite assembly where the people are encouraged to give up gods of Mesopotamia worshipped by their parents (Josh 24:14, 15; note also 24:2) may be intended as an inclusive vision of Israel where post-exilic Northern Israelites—perceived in texts such as 2 Kgs 17:24–41 as long-time syncretists—have the opportunity to forsake their Mesopotamian gods and rejoin the Israelite people, one defined by loyalty to Yhwh. This intention would fit in either an exilic or post-exilic context.

covered similar narrative ground in responding to non-P) and addition of P-like expansions up through Josh 24:33. Together, these elements would suggest (though not require) a dating of the non-P Hexateuchal narrative already in the Neo-Babylonian or very early Persian period.

The Extension of the Post-D Hexateuch

Before moving to discussion of P, however, I turn briefly to a series of texts toward the outset of Judges that are similar to the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal layer, yet (I maintain) distinct. For example, the non-conquest list of Judg 1:1–36 and postlude featuring the מלאך יהוה in Judg 2:1–5 is linked into the narrative stream of Joshua through a resumptive repetition in Judg 2:6–10 that has affinities initially with the report in Joshua 24 (Judg 2:6–10a//Josh 24:28, 31, 29–30). This extension then marks the transition from one generation to another in ways that echo the above-discussed earlier transition in eras in Egypt (Judg 2:10//Exod 1:8) as expanded with a reversal of a portion of Josh 24:31bβ (//Judg 2:7bβγ) that marks the new generation under judges as one who did *not* witness the great work that Yhwh had done for Israel (Judg 2:10bβγ).

The use of Exod 1:8 as a model for the transition to Judges in Judg 2:10 only partially works, since Exod 1:8 marks the shift to *one* pharaoh who dominates the following narrative, while Judg 2:10 ostensively introduces a whole series of generations who do not know Yhwh and his acts. In so focusing on just one generation, Judg 2:10 does not fully introduce the series of generations covered by the following narrative of Judges. This, along with the mix of portions of Josh 24:31bβ//Judg 2:7bβγ into the transition formula given in Judg 2:10b, suggests that Judg 2:10 was modeled on Exod 1:8 rather than the reverse.[63] In both cases, Judg 2:8–10 and (its model) Gen 50:26; Exod 1:8, the transition relegates the conditions of the preceding narrative to the past so that a brand new chapter of the people's history can be narrated.[64]

This secondary extension of Joshua in Judg 1:1–2:10 then leads to a theological setting for the cycles of apostasy and deliverance in Judg 2:11–3:6 and the detailed reports of such cycles in Judg 3:7–16:31. As discussed in Chapter 5 of this book, the LXX of Joshua may preserve some evidence that an earlier form of

63. As suggested above, at some point the Priestly notice in Exod 1:6 probably was augmented with a harmonizing addition of וכל הדור ההוא to augment existing parallels between Exod 1:6, 8 and Judg 2:8, 10 (in Chapters 1 and 3 of this book, we saw that exactly such similar episodes are the most prone to memory assimilation and scribal coordination). This (added) final reference to a whole generation in Exod 1:6 is somewhat out of place there, since both P and non-P have nothing more than family narratives up to that point. Rather, the discussion of different generations has its original and proper home in the final note about the obedient generation under Joshua in 24:31 and then the addition of focus on following disobedient one(s) in Judg 2:10. Thus, the transitions between Genesis-Exodus and Joshua-Judges appear to have been formed through a process of mutual influence, for example, Exod 1:8 (non-P) as a model for Judg 2:10, and Judg 2:10 in turn as the origin point for the scribal coordinating addition of כל הדור ההוא into Exod 1:6 (P) to form an even closer parallel between Exod 1:6, 8 and Judg 2:8, 10.

64. Pointed out in Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 39 [ET 34].

TABLE 9.1 *The Genesis-Exodus and Joshua-Judges Transitions*

Genesis-Exodus	Joshua	Judges
	24.28 וישלח יהושע את־העם איש לנחלתו	2.6 וישלח יהושע את־העם וילכו בני־ישראל איש לנחלתו לרשת את־הארץ
	[24:31 ויעבד ישראל את־יהוה כל ימי יהושע	2.7 ויעבדו העם את־יהוה כל ימי יהושע
	וכל ימי הזקנים אשר האריכו ימים אחרי	וכל ימי הזקנים אשר האריכו ימים
	יהושע ואשר ידעו את כל־מעשה יהוה אשר עשה לישראל]	אחרי יהושוע אשר ראו את כל־מעשה יהוה הגדול אשר עשה לישראל
Genesis	24:29 ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה	
50:26a וימת יוסף	וימת יהושע	2:8 וימת יהושע
	בן־נון עבד יהוה	בן־נון עבד יהוה
בן־מאה ועשר שנים	בן־מאה ועשר שנים	בן־מאה ועשר שנים
ויחנטו אתו ויישם בארון במצרים	24:30 ויקברו אתו בגבול נחלתו	2:9 ויקברו אותו בגבול נחלתו
Cf. Gen 50:24	בתמנת־סרח אשר	בתמנת־חרס
	בהר־אפרים מצפון להר־געש	בהר אפרים מצפון להר־געש
		2:10 וגם כל־הדור ההוא נאספו
Exodus	cf. Josh 24:31bβ//Judg 2:10b	אל־אבותיו
1:8 ויקם מלך־חדש על־מצרים		ויקם דור אחר אחריהם
אשר לא־ידע את־יוסף	ואשר ידעו	אשר לא־ידעו את־יהוה
	את כל־מעשה יהוה אשר עשה לישראל	וגם את־המעשה אשר עשה לישראל

Joshua once extended to include mention of Eglon in Judg 3:12–14, before the insertion of the intervening material now found in Judg 1:1–3:11. Nevertheless, even apart from that evidence, we can see some important distinctions between much of the material in Judg 1:1–3:11 and the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal layer. For example, the postlude involving the "יהוה מלאך" in Judg 2:1–5 that is included in the new material folded into the outset of Joshua by this introduction shares characteristics with materials about the "יהוה מלאך" that appear to have been added secondarily to the preceding Hexateuch, including—most significantly—added to post-D Hexateuchal materials in the Sinai narrative (Exod 33:2).[65] In addition, the broader focus of its theological overviews (especially Judg 2:11–3:6) on the evils of Canaanite influence and the cycle of Israelite apostasy and divine deliverance is distinct from the focus of the specifically post-D Hexateuchal narrative materials (e.g., Josh 24:2–13) on the successful establishment of Israel under Moses and then Joshua (24:31). Thus, even if we did not have the potential evidence of LXX Joshua, we would have good reason to see the material in Judg 1:1–3:11, perhaps along with Joshua 23 as suggested by Smend, as a secondary expansion (whether created in one or more stages) on the Joshua tradition.[66]

This added prologue, in turn, may be connected to the formation of Judges as a separate book bridging between Joshua and Samuel in the Enneateuch, a move that may also have involved the splitting of some material originally connected to Saul and now found in Judges 19–21 from its connections with materials in 1 Samuel 1–3*, 11*.[67] Thus formed, Judges could serve as a bridge between the Hexateuch on the one hand and the story of the monarchy in Samuel-Kings on the other.[68] Prior this creation of an Enneateuch there would have been three

65. For observations regarding this late addition and its potential links to other materials in Exod 14:19a; 23:20ff; 33:2, 3b*; etc., see Blum, *Studien*, 365–76.

66. Thus contra Noth (Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: die sammelnden und bearbeiten Geschichtswerke im Alten Testamen* [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957], 45–47), Joshua 23 and Judg 2:6–10 did not constitute the original Deuteronomistic transition from Joshua to Judges, but are a secondary link of the two bodies of material around new concerns of foreign influence and cyclical apostasy. This then would be an example of a case where the potential continuity between texts is a misleading indicator regarding any original connection between them (on this issue, see Chapter 4).

67. Sara Milstein, "Revision Through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature," PhD diss. (New York: New York University, 2010), 221–88. Milstein builds a broader picture of Judean adaptations of originally Northern materials both in the introductory materials discussed here (e.g., revision of a Joseph-oriented set of traditions in Judg 1:22–36 through Judah-oriented material in 1:1–21, pp. 146–61) and elsewhere in Judges (e.g., 6:1–24 [pp. 214–15]; 17:6; 18:1; 21:25 [pp. 272–73]) and 1 Samuel (especially 1 Samuel 1; pp. 225–31, 273–78).

68. This proposal diverges from that of Alexander Rofé, "The End of the Book of Joshua According to the Septuagint," *Henoch* 4 (1982): 29–36, who sees the LXX conclusion of Joshua (and CD 5:1–5 indirectly) as testifying to the shape of the original Joshua-Judges transition in a joined Joshua-Judges scroll. That may be correct, but I am proposing here the possibility that one form of Joshua once ended much like the LXX Joshua, with only a tertiary connection to separately transmitted traditions about Eglon (traditions later incorporated along with other judges traditions into something like the book of Judges). The material now found in Judg 1:1–3:11 then would have been composed (in that form) as part of the reshaping of an older composition about Northern judges into a bridge between Joshua and Samuel.

compositions—a Hexateuch (gradually revised by Priestly editors), some sort of Samuel-Kings composition (later revised in a Levitical-Priestly direction by Chronicles partly drawing on information from the Hexateuch) and separately transmitted book about (Benjaminite and Northern) judges (not revised by P editors). We may still see a reflection of this state of affairs, albeit indirect and potentially problematic testimony by way of silence, in Second Temple reviews of history that skip directly from the generation of Joshua-Caleb to the generation of David, et.al. (e.g. CD A V:1–5; 1 Macc 2:51–60; cf. also Chronicles).

Exactly when these developments (relating to the formation of Judges) occurred is unclear, but I suggest they may be quite late in the post-exilic period. The extension of Joshua apparently post-dates the Persian (and early Hellenistic) retouching of Genesis-Joshua, since P and P-like influence is not clearly evident in Judges. Moreover, the scope of Chronicles, paralleling parts of Samuel-Kings exclusively and not reflecting much of Judges, also may suggest that Judges did not yet exist as a bridge between Hexateuchal and monarchal traditions. Finally, the above-mentioned potential evidence of LXX Joshua would support a dating of these developments late in the Hellenistic, perhaps even in the Hasmonean, period. Whatever the probable ancient origins of the deliverer traditions now embedded in much of Judges (to be discussed briefly in Chapter 16 of this book), they may not have been shaped into a part of the Enneateuch until this point. One factor that may have encouraged the incorporation of Judges materials between Joshua and Samuel is the evident focus on judge deliverer figures seen in demonstrably Hasmonean-period texts (e.g. Judith and 1 Maccabbees). Moreover, as seen in Chapter 5 of this book, many of the texts unique to the proto-MT and likely candidates to be parts of the late, Hasmonean-period shaping of the Hebrew Bible share with Judg 1:1–3:6 a semi-Deuteronomistic coloring and lack of clear Priestly characteristics.[69]

■ THE QUESTION OF EXILIC ELEMENTS IN THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF THE NON-P HEXATEUCH

Before moving to a consideration of Priestly material in the Hexateuch, I turn now to a brief exploration of the scope and dating of potential narrative precursors to the post-D Hexateuchal composition, with a particular focus at this point on elements that might date to the exile. As seen above, this composition appears to have built on at least three complexes of material: (1) a block of non-P materials in Genesis ending with the Joseph story; (2) pre-D Moses story materials; and (3) a composition beginning with the material in Deuteronomy.

The very division between the first two blocks already militates against the older documentary picture of the development of non-P materials, according to which their formation was best explained by the conflation of J and E documents spanning the ancestral and Moses story materials. As we saw, the post-D materials actually seem aimed at bridging the divide between these non-P narratives, solving the problem of their lack of connection. Aside from the post-D materials, almost nothing connects non-P Genesis with the Moses story, and there is much

69. See pp. 176–77 of this book.

that distinguishes them. Indeed, if one were to look at the non-P material of Genesis-Numbers (minus post-D additions) without the presupposition that they constituted a "JE" interwoven out of parallel narratives, the most prominent feature characterizing them is the distinction and lack of connection between the Genesis and Moses story non-P materials. Other indicators of stratification within the non-P materials pale in comparison to this basic one. It is a distinction not just constituted by the different subject matter of these blocks of materials, but also by the significantly different thematic elements and foci of each.

Exile and the Proto-Genesis Composition

Our best entry to those elements and foci once again are passages, many of which again show signs of secondary insertion into their contexts, that bind together the parts of a given composition. I start here with the non-P materials of Genesis, which are not only bound together by the above-discussed post-D elements (e.g., Gen 15; 22:15–18; 26:3b-4), but also an earlier network of promise and blessing texts on which these texts build. For example, Genesis 15 builds on and elaborates the promise of progeny and land in Gen 12:1–3, 7, and Gen 26:3bβ-5 expands on the travel-promise speech in 26:2–3bα. These earlier promise materials in Gen 12:1–3, 7 and 26:3bβ-5, in turn, connect the non-P Abraham and primeval history with each other (Gen 12:1–3) and join the Abraham and Jacob-Joseph materials (26:2–3bα along with a similar promise added in 28:13–14 [as part of a broader insertion in 28:13–16*]). These and several other promise materials in the ancestral history (e.g., 13:14–17 [//28:13–14]; 48:15–16, 21–2) are distinguished from the later post-D materials by their particular focus on the theme of blessing and lack of any reference to the promise of land or multiplication by oath.[70] Moreover, their scope is more confined, occurring exclusively within the non-P ancestral materials of Genesis 12–50. Spanning quite diverse materials about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, these promises turn those materials into a narrative of God's ongoing blessing of Israel's ancestors.

Since these promise materials are confined to the ancestral narratives and the non-P primeval history shows signs of having existed independently of them, some have raised serious questions about the time when the non-P primeval history was added to Genesis and whether the non-P ancestral narrative once existed on its own.[71] Nevertheless, multiple indicators suggest that this connection of primeval and ancestral materials pre-dated the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal composition.

The external indicator of a prior connection of primeval and ancestral materials is the way post-D compositional materials are present in both Genesis 1–11 and 12–50 that otherwise do not seem focused on building a connection between them. Indeed, despite the presence of apparent post-D Hexateuchal materials in the non-P primeval history (e.g., Gen 10:16–18a and the focus on enslavement of

70. For a broader survey of potential proto-Genesis texts and discussion of their character, see my *Reading the Fractures*, 177–232.

71. See, for example, Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 359–60.

Canaan in 9:25–26), the back-references to events before Moses in post-D Hexateuchal texts focus exclusively on the ancestors of Israel (e.g., Josh 24:2–4 and references to the oath promise of the land). In contrast to the evident focus of the post-D compositional materials on linking and coordinating separate ancestral and Moses non-P materials, there is no such evidence for a *focus* of the post-D composition on the primeval history, even as it appears to have reshaped those primeval materials slightly. In sum, the post-D composition seems to intervene across the span of what might be termed a "proto-Genesis" composition (with a similar creation-to-Joseph scope as the book of Genesis), but it does not show signs of having been responsible for originally connecting those materials with each other.

In addition, certain features of Gen 12:1–3 suggest that it was formed not only to introduce the non-P ancestral history, but also to contrast it with the non-P primeval materials that precede it. This text links in a contrastive way to the primeval history through its promise of a great "name" to Abraham (Gen 12:2aγ), a divine gift of fame that contrasts with the striving of world peoples for a "name" in the Tower of Babel story (Gen 11:4). Moreover, it introduces a focus on Abraham's unique blessing that then contrasts with the curse occurring with relative frequency in the non-P primeval history (Gen 3:14–15, 17–19; 4:11; 9:25–27*; cf. 8:21). To be sure, the primeval history itself is not well characterized as a history of curse, and past readings of the blessing Gen 12:2–3 as a blessing of the world through Abraham are based more on a Christian universalizing reinterpretation of those verses than with their probable original meaning.[72] Nevertheless, standing near the juncture between the non-P and ancestral history materials, Gen 12:1–3 appears to *re*construe elements of the preceding non-P primeval history, depicting Abraham's great name and blessing in a way that contrasts with an implicit reading of the primeval history as a time of curse and a failed attempt to secure a great name.

Dating and placement of the compositional materials that constitute this non-P proto-Genesis narrative are difficult, particularly given the relatively few verses that can be assigned with much certainty to this layer. One might argue that references to the oath promise of land (and multiplication) to the fathers/ancestors in Deuteronomy-Joshua and Jeremiah establish the pre-exilic existence of an ancestral promise tradition akin to that seen in the linking promise texts of the proto-Genesis composition, indeed a promise tradition now reinterpreted to be a promise of land by oath.[73] Nevertheless, at least some of these references to an oath promise of land to "the fathers" are not clearly related to the patriarchs,[74] and even

72. This is discussed at greater length in Chapter 16 of this book, pp. 458–62.

73. John A. Emerton, "The Origin of the Promises to the Patriarchs in the Older Sources of the Book of Genesis," *VT* 32 (1982): 30; Ernest Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 142. Note that Ezek 33:24 only establishes the idea of Abraham "taking possession of the land," not the promise of the land to him.

74. On this, see the arguments of John Van Seters, "Confessional Reformulation in the Exilic Period," *VT* 22 (1972): 448–59 and Thomas C. Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition*, OBO 99 (Freiburg and Göttingen:

if they do presuppose some sort of promise to them, it does not necessarily imply the existence of the full-blown promise narratives of an early form of Genesis linked to what follows.[75] Indeed, Deuteronomy-Joshua and Jeremiah are marked by their striking lack of specific echoes of non-P materials of Genesis in comparison with often detailed reviews of Moses story materials. If the authors of these texts knew of something like a proto-Genesis composition, they did not reflect that knowledge in an obvious way and treated that composition quite differently from the Moses materials.

Meanwhile, there are some indicators suggesting an exilic date for the network of proto-Genesis linking texts, even if many of the materials that they connect probably have earlier origins. Take, for example, the way they demonstrate a typically exilic reapplication of monarchal themes—for example, the promise of a "great name" in royal ideology (Ps 72:17)—to nonmonarchal figures (seen also in Second Isaiah). More generally, Blum has pointed out that the focus of these proto-Genesis promise texts on decisive affirmation of a seemingly *threatened* ancestral blessing seems to have a natural home in a context, exile, where such promises were called into question.[76] Finally, the focus on hope and blessing seen in the proto-Genesis promise text network conforms to broader trends, seen in the previous chapter, toward a focus on hope in specifically exilic materials of Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, and expansions in Micah, Amos, and Zephaniah. Of the profiles discussed so far, the exile appears the closest to the emphases of the texts that can be linked specifically to the proto-Genesis composition.

This is significant because, as seen through the opening example of the shift from Ezek 33:24–29 to Isa 51:1–2, relatively datable texts in the Bible seem to chronicle an increasing knowledge of and/or focus on ancestral traditions during the exile. Prior to the exile, we have little more than the above-discussed brief references in D-related texts to Yhwh's oath promise to the fathers,[77] and at the outset we have Ezekiel's cursory characterization of opponents citing Abraham "taking possession" (ירש) of the land (Ezek 33:24; see also Isa 63:16). But Second Isaiah 51:1–2 and other texts (e.g., Isa 41:8; see also Jer 33:26) represent a move toward a specific, positive appropriation of ancestral promise traditions (note also "Eden" in Isa 51:3), a move continued in later additions to prophetic books (e.g., Mic 7:20; Isa 29:22), late psalms (e.g., Ps 105:6–23), Chronicles, and the expansion of focus on ancestors in Second Temple Judaism.

Thus, the exilic character of the proto-Genesis connecting texts combined with the emergence of focus on ancestral promise during the exilic period combine to point to the exile as the most likely time for the composition of the broader

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Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) and cf. Norbert Lohfink, *Die Väter Israels im Deuteronomium*, OBO 111 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

75. Norbert Lohfink, "Deuteronomium und Pentateuch," in *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literature III*, idem. (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 34.

76. Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 346–49.

77. The case of potential reference to Jacob traditions in Hosea 12 will be treated in Chapter 16 of this book.

proto-Genesis narrative. As I will suggest in Chapter 16, this proto-Genesis composition likely had several pre-exilic precursors of more limited scope (e.g., a free-standing primeval history, multiple Abraham traditions, and various phases of a Jacob-Joseph story). Yet the exile, a time when there was added interest among exiles in Israel's earliest history, appears to have been a time when these traditions initially were pulled together into a proto-Genesis composition that was one of the major building blocks for the above-discussed post-D Hexateuch.

Non-P Moses Story Materials

The task of both isolating and dating non-P Moses traditions used in the post-D Hexateuch is more difficult. There seem to be fewer overall compositional links in these non-P Moses materials than there were in Genesis. Moreover, a problem exists in defining the materials to be dated since—as discussed in the Chapter 4 excursus—there are some indicators of potential multiple origins of Moses story materials. Finally, it seems likely that we are missing significant sections of any broader pre-D Moses narrative, since the conclusion of Moses's life and any narration of the conclusion of Israel's wilderness journey seems to have been lost in the process of its conflation with materials in Deuteronomy and Joshua.

An attempt was made to unravel some of this complexity in the Chapter 4 excursus, but I claim little for the results. I went as far as I believe one can go there in using Deuteronomy as a key to the contents of an earlier Moses story. Since Deuteronomy seems to have replaced whatever conclusion such a composition once had, the main other locus for some discussion would seem trying to isolate a possible beginning to such a composition, insofar as one might be preserved (something that we have seen in Chapter Four cannot be assumed will happen in textual transmission). In my view, the most evocative proposal regarding this is Konrad Schmid's proposal that the Moses story started with a form of the birth and rescue story found in Exodus 2. Schmid suggests that this story in Exodus 2, considered apart from the story of genocide in Exodus 1*, originally was designed (like the Sargon legend it resembles) to deal with the questionable origins of its protagonist, in this case a problem with Moses's birth out of wedlock to an unspecified Levite.[78] The preceding non-P materials in Exodus 1 (1:8–12, 15–21) show a number of affinities with Genesis themes of multiplication. Featuring a typical post-D Hexateuchal focus on the fearsome military power of the Israelites (e.g., Exod 1:9–10, 12, 20), the non-P parts of Exodus 1 are good candidates to be part of a broader post-D Hexateuchal bridge between Genesis and the Moses Story. If they so reshaped the story, they almost certainly intervened in Exodus 2 as well to fit this now recontextualized story into a new narrative flow.

Be that as it may, it is much more difficult to identify overarching compositional links in the Moses Story that would provide an equivalent handle for

78. See Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus*, 152–7 [ET 139–44] and additional arguments offered in Eckart Otto, "Mose und das Gesetz: Die Mose-Figur als Gegenentwurf Politischer Theologue zur neuassyrischen Königsideologie im 7. Jh. v. Chr," in *Mose: Ägypten und das Alte Testament*, idem. (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2000), 49–51.

dating a pre-D Moses story to the pre-D promises discussed above for the proto-Genesis composition. In my judgment, little more can be done at this juncture than point to indicators that *some* of the Moses material used by the post-D Hexateuchal author was already shaped in the exile. Perhaps the most prominent example is in the plague narratives, where a major theme is Yhwh's proof of power on a world stage against Pharaoh's claim of lack of knowledge of Yhwh (e.g., Exod 5:2; 9:30; 10:16–17), a proof that comes through Moses's repeated prophetic announcements of judgment against Pharaoh and their fulfillment by Yhwh. This theme in the non-P (and P) plague narratives answers the broader sense of exilic shame at national and theological humiliation caused by the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, and it particularly resembles the stress in exilic prophecy on other nations/all flesh (Isa 40:5; Ezek 21:10) seeing or knowing Yhwh's glory and power. Indicators such as this suggest the shaping of non-P Moses story materials during the exile, but not necessarily the overall composition of an early non-P Moses story in that period. In later chapters, I will discuss indicators that some portions of the biblical Moses story originate in the Neo-Assyrian and likely earlier periods.

The Scope and Dating of the D Composition Used in the Post-D Hexateuch

Finally, there is the question of the scope and potential exilic origins of the composition beginning with Deuteronomy that was adopted by the post-D Hexateuchal redactor. In the prior discussion of the post-D Hexateuchal compositional layer, I have left open the extent of this composition, since the hypothesis of that layer is compatible with the supposition of any composition beginning with Deuteronomy and including at least Joshua. It could be that the post-D Hexateuchal author(s) had something like a Deuteronomistic History beginning with Deuteronomy, but separated (Judges and) Samuel-Kings from the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua, marking the end of a new Hexateuch through the Joshua 24 narrative and its reference to the "Torah of God." Or it could be that the post-D Hexateuchal author only had a composition including parts of Deuteronomy and Joshua, simply conflating that document with its non-P Tetrateuchal precursors, before more appendices were added to its end that became the (Judges) bridge to a separate Samuel-Kings narrative.

Several indicators point to the latter option (use of a Deuteronomy-Joshua composition) as slightly preferable. First, from the outset, the march command at the outset of Deut 1:6–8 is oriented toward the conquest in Joshua, and the following review of Israel's post-Horeb march toward the land continues that focus.[79] Second, other parts of the paraenetic pre-law portions of Deuteronomy, such as the holy war exhortation in Deuteronomy 7, join tightly to (the execution of that holy war in) Joshua. Third, the Deuteronomy-Joshua complex is distinguished from the following books by some other features, such as the (above-discussed) promise of land to the fathers by oath, the idea that Yhwh will give Israel rest prior

79. Reinhard Achenbach, *Vollendung der Tora: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch*, BZAW 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 174–77.

to land possession[80] and an articulation of that taking possession with the verb ירש (versus נתן).[81] Certainly, the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua, as well as the post-D compositional layer that linked with them, show resonances with and probable knowledge of parts of the books of Samuel-Kings. Nevertheless, mere parallels to other narratives and/or evident knowledge of them do not prove that they were connected on a single scroll or conceived as a single literary work.[82] And the arguments presented above suggest that the book of Judges only emerged at a relatively late point as a probable post-P (and perhaps post-Chronistic) bridge between Genesis-Joshua on the one hand and Samuel-Kings on the other.

Overall, an early post-exilic author would not have intervened as much in his materials if he took an already circumscribed composition including Deuteronomy-Joshua and combined it with preceding non-P materials. Moreover, the ending of such a Hexateuchal composition would have been more secure, such that later authors could extend it—as ancient scribes often did at the ends of compositions—by adding the sorts of additional material seen in Judg 1:1–3:11 and elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is, as said above, also possible that the post-D Hexateuchal redactor created the Hexateuch by dividing Deuteronomy-Joshua from the material that followed, thus creating an opening for the addition of later materials such as those in Joshua 1ff.

In either case, we lack many specific indicators of specifically *exilic* or early post-exilic composition in Deuteronomy and Joshua. In the previous chapter, I discussed one potential example of exilic shaping of Deuteronomy: the echoes of exilic themes (e.g., circumcision of the heart) and promises of return from exile in Deut 30:1–10. Nevertheless, the case of Deut 30:1–10 is circumscribed, marked by its limited character as an intervention in an earlier text, and clear indicators of exilic origins are lacking across much of the rest of Deuteronomy-Joshua. Further reflections on the origins of this material will come in Chapters 10 (on the Neo-Assyrian period) and 16 (on the early pre-exilic period). For now we must recognize that the Deuteronomy-Joshua text (or Deuteronomy-2 Kings) used by the post-D redactor was (at least) reshaped in the exilic period, probably in more ways than we can trace on the basis of indicators left in the received text.

Conclusion to Precursors of the Post-D Hexateuch

In conclusion, much uncertainty surrounds this attempt to discern the precursors of the post-D Hexateuch through the fog of centuries of oral-written transmission. Literary features in Genesis-Joshua help establish *that* these books were

80. Moenikes, "Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des sogenannten Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," *ZAW* 104 (1992): 346; Georg Braulik, "Zur deuteronomistische Konzeption von Freiheit und Frieden," in *Studien zur Theologie des Deuteronomiums*, idem., SBAB 2 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 219–30. See Deut 3:20; Josh 1:13b, 15; 21:43–45; 22:4 versus 2 Sam 7:1, 11; 1 Kgs 5:18; 8:56.

81. Norbert Lohfink, "Kerygmata des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes," in *Die Botschaft und die Boten*, ed. Jörge Jeremias and Lothar Perlitt (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 94–96.

82. Again, Blum, "Woran erkennt?" 90–93.

created out of a combination of a prior proto-Genesis composition, pre-D Moses story (and assorted traditions), and a composition beginning with Deuteronomy and including (at least) Joshua. Moreover, there are some ways in which texts in the non-P Moses story, Deuteronomy+ composition, and proto-Genesis composition resonate with the exilic profile established in the previous chapter and this one. This is most true, I have argued, for the proto-Genesis composition, which is characterized by a limited network of promise-focused compositional links that agree in important respects with the profile of previously discussed exilic texts. In the case of non-P Moses materials and Deuteronomy-Joshua, I found exilic-seeming elements, but not as many indicators linking these compositions to the exilic period. Rather, I argued that there is some evidence of exilic reshaping in each, a reshaping that is likely only partially reconstructible given the limited data one ever has for non-documented layers of expansion. In this way, we find ourselves journeying further into uncertainty the further we attempt to penetrate behind the surface of the texts we now have. Indeed, we have come a long way in this chapter from the relative certainty of the combination of P and non-P elements discussed in the Persian-period chapter or even identification of various levels of coordination of Deuteronomy with the Tetrateuchal material that precedes it.

■ THE PRIESTLY NARRATIVE

Meanwhile, there is a body of material alongside the above-discussed post-D Hexateuch that likewise may date from the exile or shortly afterward: a Priestly document starting in Gen 1:1–2:3 and extending at least through Exodus. Already at several times in this book, I have had occasion to mention the relatively high level of scholarly consensus on the identification of P elements spanning Genesis through Joshua that has persisted since the time of Nöldeke's *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testament* (1869). Therefore, I will not attempt in what follows anything like the detailed process of identification attempted above for the post-D Hexateuchal composition layer. Instead, I will build on this past consensus, addressing particular issues in the current debate that are especially relevant for placing parts of the Priestly narrative in a context quite close to that of the above-discussed non-Priestly post-D Hexateuchal layer.

The Character of the Priestly Stratum

However one defines the layers and character of the Priestly material identified in this consensus, two features stand out that are significant for this analysis. The first is the distinctiveness of this Priestly material, so set off from its non-Priestly counterparts by language and conceptuality as to be easily identifiable. The second feature is the way this distinctive Priestly material closely parallels and sometimes even seems to presuppose non-Priestly material without featuring extensive verbal parallels. Take, for example, Priestly material in Genesis that most would agree once formed part of an originally separate Priestly composition. Both P and non-P narratives feature creation stories that propose opposing positions with regard to

godlikeness (Gen 1:1–2:3; cf. 2:4b-3:24), genealogies of the generations from creation to flood (Gen 5*//4:17–24 [25–26]), flood narratives following similar outlines but with quite different concepts of sacrifice (P in Gen 6:9–22; 7:6, 11, 13–16a, 18–21, 23aβ, 24; 8:1–2a, 3b-5, 14–19), reports of Abraham's journey to Canaan (P in Gen 11:27, 31–32; 12:4b-5), splits with Lot (13:6, 11b-12abα), covenant with Abraham (P in Gen 17:1–27), Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:29), *competing explanations of Jacob's departure for Aram/Paddan-Aram (Gen 26:34–35; 27:46–28:9; cf. non-P 27:1–45), notes about his departure from there (31:17–18), *quite different accounts of his visit to Bethel and anointing of a pillar there (Gen 35:9–15; cf. non-P Gen 28:10–22), and—after a few potential fragments of P (Gen 37:2; 46:5–7; 47:5–6a, 7–11, 27b; 48:3–6) that correspond to the much more extensive non-P Joseph novella—similar notices of Jacob's deathbed commission, death, and burial (Gen 49:1a, 29–33; 50:12–13, 22–23).[83] In instances such as the episodes marked with an asterisk in the above list, the P and non-P accounts offer *opposing* perspectives on the same events or features, such as the insistence in P (Gen 35:14–15) that Jacob set up a pillar and made a drink offering at Bethel when he named it, without a hint of the assertion in Gen 28:20–22 that he vowed to establish a temple there. In some cases, such as the Priestly flood narrative or the early narrative about Moses, one gets the sense that the Priestly narrative presupposes that its audience knows of elements in its non-Priestly counterpart—e.g. the more lengthy description of violence in Genesis 4 (cf. P in Gen 6:11, 13) and the lack of an introduction of Moses between P in Exod 2:23aβ-25 and the next P text in Exod 6:2–12. Yet there are virtually no verbal parallels between the strands. And this complex of phenomena continues in the undisputed portions of P and non-P in the book of Exodus. Here again we find parallel P and non-P versions of the oppression of the Israelites (P in Exod 1:13–14), call of Moses (P in Exod 6:2–8; cf. 3:1–4:17), plagues (P in Exod 7:20–22*; 8:5–7, 15–19*; 9:8–12), the Reed Sea account (P in 14:1–4, 8–10*, 15–18, 21–23*, 26–29), and Sinai (P especially in 24:15b-31:18*; 35:1–40:34*). Once again, certain accounts seem to relate to each other, such as the Priestly version of Moses's call narrative developing a periodized history of the revelation of Yhwh's name (6:2–3), where the non-P call narrative merely featured an interaction surrounding certification of the authenticity of Moses's message through his being able to accurately report Yhwh's name and interpret its significance to Israelites who might not recognize him (Exod 3:13–15).[84] Even more significantly, large swathes of the Priestly Sinai narrative and subsequent narratives about Yhwh's authorization of Aaron can be seen—in part—as alternatives to the negative picture of Aaron and the priesthood implicit in the post-D Hexateuchal Sinai and post-Sinai materials. These accounts,

83. For an overview, see my *Reading the Fractures*, 126–27, with a summary of the arguments for identification in 48–113.

84. Antony Campbell and Mark O'Brien, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 185, note 51; Christopher R. Seitz, "The Call of Moses and the 'Revelation' of the Divine Name: Source-Critical Logic and Its Legacy," in *Theological Exegesis: FS B. S. Childs*, ed. Christopher Seitz and Kathryn Greene-McCreight (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 235–39.

though originally separate, do not appear independent, and analyses of their relationships have concluded that the relationship of dependence, where it exists, is that of the Priestly material on the non-Priestly material. Nevertheless, even at points where P and non-P correspond closely in content, the verbal similarities are so minimal as to be plausibly coincidental.

This mix of dependence, presupposition of some non-P material by P, and lack of extensive verbatim parallels would not be produced in a context where the non-P material already had achieved the sort of authority that it was being "written on the tablet of the heart" of (diaspora) Judean scribes. When a text, such as a version of Samuel-Kings, had achieved that kind of authority, a substantial revision of it would take a form more like that of Chronicles, with extensive verbatim parallels. In this case, however, the Priestly material shows signs of having been created in a relatively small-scale scribal environment in pointed opposition to the emergence of the post-D Hexateuch discussed above. Based on the above-described links of P and non-P, it is apparent that the authors of P know of the existence of that post-D composition and could presuppose that their audience does as well. Nevertheless, these Priestly authors show no evidence of having internalized the wording of that source and do not reflect it. Instead, they created a counter-composition covering the same narrative scope and many (though not all) of the same events as the non-P Hexateuch, one that originally stood separate from that work. One mark of its original separateness is the fact that the positive force of many Priestly alternative pictures of figures (e.g., Jacob, Aaron) or events (e.g., Bethel) is blunted when those pictures are now intermixed (as they now are) with their non-Priestly counterparts.

However much such Priestly tradents appear to have composed their own rough correlates to many episodes in the non-P material (e.g., the Priestly Bethel story in Gen 35:9–15), they also seem to have built on some earlier traditions, many of them possibly written traditions, in composing their document. For example, the creation story in Gen 1:1–2:3 is only approximately linked to the *toledot* framework of the following P material and could easily stand on its own as a separate composition.[85] Gen 5:1a appears to refer to a preexisting "Toledot scroll" that was adapted by P (Gen 5:1b-2) as a bridge between creation and flood (and then used as a partial model for the specifically Priestly bridge between flood and Abram in Gen 11:10-26).[86] Though scholars long have supposed that parts of the genealogy of Edom (Genesis 36) may have originated from non-Priestly sources, other genealogical portions of Genesis 36 and elsewhere probably have a separate Priestly pre-history, as do the sacrificial instructions found in Leviticus 1–7. The balance of verbal and other characteristics shared between Lev 11:3–20, 39–41 and Deut 14:3–21 (a unique level of verbatim agreement between the two legal corpora) suggests that both texts adapt the same text differently.[87] And this only covers

85. For an intertextual indicator of its possible pre-exilic origins, see Michael Fishbane, "Jer 4:23–26 and Job 3:3–13: A Recovered Use of the Creation Pattern," *VT* (1971): 151–53.

86. Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 71–72.

87. Christophe Nihan, "The Laws about Clean und Unclean Animals in Leviticus and Deuteronomy and their Place in the Formation of the Pentateuch," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on*

some of the blocks of Priestly text that show more clearly, in one way or another, their probable existence prior to being embedded into a broader Priestly narrative that corresponded to its non-Priestly precursor.

Overall, I suggest that the original Priestly document, insofar as we can reconstruct it, appears to have been a broader counter-narrative to its non-Priestly counterpart incorporating, at points, earlier (sometimes pre-exilic) sources that often lack a counterpart in the non-P narrative (e.g. Leviticus 1–7, traditions behind Leviticus 11–15; etc.). To be sure, at points such as the Genesis 1:1–2:3 creation narrative or the Genesis 5 toledot book, the Priestly authors seem to have used earlier alternate traditions to offer a different account of events covered in the non-P narrative. Nevertheless, at others, such as the Priestly narrative embedded in parts of Genesis 12–50 and Exodus 1–14, the Priestly narrative does not show clear signs of having been created out of earlier, freestanding textual precursors. Instead it probably was created specifically as a rough alternative to the corresponding non-P narrative. And indeed, even here, for example in P's apparent incorporation in Exod 12:1–14 of an ancient Passover tradition, P probably built on earlier traditions—perhaps unusually fluid in some cases because exclusively oral—that are now difficult to trace precisely.

The result is that P, like the post-D Hexateuch, is not of one piece. Much like the post-D Hexateuch appears to have been built in large part out of connecting and expanding on at least three sizable precursor compositions (proto-Genesis, a Moses story, and a Deuteronomy-Joshua composition), so the original P appears to have been built in large part out of preexisting compositions, and in both cases these compositions appear to be of divergent origins.[88] Moreover, just as the post-D authors appear to have built on often fluid preexisting traditions in the process of expanding on and coordinating these precursor compositions with each other (e.g., post-D use of a distinctive tradition about Moses spreading his spirit on elders in Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30), so also the authors of P appear to have built on an often unreconstructible bulk of fluid traditions in composing their

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Current Research, ed. Thomas Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch Schwartz, FAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 401–32.

88. Aside from secondary (probable Priestly) links such as Gen 5:1b-2 (again, see my *Reading the Fractures*, 71–72), there is little specific to connect Gen 1:1–2:3 with the toledot book in Genesis 5, and neither is directly linked with the ideology and viewpoint of the sacrificial instructions in Leviticus 1–7. Each is an independent composition with its own foci, which probably could explain why, for example, there are no specifications for speech in the sanctuary and other elements one might expect in a comprehensive overview of a given cult. The liturgy of the temple is simply not the topic of such earlier Priestly materials. Contra Israel Knohl (*Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995]), this lack is not the strange ideology of a "sanctuary of silence" but an artifact of the topics that happened to fall under the purview of the (diverse) documents appropriated and adapted by the authors of P in the process of setting them in a broader narrative. For this reason, I reject Knohl's misleading (in my opinion) use of the term "P" for what I believe are more accurately designated the sources of P. Moreover, I find it less confusing to continue to use the term "P" to designate the originally separate Priestly document, while referring here to sources used by P to indicate precursor texts whose faint outlines we can detect (sometimes) in that Priestly strand. This stays consistent with how the term "P" has been used in previous scholarly literature and avoids imputing to the sources of P a level of conceptual and linguistic coherence that they do not, in my opinion, have.

counterhistory to non-P. Indeed, this tight orientation toward prior tradition is characteristic of Ancient Near Eastern authorship more generally. More specifically, it probably represents a more general orientation of the authors of its period toward reconstrual and reconnection of tradition, rather than creation of broad new wholes. Thus, the author(s) of P, like those of the non-P (post-D) Hexateuch, should be conceived not as composers of brand new works but as combined collectors and expanders of tradition, and any effort at dating their work should be focused not on the material they likely appropriated (e.g., Gen 1:1–2:3 or Leviticus 1–7, 14, etc.) but on the connecting narrative and broader narrative frame that more likely originated with them.

All this, of course, does not address the lively debate about how far this Priestly document once extended into the books of Leviticus-Joshua. Where an increasing number of scholars have argued that the original P ended already somewhere late in Exodus (e.g., Exodus 29 or 40), a few have attempted to revive the older theory, already present in Nöldeke, that P extended into Joshua.[89]

Grounds for both views are present in the text, probably partly because the text contains a mix of Priestly source and P-like redactional material. On the one hand, it seems clear that some kind of P redaction extended from Genesis to the end of Joshua (and apparently no further), since Joshua concludes with a death and burial notice for Eleazar, the priest, that seems to mimic and be appended to the preceding non-Priestly conclusion of Joshua (Josh 24:29–30[31–32]). And indeed, many since Noth have judged the relatively sparse clearly P material elsewhere in P to be P (or post-P) redaction as well. On the other hand, the above discussion of the character of P (in relation to non-P) would add to other arguments that some sort of P source may well have included a land-possession narrative, albeit one of uncertain scope and contours. In this way, the P source would have constituted a complete counternarrative to the non-P Hexateuch to which it responded. Furthermore, as mentioned at the outset of this chapter, contemporary anthropology has highlighted the intense focus among displaced diaspora groups on return and land,[90] and the focus on such themes even in widely agreed upon P^g materials in Genesis and Exodus (e.g., Exod 6:8) suggests that P continued beyond the wilderness to envision some kind of settlement in the land. This settlement represented an unfolding of promises made to Abraham and his heirs, the final point of the march narrated in Priestly itinerary notices spanning Exodus (-Numbers), a retaking of land in which generations of ancestors had been buried (an ancient way of laying claim to land),[91] and an endpoint for the cultic encampment established at Sinai. Whatever fragments of P are preserved in Joshua are few, and they may be artfully integrated into their non-P surroundings to serve as framing elements (as is true, in another way, with how P elements structure

89. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Structure of P," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 275–92; Norbert Lohfink, "Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte," in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, VTSup 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), note 30, 198–99 [ET 145–46]; and more recently, Philippe Guillaume, *Land and Calendar: The Priestly Document from Genesis 1 to Joshua 18*, Library of Hebrew Bible 391 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009).

90. See before, p. 253.

91. On this latter point, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 122, including note 21.

non-P materials in Genesis as well). Nevertheless, texts such as Josh 4:19; 5:10–12; 14:1–5; 18:1; 19:51; and even 20–21 are candidates to preserve portions of a prior Priestly narrative that is not as evident in Deuteronomy (though see, e.g., Deut 34:1*, 7–9*).[92]

Dating the Priestly Stratum

Already the above-discussed dynamics would suggest an exilic (or perhaps early post-exilic) setting for the Priestly composition similar to that for the post-D Hexateuch. Nevertheless, there are some indicators in P itself that provide further support for this placement of the composition of at least an early form of P in the exilic period. The affinities of the P material with (putatively exilic) Ezekiel materials are well known, as are the resonances between P and Second Isaiah. These similarities include shared terminology, themes, and narrative motifs. To be sure, one might argue for a dependence of P on Ezekiel and Second Isaiah or vice versa, and some have. Here, I suggest that it would make more sense to suggest that all three documents share a common exilic profile, especially since there is not sufficient overlapping language to establish clear literary dependence of one on the other.

Like the non-P Hexateuchal composition with which it interacts, this Priestly composition shows signs of being composed in light of the experience of exile. The narrative leading up to Sinai focuses exclusively on practices that became particularly important in the diaspora, such as circumcision (Genesis 17), an ancient form of Passover that could be celebrated outside Jerusalem (Exod 12:1–14), and Sabbath (Exodus 16; cf. Gen 2:1–3). Moreover, the earliest form of the Priestly tabernacle narrative seems to have described the creation of a utopian wilderness tabernacle unconnected to the specifics of the Second Temple, a gap that appears to be recognized by later tradents who modified parts of that narrative to include elements of the Second Temple cult, such as the incense altar mentioned in Chronicles (Exod 30:1–10; cf. 1 Chr 6:34; 28:18; 2 Chr 26:16, 19), half-shekel tax (Exod 30:11–16), and the bronze altar (Exod 30:17–21).[93] In addition, scholars have noted how the Priestly material is intensely oriented toward the land promise and the need for the people of Israel to have enough faith to take possession of it (Num 13:32; 14:36–37), linking with the above-discussed tendencies of people in diaspora to focus with particular intensity on the prospect of return. Finally, insofar as linguistic evidence provides any general guide to what was happening across different Judean scribal groups, Hurvitz's and others' comparative work has established the relatively archaic character of much Priestly language compared to late parts of the Ezekiel tradition (especially Ezekiel 40–48) and the late post-exilic Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles works.[94]

92. See Chapter 4 (pp. 138–44 [especially 138–40]) of this book for a brief consideration of the case made on the basis of textual dependence against Deut 34:1*, 7–9* as part of an early P document.

93. See my *Reading the Fractures*, 136, note 44 for a summary of the long-standing observations that show this development.

94. See, in particular, Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (Paris: Gabalda, 1982). The chief liability of

To be sure, as in the case of the post-D Hexateuch, many of these arguments would work about as well for the early Persian period as the late Neo-Babylonian period. Elements characteristic of exilic biblical texts feature so prominently in P on the one hand, while the orientation in P toward repossession of the land is so strong on the other, that consensus is probably particularly difficult to achieve on this point. Some recent studies have raised some additional arguments that the picture of nations in P material of Genesis 10 and the generally peaceful relations posited between Israel and its immediate neighbors in P materials might reflect Judean sympathy with Persian political concerns on the eve of the Egyptian campaign.[95] Nevertheless, some indicators suggest that the P-like material in Genesis 10 was not part of an originally separate P document,[96] and the other potential links to Persian imperial policy are of a very general character.[97] Overall, insofar as one can date a stratum on the basis of indirect indicators, one can say that a later Persian period (or Hellenistic) date is unlikely, while some kind of date in or just after the exile is more plausible.

The Question of H Materials Amidst the Broader Priestly Stratum

So far I have discussed the composition, probably in the exile, of an independent Priestly document that built on earlier materials in the process of offering a broader narrative alternative to the above-discussed post-D Hexateuch. In addition, in the chapter on the Persian period, I considered the combination of this Priestly document with its non-Priestly counterpart, perhaps motivated in part by an aim to create a single diasporic Judean document that could be certified

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this work for the purposes of this present discussion is the lack of diachronic differentiation between parts of P and Ezekiel in Hurvitz's discussion. In particular, many of his comparisons end up suggesting the possible chronological priority of parts of Leviticus 1–7 (here identified as containing remnants of pre-P sources) over Ezekiel 40–48 (one of the most clearly identifiable late portions of the book of Ezekiel). Though this *might* (with qualifications given in Chapter 4 about linguistic dating) help in the relative dating of a late (post-exilic?) stratum of Ezekiel vis-à-vis material likely used by P, it does not help in establishing the relative priority of the main stratum of P vis-à-vis material likely originating from the early-sixth-century prophet Ezekiel.

95. For example, Albert de Pury, "P as the Absolute Beginning," in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque*, ed. Thomas Römer and Konrad Schmid (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2007), 124–26; Christophe Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*, FAT 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), especially p. 383; Konrad Schmid, "Gibt es eine „abrahamitische Ökumene'im Alten Testament? Überlegungen zur religionspolitischen Theologie der Priesterschrift in Genesis 17," in *Die Erzväter in der biblischen Tradition (FS Köckert)*, ed. Anselm Hagedorn and Henrik Pfeiffer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 67–92.

96. Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 99–101 summarizes indicators and literature.

97. De Pury's arguments vis-à-vis the picture of God in Genesis 1 and the Cyrus cylinder ("P as Beginning," 124–25) presupposes a problematic reading of the Cyrus cylinder as a statement of innovative and general Persian policy (on this, cf. Amelie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achamenid Royal Ideology," *JSOT* 25 [1983]: 83–97), and many of his other arguments mainly exclude a Persian-period date after the time of Cyrus (e.g., regarding the portrayal in P of Egypt [De Pury, 125], the lack of concrete focus on Jerusalem or specific cultic practices in [De Pury's] P^g [De Pury 126–27]).

by local Persian authorities as Persian-sponsored law. Yet I suggest here that we should be sensitive to the probability of mutual influence of P and non-P materials between the composition of P (in opposition to post-D) and the combination of the P document with its post-D counterpart. Given the modest size of the diasporic Judean community, the small number of scribes producing literary documents among them, and evidence of contact at the two ends of the process (creation of P as a counterwrite of non-P and later combination of P with non-P), it seems strange to presuppose that no Priestly scribes knew of the works others were cultivating and performing (or vice versa). On the contrary, the conflation of the two accounts in the Persian period more likely built on a longer period of mutual influence of P and non-P, analogous to the process of mutual harmonization of separate gospel accounts that is attested in the textual transmission of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. In the case of the Christian gospels, that process of mutual influence and harmonization (of still separate documents) preceded the formation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, where all four canonical gospels were combined into one, a textual corpus that did not prevail over the separate (more and less harmonized) versions of the gospels that made it up. In the case of the Pentateuch, all we have is the combined P and non-P version, the Torah equivalent to Tatian's *Diatessaron*, with no separate copies of its parallel source documents. Nevertheless, insofar as we can reconstruct the parallel P and non-P sources of this Torah, there is good evidence in the bleeding of language from one into the other for an ongoing process of mutual influence and later harmonization typical of materials that were transmitted parallel to one another in a delimited community of scribal tradents *before* (and after) finally being combined into a complex whole.

One layer of particular interest for the study of this gradual coordination of P and non-P materials is the broader "Holiness Stratum" as reconstrued in recent scholarship.[98] In particular, studies by Knohl, Otto, Nihan, and others have argued that the so-called Holiness Code in Leviticus 17–26 never existed as a separate document, but instead is merely the most substantial example of a broader stratum of Holiness texts added onto earlier Priestly texts in the process of combining those texts with their non-Priestly counterparts to make the P/non-P Torah.[99] This

98. The distinctive qualities of material in Leviticus 17–26 and related material elsewhere have been widely recognized, but cf. arguments particularly in Blum, *Studien*, 319–29 that the characteristics in Leviticus 17–26 can be explained by a combination of use of some prior smaller collections of material (p. 321, note 130) and the specific aims of the Priestly authors in composing this more paraenetic material to serve specific purposes at this point in the narrative. Thus, for example, the prohibition of profane slaughter in Lev 17:3–8 is not, so Blum (pp. 324–25), a contradiction of the allowance of eating of animal meat in (P) Gen 9:3–4, but a resignifying of meat eating within Israel as a gift within the newly constituted sanctuary. To some extent, Blum's arguments join others in offering decisive support for the idea that Leviticus 17–26 was composed with preceding Priestly materials in view. Nevertheless, studies such as that of Nihan (*Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, see the summary on pp. 546–47, with a response to Blum in note 600 on p. 547) have shown that the case for a different compositional stratum in Leviticus 17–26 is not as confined to its "religious-paraenetic" style as Blum maintains, nor is this case limited to elements that can be ascribed to earlier subcollections appropriated by the author(s) of these chapters.

99. A full survey of those adopting some form of this approach would go beyond the scope of this discussion. A sampling based on those named here includes Knohl, *Sanctuary of Silence*; Eckart Otto,

Holiness stratum is closest to P in its focus on purity and cultic concerns, but also reflects non-Priestly materials at a number of points. In general, the H expansion of P in Leviticus 17–26 gives P a decisive, divinely authored, legal code infused with Priestly concepts but also modeled on corresponding non-P legal corpora and integrating specific elements from them. More specifically, there are multiple ways in which material in Leviticus 17–26 interacts with both Priestly and non-Priestly material, producing a new whole. For example, Lev 17:3–7 rejects the provision for profane slaughter found in Deuteronomy (12:15–16, 20–25) and implied in Priestly texts (Gen 9:3–4; Exod 12:6) through an absolute prohibition of the slaughter of animals outside the sanctuary. Lev 17:15–16 supplements the preceding Priestly provision for washing clothing after eating carrion (Lev 11:39–40) with a consequence for anyone failing to wash clothing *and body* (Lev 17:16), thus easing the prohibition against carrion eating seen in non-Priestly legal texts (Exod 22:30; Deut 14:21a) and contradicting Deut 14:21a in explicitly including non-Israelites in the rule regarding cleansing after carrion eating (באזרח ובגר ["whether native or sojourner"] Lev 17:15aβ). And these are just some initial examples of ways that material in Leviticus 17–26 engages prior non-Priestly and/or Priestly regulations in addition to adding its own distinctively new foci.

As scholars long have recognized, however, Leviticus 17–26 is only the most prominent example of a broader set of Holiness texts spanning the Pentateuch. For example, the Priestly instructions for construction of the tabernacle are concluded with a late addition in the style of Holiness materials (Exod 31:12–17) that turns the "Sabbath" into a "sign" of the covenant at Sinai much like the previous Priestly covenantal signs of the rainbow after the flood (Gen 9:12–17) and circumcision at the call of Abraham (Gen 17:9–14). As in the case of Leviticus 17–26, this Holiness addition supplements Priestly material, in this case extending the Priestly model of a "sign" of a covenant to the Sinai event. Yet P itself does not seem to have recognized a Sinai covenant after the covenant with Abraham. Rather, the concept of a Sinai *covenant* is characteristic of the non-Priestly materials. Thus like H material in Leviticus 17–26, Exod 31:12–17 builds on non-Priestly precursors even as it also uses some Priestly motifs to do so. Other potential examples of such Holiness expansions of Priestly materials include late additions to the Priestly Passover legislation in Exodus 12 (Exod 12:14–20, 43–49; built on Lev 22:10–11; 23:5–8; 24:22), several H expansions of Priestly material in Leviticus (e.g., Lev 3:17; 7:22–27; 11:43–45; 16:29–34a), and perhaps some additional ones in Numbers as well (e.g., Num 9:13–14 and Numbers 15).[100]

As mentioned above, a number of scholars have seen the engagement of P and non-P material in H as sufficient evidence that the authors of H either created or

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"Das Heiligkeitsgesetz Leviticus 17–26 in der Pentateuchredaktion," in *Altes Testament - Forschung und Wirkung: FS H. Graf Reventlow*, ed. Peter Mommer and Winifried Thiel (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1994), 65–80; idem., "Innerbiblische Exegese im Heiligkeitsgesetz Levitikus 17–26," in *Levitikus als Buch*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Hans-Winfried Jüngling, BBB 119 (Berlin: Philo, 1999), 125–96; Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 395–575.

100. See the discussion in Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 569–72.

were working with a combined P/non-P Pentateuch. A key problem with this hypothesis, however, is the fact that the clearest examples of such H redactional texts are all expansions of *Priestly* texts. We do not see similar examples of clear H modifications of non-Priestly contexts. On first glance, one would think that a scribe conflating P and non-P materials would modify *both* corpora. Conversely, if such H additions are exclusively confined to P, that profile would suggest that the Holiness scribes were still working with some form of P in separate form. Yet this profile is not decisive. It may be that the Holiness scribes focused exclusively on Priestly materials because their own cultic interests most closely related to those materials. And even if it happens that the Holiness materials were added to a separate form of P, they *anticipated* the combination of P and non-P materials through the occasional ways in which they build on non-P models and/or modify non-P legal instructions.

One striking characteristic of H materials that links them to the post-D Hexateuch and subsequent expansions documented in some manuscript traditions is their frequent orientation toward coordination of various materials, in this case Priestly regulations, with materials found in Deuteronomy. Moreover, in both cases, the H and post-D compositional materials are far more creative and diverse in focus than the more mechanical coordinations of Tetrateuch with Deuteronomy seen in the later Second Temple manuscript traditions that copied portions of Deuteronomy into parts of the Tetrateuch (or, rarely, vice versa).

These affinities with the above-discussed post-D Hexateuchal layer (tentatively dated above to the exile) combine with some other indicators to suggest a similar exilic milieu for the composition of H materials. To begin, one might note the close affinities of numerous parts of the H stratum with the early exilic prophecy of Ezekiel, particularly the conclusion of H in Leviticus 26. Though some have argued that this points to Ezekiel's dependence on H, the broad way H draws in Leviticus 26 and elsewhere on Ezekiel *alongside other prior traditions* points instead toward the reverse direction of dependence.[101] Furthermore, other

101. Mention should be made in this context of Michael Lyons's recent argument for the widespread and virtually unidirectional dependence of Ezekiel on H (*From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code*, LHBOTS 507 [London: T&T Clark, 2009]). Though there are numerous intriguing textual observations in the study, it is hampered by two major shortcomings: (1) a failure to consider, sufficiently, the question of diachronic differentiation within the book of Ezekiel (aside from Ezekiel 38–39 and special-MT material, see Lyons, 139–44) and H; and (2) not considering the full range of intertexts of H on the one hand and Ezekiel on the other. The problem in the first case can be illustrated with his first and signal example, where Lyons takes Ezek 24:23 as a rejection of the theory of multigenerational sin asserted in Lev 26:39 (pp. 61–62). As Nihan points out (Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 544, note 593), the crucial part of Lev 26:39b is not in the LXX, suggesting that this special MT plus in 26:39b may be a very late assertion, against Ezekiel, of multigenerational responsibility. The problem with lack of consideration of other intertexts emerges particularly in Lyons's problematic analysis of links between Ezekiel and Leviticus 26. As Grünwaldt in particular has argued (*Das Heiligkeitsgesetz Leviticus 17–26: ursprüngliche Gestalt, Tradition und Theologie*, BZAW 271 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999], 249–54), Leviticus 26 parallels a complex mix of texts in Ezekiel, Deuteronomy, P, Amos, etc., while its closest counterpart in Ezekiel 34 does not. A theory such as Lyon's that sees Ezekiel 34 as being dependent on Leviticus 26 must posit that the author of Ezekiel 34 honed in exclusively on the portions of Leviticus 26 *not paralleled* by other biblical texts (Nihan, *Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*, 543–45). It is not clear why the author of Ezekiel would have been selective in this way.

elements of H match, if anything, the profile suggested above for exilic materials. Consider, for example, the strong focus in H materials (as in Ezekiel) on Sabbath that has been outlined with particular clarity in a recent dissertation by Jared Calaway. Resonating with similar Sabbath foci in Ezekiel, Exod 31:12–17 makes the Sabbath "covenant" a central focus of the P Sinai episode, applying to it concepts of profanation previously reserved for the sanctuary. The H cultic calendar opens with an introductory mention of Sabbath (Lev 23:3), and concludes with a focus on the festivals of the seventh month (the festival of trumpets [Rosh Hashanah], Yom Kippur, and Sukkoth; Lev 23:23–43). Finally, the Jubilee legislation in Leviticus 25 extends the Sabbath concept to the land as well, reconfiguring earlier regulations about leaving land fallow (Exod 23:10–11) and slave and debt release (Exod 21:2–6; Deut 15:1–18) so that the new law enjoins leaving the land fallow every seven years (Lev 25:3–7) and forgiving debts and freeing Hebrew slaves every forty-nine (another sort of Sabbath of Sabbaths; Lev 25:8–55).[102] H concludes with an independent emphasis on the observance of these Sabbaths alongside reverence for the sanctuary (Lev 26:2; note also 19:30), actions that lead to secure life in the land. The exile is understood as a Sabbath for the land (Lev 26:34–35).[103]

As Calaway argues, this complex of texts reconfigures concepts of holiness that were particularly attached to the sanctuary so that they are linked in new ways with time. The weekly Sabbath restores the individual and allows access to the sanctuary, the Yom Kippur "Sabbath of Sabbaths" purifies and thus restores the sanctuary, and the 49th Jubilee year (and exile land Sabbath) restores the land.[104] Thus, a practice (Sabbath) that appears to have become particularly prominent during exile (see, e.g., Ezekiel) becomes a prism for a new understanding of concepts of holiness once attached to the (now destroyed) temple in Jerusalem. Much as Gen 12:1–3 and Second Isaiah represent different reconceptualizations of concepts once attached to the Davidic monarchy, H represents a seemingly exilic, Sabbath-focused reconceptualization of concepts of holiness once more exclusively attached to the Jerusalem sanctuary and its priesthood. As discussed above, diaspora is precisely the context in which one would expect such reconceptualizations to occur. Though these reconceptualizations apparently persisted in

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Overall, insofar as Ezekiel and H appear to originate in a similar environment sociologically and chronologically, we can reckon with the possibility that Ezekiel may have had access to source materials used by H and that both H and Ezekiel (especially given their similarity) were mutually coordinated and/or contrasted to an unusual extent by the respective tradents of the documents. A (virtually) global theory of Ezekiel's dependence on H, however, is not established by the sort of argument offered by Lyons.

102. On this exegetical transformation, see especially Jeffrey Stackert, *Rewriting the Torah: Literary Revision in Deuteronomy and the Holiness Legislation*, FAT 52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 113–64.

103. Jared C. Calaway, "Heavenly Sabbath, Heavenly Sanctuary: The Transformation of Priestly Sacred Space and Sacred Time in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Epistle to the Hebrews," PhD diss. (New York: Columbia University, 2010), 107–49.

104. Calaway, "Heavenly Sabbath, Heavenly Sanctuary," 149.

the post-exilic period, they are less likely to have *originated* then among groups who had returned home, particularly not once the Second Temple was established.

In sum, despite the trend among some scholars to date much of the Holiness code to the post-exilic period, I have become convinced that an exilic dating makes more sense. To be sure, since such diasporic concerns are documented as continuing in texts created by the Persian-period diasporic community (see Chapter 7 of this book), it is possible that part or all of H dates from the Persian period rather than earlier. Nevertheless, insofar as profile might help in dating materials, I suggest that there is much to commend an exilic, sixth-century date for H expansions of P materials and little against it.

■ CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Hexateuch contains the remains of what probably were two compositions with strong echoes of exile: a post-D non-Priestly Hexateuch and an almost contemporary Priestly counterwork (likely expanded later in the exilic period by various "H"-like additions). This latter P counterwork covered much of the same material, often in a pointedly contrastive way. The distinctive character of the two compositions indicates that they were composed by and transmitted in different scribal subgroups of Judean exiles, groups that also seem to have left their distinctively different stamp on other competing traditions, such as Jeremiah on the one hand (non-P, post-D) and Ezekiel and Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah on the other (P). Indeed, the creation of such competing representations of early history by distinct scribal groups may be a reflection of the temporary fracturing of Judean scribal activity during the exile. Whereas in prior periods scribes in the palace and temple would have been part of a broader monarchal apparatus, and whereas in the Second Temple Period (as I have argued) most Hebrew literary activity came to be centered in the temple priesthood (broadly construed), the exile and ongoing post-exilic diaspora represent contexts where different scribal groups would not have been joined by a common institutional structure. This, I suggest, is the most probable time period in which to conceive the creation and initially separate development of the post-D Hexateuch and the Priestly counterwwrite of it.

Nevertheless, the numbers of such exiles, particularly those well-enough educated to produce and consume such literary-theological works, were so small, especially during the exile and early post-exilic period, that it would be an anomaly for such works to stand completely independent from one another. Furthermore, the textual evidence reviewed above suggests that was never true. From the outset, the Priestly narrative was composed as a counterpoint to the non-P Hexateuch, even as it featured its own foci and (often opposing) emphases. This then started a longer-range process, starting, for example, with H, by which these compositions were gradually harmonized/coordinated (even while separate) before being combined and further coordinated in the Persian and later periods.

10 Textuality Under Empire

Reflexes of Neo-Assyrian Domination

Though the title of this chapter covers the late pre-exilic period, its focus will be particularly on the Neo-Assyrian portion of that period. This is the portion of pre-exilic history that has arisen in recent scholarship—North American, European, and Israeli—as especially central to the formation of the Hebrew Bible. Several decades ago, a typical survey of biblical texts to be dated to the late pre-exile would have focused primarily on prophecies dated to that time (e.g., Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Nahum) along with some hypothesized precursors to present biblical histories (e.g., the Jehovist, Deuteronomy, and perhaps an early form of the Deuteronomistic History). Now there is a growing tendency to see the origins of much literary Hebrew textuality in this period, with particular emphasis on marks of Neo-Assyrian influence on the books of the Primary history (Genesis-2 Kings), Prophecy, and Psalms.

There are several factors that have contributed to this focus on the pivotal importance of the Neo-Assyrian period. First, more refined archaeological surveys of Israel have revealed that Jerusalem was significantly expanded during the Neo-Assyrian period. It is during the late eighth and particularly seventh century that Jerusalem grows to become far larger than surrounding towns. Moreover, the bulk of our more extensive epigraphic finds from pre-exilic Israel (e.g., the Arad and Lachish inscriptions, Kuntillet Ajrud inscriptions, the Siloam inscription) come from the Neo-Assyrian period, and this is the time when we see the clearest attestation of the sort of standardized script and scribal practice that would reflect a more extensive textual-literary educational system.[1] In sum, converging evidence has suggested to many that the Neo-Assyrian period was not only a time of major urbanization in Judah, but also of development of Judah's scribal system and literature, some of which probably was incorporated in the Hebrew Bible.

One significant mark that might be used to identify such eighth- and seventh-century literature in the Hebrew Bible is the reflection of motifs from Neo-Assyrian

1. Note the cautions raised, vis-à-vis the gapped character of archive finds of prophecy texts found in Erhard Blum, "Israels Prophetie im altorientalischen Kontext. Anmerkungen zu neueren religionsgeschichtlichen Thesen," in "*From Ebla to Stellenbosch*"—*Syro-Palestinian Religions and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Isak Cornelius and Louis Jonker, Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 87–8, who also noted (personal communication) the fact that the bulk of Judean epigraphic finds (e.g., Lachish, Arad ostraca) were found in the layer closest to the destruction layer of each site. This probably is because the sites were either not resettled or not resettled to the same extent in later periods, thus leaving ostraca in the latest, pre-destruction layer relatively undisturbed. Since many sites in Judah were destroyed toward the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, this phenomenon may explain why we have more Neo-Assyrian-period epigraphic finds in Judah than earlier periods.

royal ideology in Hebrew biblical texts. Though many earlier studies emphasized the Neo-Assyrians' use of military force to destroy those who opposed them, more recent research has highlighted the effective way Neo-Assyrian rulers used non-military means to persuade and/or intimidate subject nations into cooperating with their subjugation.[2] This involved a variety of strategies, such as intimidation of potential rebels through reports and visual displays of brutal suppression of rebellions, requiring subject rulers and nations to swear oaths of loyalty such as the succession treaty of Esarhaddon, and imposing marriage treaties on subject states.[3] This use of hegemonic power, rather than mere brute force, had deep and lasting impacts on the cultures of the peoples they subjugated, including the texts of those cultures.

Most significant for our purposes are the ways in which, starting particularly with Tiglath-Pileser III, the Neo-Assyrians integrated their empire by inculcating their values and ideology among ruling elites of the nations they dominated. One pointer to the ideology behind this strategy is the Dûr-Sharukkîn cylinder inscription, where Sargon claims to have sent "overseers" (*aklu*) and "administrators" (*šapiru*) to make the peoples of the nations with multiple seditious languages "one mouth" (*pâ ištên*).[4] This could be interpreted as pointing to a policy of sending education outward from the imperial center. We have more documentation, however, for a Neo-Assyrian policy of bringing youths from royal and other leading families inward to the imperial center to be educated in Assyrian lore and thus made ready to replace potentially rebellious leaders back home.[5]

2. See, for example, M Liverani, "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, ed. Mogens Larsen (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 297–318; Irene Winter, "Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs," *Studies in Visual Communication* 7 (1981): especially p. 31; J. Pecirkova, "Administrative Methods of Assyrian Imperialism," *Archív Orientální* 55 (1987): 162–75; Albert Kirk Grayson, "Assyrian Rule of Conquered Territory in Ancient Western Asia," *CANE* (1995), 959–68; Simo Parpola, "Assyria's Expansion in the 8th and 7th Centuries and Its Long-Term Repercussions in the West," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age Through Roman Palestina*, ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 99–111.

3. On the latter, see in particular the interesting speculations regarding potential marriage alliances in Judah in Stephanie Dalley, "Yabâ, Atalyā and the Foreign Policy of Late Assyrian Kings," *SAAB* (1998): 83–89.

4. This rendering is informed by the sage queries about this inscription raised by William Schniedewind ("'Imperial Aramaic' and Language Ideology," unpublished paper, Joint Session of the Assyriology and the Bible and the Egyptology and Ancient Israel Program Units at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Boston, 2008) kindly shared in pre-publication form with me. Unlike Schniedewind, I remain inclined to see a linguistic implication in the expression "one mouth," especially given the mention of seditious languages earlier in the text. Moreover, it seems that the "overseers" and "administrators" are envisioned as playing some kind of role vis-à-vis this "one" [linguistic] "mouth," even if one does not translate the terms as "scribes." Schniedewind's main point, however, about the ideological character of the inscription is important and well taken. This inscription describes what it wants people to perceive as reality, not reality itself.

5. Simo Parpola, "A Letter from Šamaš-šumu-ukin to Esarhaddon," *Iraq* (1972): 21–34 (note the brief discussion of SAA 11,156 more recently in Victor A. Hurowitz, "Tales of Two Sages—Towards an Image of the 'Wise Man' in Akkadian Writings," in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, ed. Leo Perdue [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008], 75 on how this

Though our evidence for Judean involvement in such processes is only indirect,[6] we do have specific documentation of the importation and education of youths from states such as Madara, Qedar, Ashkelon, and Arwad.[7] In this way, the Neo-Assyrian enculturation of local elites generally happened in the imperial center, not the Judean-Samarian periphery (where [aside from some display inscriptions and some cuneiform records] there is little epigraphic evidence of Neo-Assyrian education or cuneiform textuality in Judah).[8] This enculturation process ensured that a proportion of the literate elite of some subject kingdoms had absorbed central texts and ideas of the Neo-Assyrian royal establishment. The sorts of potential Neo-Assyrian influence on the Bible to be discussed in part of this chapter could have arisen from such elite enculturation at the center and/or other forms of cross-cultural contact (e.g., diplomatic missions, possible presence of an Assyrian official in Judah [the *qēpu*] responsible for mediating official correspondence, and so on).[9]

Be that as it may, insofar as parts of the Hebrew Bible were formed in this environment of imperial hegemonic domination of local elites and others, we *may* be able to identify some biblical texts from the Neo-Assyrian period by the ways they reflect—even in an inversive way—elements of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology. Recent scholarship on the Hebrew Bible has provided many proposals of Neo-Assyrian influence on texts in the Hebrew Bible, and the most important of these will be reviewed in what follows. This indicator, of course, is of only limited value. It is easy to imagine that some Hebrew texts from the period did not reflect Neo-Assyrian royal ideology. Therefore, a lack of Neo-Assyrian influence is not an indicator that a text was *not* from the Neo-Assyrian period. Yet the presence of such influence can be an important index of the late pre-exilic origins of parts of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, we have relatively more textual material from the Neo-Assyrian context than many others, thus meaning that various motifs are

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document may depict the education of the imprisoned son of a captured Aramean chief); idem., "Assyria's Expansion"; Bustenay Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979), 99–104.

6. On this (and other evidence of Judean knowledge of Assyrian law and/or ways), see the survey in David Wright, *Inventing God's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (New York: Oxford, 2009), 102–106.

7. Roland Lamprichs, *Die Westexpansion des neuassyrischen Reiches: eine Strukturanalyse*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 239 (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995), 256–57.

8. On the lack of Neo-Assyrian evidence for local education in literary Akkadian, see especially William S. Morrow, "Cuneiform Literacy and Deuteronomic Composition," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 62 (2005): 204–13; idem., "The Paradox of Deuteronomy 13: A Post-Colonial Reading," in *»Gerechtigkeit und Recht zu üben«(Gen 18,19): Studien zur altorientalischen und biblischen Rechtsgeschichte, zur Religionsgeschichte Israels und zur Religionssoziologie (FS Otto)*, ed. Reinhard Achenbach and Martin Arneth (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 231–32; and especially idem., "Barriers to Akkadian Literacy during the Late Iron Age," paper presented at the 2009 SBL Meeting. Note, though there is only a bit of information about Neo-Assyrian rulers allowing deported populations to return (on this, see Oded, *Deportations and Deportees*, 79), such does not pertain to more select Neo-Assyrian dealings with local elites.

9. Morrow, "Barriers to Akkadian Literacy" provides an overview of possibilities, focusing on potential means of oral-visual encounter with Assyrian propaganda.

attested there that may also have been present in other periods and cultures. Thus, the presence of a motif in a Neo-Assyrian text and a biblical text may reflect some kind of relationship of influence *or* the fact that both texts reflect a broader Ancient Near Eastern tradition that simply was not preserved in cultures, for example, Egypt or Phoenecia, that depended more on perishable writing media.

An important balance to this focus on potential Neo-Assyrian influence on biblical texts will be a review of texts in the Hebrew Bible that date themselves to this period, particularly literary prophetic texts dated to this time. As we will see, many such texts directly engage the process of imperial domination, though only a few show much evidence of adopting or inverting Neo-Assyrian royal rhetoric. As such, they stand as a concrete instance of one set of probable late pre-exilic texts that show minimal influence by the processes of Neo-Assyrian enculturation. The earlier of these literary prophetic texts also provide potential access, however partial, to the state of Hebrew literature at the outset of Judah and Israel's domination by a series of imperial powers (Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic) that would permanently alter the political and textual culture of those polities.

■ SURVEY OF POTENTIAL EXAMPLES OF NEO-ASSYRIAN INFLUENCE ON THE HEBREW BIBLE

Deuteronomy Through 2 Kings

Probably the parade example of potential Neo-Assyrian influence on the Hebrew Bible is the presence of distinctive motifs from Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (hereafter often referred to as EST) in parts of the book of Deuteronomy. To be sure, the broader treaty form followed in Deuteronomy is not uniquely Assyrian, but instead an outgrowth of a mix of treaty traditions from various regions to the North and East of Judah. Nevertheless, certain parts of Deuteronomy, particularly the injunction against treason in Deuteronomy 13 and portions of the curse section in Deuteronomy 28, seem quite closely related to the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty. In particular, the sequence of curses in Deut 28:27–35 (leprosy, blindness, rape, and destruction of war) corresponds to the sequence of gods and destruction in EST 39–42. Within EST, the sequence of gods (with associated curses) corresponds to their role in the Neo-Assyrian pantheon, while the sequence in Deuteronomy is otherwise unexplained.[10] This sort of specific, otherwise blind motif from EST in Deuteronomy 28 makes yet more plausible other potential links, such as the similar pairing of bronze sky and iron earth seen in Deut 28:23 and EST 63–64. In addition, the call to execute any prophet/dreamer (Deut 13:1–5), intimate member of a family (Deut 13:6–11), or whole town (Deut 13:12–18) who incites treason against Yhwh appears to be an intensification and extension of the call in EST 10 to report anyone in the royal family, one's own family, or prophet/ecstatic/dreamer who incites treason against the crown prince. Again, the reference to professional dreamers (חלם חלום) in Deut 13:2, 4 [ET 13:1, 3] is a blind motif, given the likely absence of such professional dreamers in late

10. For an extension of patterns found with these four gods across larger sections of Deut 28:21–42, see Paul Kübel, "Zum Aufbau von Dtn 28," *BN* 122 (2004): 5–8.

TABLE 10.1 *Comparison of Materials Regarding Treason in EST and Deuteronomy 13*

EST 10*[1]	Deut 13:2–10*
[If you hear any evil, improper, ugly word which is not seemly or good to Ashurbanipal…]	13:2 If there arises in your midst a prophet or a professional dreamer,… [incites to apostasy through a sign]
from the mouth of your brothers, your sons, your daughters,	If your brother, the son of your mother, or your son or your daughter
or from the mouth of a prophet, an ecstatic, an inquirer of oracles, or from the mouth of any human being at all,	or the wife of your bosom or your neighbor who is as your own self [incites to apostasy through secret speech]

[1] This translation originates from Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, eds., Julian Reade, illustrations edited by, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, State Archives of Assyria, Vol. 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988), 33.

pre-exilic Judah, a motif prompted by EST that refers to the dream interpreters common in Mesopotamia. Moreover, as illustrated in table 10.1, there are virtual (cross-language semantic) verbatim parallels between parts of Deut 13:2, 7 and corresponding parts of EST.[11]

These sorts of links suggest that at least these portions of Deuteronomy, though certainly not identical to their source text, drew on motifs from EST (or a similar Neo-Assyrian document) in the process of articulating a covenant between Yhwh and his people.[12]

The rest of Deuteronomy, however, does not share such specific links to EST. To be sure, there are broad potential links to Neo-Assyrian royal ideology in the overall focus of much of Deuteronomy (and the books of Joshua-2 Kings) on total loyalty to Yhwh (//call for complete loyalty in texts such as EST 24), and there may be occasional specific echoes of other Neo-Assyrian material, for example, in the specific formulation "to make his name dwell (שכן piel) there" (Deut 12:11; 14:23a; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2; cf., e.g., שום in Deut 12:5, 21; 14:23b; 1 Kgs 11:36; 14:21).[13] Nevertheless, the overall covenant form of Deuteronomy has more in common with Hittite and later West Semitic treaty forms than with the structural pattern of the Esarhaddon vassal treaty.[14] Furthermore, as Rütersworden in particular has pointed out, the

11. So close that EST can be used by Levinson for text-criticism of Deut 13:10 ("Textual Criticism, Assyriology, and the History of Interpretation: Deuteronomy 13:7a as a Test Case in Method," *JBL* 120 [2001]: 211–43). See Udo Rütersworden, "Dtn 13 in der neueren Deuteronomiumforschung," in *Congress Volume: Basel 2001*, ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 185–203 for both.

12. For an overview of recent scholarship on these parallels, see Morrow, "Paradox of Deuteronomy 13," 229–31. Cf. the qualifications regarding these parallels in Juha Pakkala, *Intolerant Monolatry in the Deuteronomistic History*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 76 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 41–46 and the expansion with the clause, also seen at Sefire (224:9–14; see Rütersworden, "Dtn 13," 201–202), about the whole town.

13. Sandra Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and Name Theology*, BZAW 318 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002); William S. Morrow, " 'To Set the Name' in the Deuteronomic Centralization Formula: A Case of Cultural Hybridity," *JSS* (2010): 365–83.

14. See the analyses in Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 65–68; William S. Morrow, "The Sefire Treaty Stipulations and the Mesopotamian

parts of Deuteronomy with the clearest links to EST, Deuteronomy 13 and 28, are only loosely connected to the broader structure of the book. The EST-related injunctions against treason in Deuteronomy 13 interrupt the sequence of cultic (חוקים) and legal (משפטים) stipulations referred to in Deuteronomy's superscriptions (Deut 5:1; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16) and given in Deuteronomy 12, 14–16. Deuteronomy 28:1–68 [ET 28:1–69] interrupts the movement from the covenant ceremony at Shechem in Deut 27:1–26 to the label of that covenant in 28:69 [ET 29:1] and its concluding ratification at Moab in 29:1 [ET 29:2] and what follows.[15] It is certainly possible that both chapters were integral parts of their contexts, but it is more likely that they are insertions into an earlier form of Deuteronomy to conform the Yhwh-Israel covenant partially to some elements of the EST.

There is some question, of course, about how Judean scribes were so specifically exposed to the wording of a document like EST, especially since our extant forms of that text are written in Akkadian.[16] Indeed, some question has been raised about whether Judah ever had such a treaty imposed on it, since it is referred to in Assyrian documents not as a "vassal" but a "servant" of the Assyrian king.[17] Yet Steymans argues persuasively that the scope suggested by addressees in extant copies of EST well matches kingdoms such as Judah. Moreover, the impact envisioned in the EST treaty is not one of being heard during a covenant ceremony, but in it being memorized by the participants and taught to their children (EST 72; also 25).[18] This conforms with what was theorized above about the circulation of Neo-Assyrian royal traditions among local elites of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. At least in intent, royal texts such as EST were to be spread among a populace (or at least the elite among them) by leaders of the people who had memorized them themselves. And such memorization also could explain the remarkably specific adoptions of sequence and terminology between parts of EST and select parts of Deuteronomy.

The book of Deuteronomy, of course, introduces stipulations of loyalty to Yhwh and centralization of worship that play a role in the evaluative frameworks of the books of Joshua-2 Kings. From the covenants at the conclusion of Joshua, to the

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Treaty Tradition," in *The World of the Arameans: Biblical, Historical and Cultural Studies in Honour of Paul E. Dion*, ed. P. M. M. Daviau (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2002), 83–99; Noel Weeks, *Admonition and Curse: The Ancient Near Eastern Treaty/Covenant Form as a Problem in Inter-Cultural Relationships*, JSOTSup 407 (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Christoph Koch, "Zwischen Hatti und Assur: traditionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den aramäischen Inschriften von Sfire," in *Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus" - Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten*, ed. Markus Witte (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 379–406.

15. Rütersworden, "Dtn 13," 188–90; note also Pakkala, *Intolerant Monolatry*, 23–25.

16. Again, see Morrow, "Cuneiform Literacy" and idem., "Barriers to Akkadian Literacy."

17. Hayyim Tadmor, "Treaty and Oath in the Ancient Near East: A Historian's Approach," in *Humanizing America's Iconic Book*, ed. Gene M. Tucker and Douglas A. Knight, Biblical Scholarship in North America 6 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980), 127–52.

18. Hans Ulrich Steymans, "Die neuassyrische Vertragsrhetorik der 'Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon' und Deuteronomium," in *Das Deuteronomium*, ed. Georg Braulik (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003), 92–93 notes that any impact during the cermony would have been more symbolic than in any specific understanding of the contents of the read document.

cyclical framework of apostasy and rescue in Judges, to extended speeches such as those of Samuel (1 Samuel 12) and Nathan (2 Samuel 7), to the regnal and other evaluations in 1–2 Kings, much of the broader structuring material in Joshua-2 Kings emphasizes the extent to which the people of Israel and their kings did or (more often) did not prove exclusively loyal to Yhwh, "loving" him and not worshipping at shrines aside from the one that Yhwh had chosen. A number of scholars have linked this emphasis on loyal "love" of God to Neo-Assyrian requirements, in EST and other royal ideological documents, that the vassal show exclusive "love" to the Assyrian king, his lord.[19] Within Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Samuel-Kings, this stipulation is redirected to the "love" of Yhwh alone, the concept of Yhwh's "jealousy" is added to it, and a central expression of such "love" is seen as adherence to the stipulation in Deuteronomy 12ff. to worship Yhwh in one place. Therefore, any such appropriation of Neo-Assyrian loyalty stipulations also comes with considerable adaptation. Nevertheless, this emphasis on total loyalty to Yhwh across the framework elements of Deuteronomy-2 Kings bears a striking resemblance to a central theme of Assyrian royal ideology. Moreover, the very prominence of this motif in Neo-Assyrian royal ideology might help explain why this biblical adaptation of the Neo-Assyrian loyalty stipulation plays such a prominent role in the evaluative frameworks of Samuel-Kings, while other stipulations in Deuteronomy stand more in the background of the Historical books. In this respect, the scribes who shaped Samuel-Kings seem more influenced by the emphases of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology (now reflected in highly theologized, inverted form) than the otherwise similarly Deuteronomistic scribes who shaped the Jeremiah tradition.

Closer examination reveals that the books of Joshua-2 Kings show their own distinctive possible links to Neo-Assyrian royal ideology. For example, Van Seters noted a number of parallels between Neo-Assyrian reports of royal military campaigns and the report of the campaign to conquer Canaan in the older parts of Joshua 1–12: divine encouragement to pursue the campaign, crossing of waters on the way to battle, combination of a detailed report of a couple of battles with a brief summary of others, defeat of coalitions, and eventual repopulation of the area. Many of these elements would be at home in any military report, but their combination in Joshua is particularly reminiscent of the sort of Neo-Assyrian royal military reports to which local leaders/potential rebels might have been exposed.[20] Potential links to Neo-Assyrian ideology are less clear in the case of the book of Judges. Guillaume has argued that relatively late portions of the framework of the book of Judges (e.g., 2:1–5, 11–19; 6:7–10) introduce a critique of divine images and foreign gods to an older "book of the saviors" now embedded in Judges 3–9, a critique aimed at undermining Neo-Assyrian policies of enforcing subjugation through restoring the images of local gods to their shrines.[21] This

19. See especially William Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy," *CBQ* 25 (1963): 87–97; Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 82–84.

20. John Van Seters, "Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography," *SJOT* 4 (1990): 1–12.

21. Phillipe Guillaume, *Waiting for Josiah: The Judges*, JSOTSup 385 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 24–26, 114–17.

could be, but we do not have documentation elsewhere for Assyrian restoration of an "image" of Yhwh to the temple in Jerusalem, something that probably would have engendered a fairly serious response among the tradents who shaped the books of Kings in particular.[22]

More important and convincing is the potential Neo-Assyrian background to the composition of Samuel and especially the framework of Kings. Though the previous chapter argued that these books were *re*shaped and extended during the exile, in the Ancient Near East these sorts of royal narratives were composed in the context of existing monarchies and oriented toward promoting the political aims of those monarchies.[23] This is the case with Mesopotamian historiographic texts such as the Sumerian king list;[24] Assyrian king list;[25] Weidner Chronicle;[26] Synchronistic History;[27] Esarhaddon Chronicle;[28] Babylonian Epic tradition;[29] Tukulti-Ninurta Epic;[30] Assyrian autobiographical apologies of Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and Shamshi-Adad V;[31] and the vast corpus of Mesopotamian royal inscriptions detailing various kings' achievements.[32] And we see a similar monarchal *Sitz im Leben* for Hittite and Egyptian examples of historiography as well.[33] In these documented cases of ancient historiography, narratives about kings originated in monarchies and had political aims. At least in their origins, such narratives were not designed to merely reflect on and explain past disasters or other events.

Our best documentation for such royal historiography is Mesopotamia, where royal historiographic narratives rose to play an unusually central role (compared

22. In addition, earlier in this book, I have reviewed some evidence suggesting a yet later date for these portions of Judges 2:1–5, 11–19; 6:7–20 (see Chapters 5 and 9).

23. Albert Kirk Grayson, "History and Historians of the Ancient Near East: Assyria and Babylonia," *Or* 49 (1980): 189–90; Hayyim Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology in the Royal Assyrian Literature," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Languages*, ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 54–55.

24. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, AS 11 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939), 158–64.

25. Grayson, "History and Historians," 179; William Hallo, "Assyrian Historiography Revisited," *EI* 14 (1978): 1–*7.

26. J. J. M. Roberts, "Myth versus History: Relaying the Comparative. Foundations," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 9; Grayson, "History and Historians," 180.

27. Grayson, "History and Historians," 181–82.

28. Grayson, "History and Historians," 176.

29. Grayson, "History and Historians," 187.

30. Peter Machinist, "Literature as Politics: The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and the Bible," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 455–74 and Grayson, "History and Historians," 186.

31. Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology," 36–57.

32. Grayson, "History and Historians," 163 and 176–78.

33. R. J. Williams, "Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt," in *The Seed of Wisdom; Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek*, ed. William Stewart McCullough and Theophile James Meek (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 14–30; Harry Hoffner, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Hittites," *Or* 49 (1980): 283–332; Hans Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Languages*, ed. Hayim Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 38 and 84; Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology," 54–55.

to other cultures) in the education of elites.[34] Particularly interesting for this discussion are the pro-Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and Synchronistic Chronicle, both of which use historical narrative to promote Assyria's primacy over its nearby rival Babylonia.[35] They were not designed to merely record, but to teach Assyrian supremacy, and recent studies have affirmed their use in first millennium Mesopotamian education.[36] In their present form, the books of Kings overall share the focus of Mesopotamian royal historiography on chronicling—in the third person—the major achievements of a *series* of rulers, while more specifically sharing the emphasis of more pedagogical and ideological Assyrian traditions on establishing the reason for the downfall of one kingdom (Israel; cf. the focus on Babylon in the Assyrian traditions) while describing the better fortunes of another (Judah; cf. the focus on Assyria in the Assyrian traditions). Moreover, in loci such as the depiction of Assyrian propaganda in the Isaiah-Hezekiah narratives (2 Kgs 18–19), there are some apparent authentic reflections of Neo-Assyrian ideology.[37] The most likely point of contact for such appropriation of pro-Assyrian traditions was the period of Neo-Assyrian domination of Judah.

This background would suggest that the first edition(s) of the broader history of kings in Samuel-Kings probably originated in the late pre-exilic period of Judah's history, even if we cannot identify the exact contours of this precursor work.[38] Much previous work rightly has pointed to indicators in the present text that some form of the work concluded with Josiah, but it is possible that a form concluded with Hezekiah as well. It may well be that the royal chronicle went through several revisions and extensions in the late pre-exilic period.[39] Given the fluidity of ancient textual revision, however, we probably cannot reconstruct such early pre-stages without manuscript documentation of them. Aside from recognizing the vague contours of the conclusion of such a work around the reign of Josiah, the most we can do is recognize the probability that such extended royal historiography embedded in Samuel-Kings probably originated in the Neo-Assyrian period of Judean history and reflects, at points, specific elements of pro-Assyrian royal narratives that were in circulation at that time.

In sum, we find evidence of Neo-Assyrian-period shaping of earlier traditions across Deuteronomy through 2 Kings. This starts with the striking reflections of the Esarhaddon vassal treaty in potentially secondary parts of Deuteronomy

34. Petra Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, AOAT 275 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 147–52. Note also the emphasis on the pedagogical aims of such literature more generally in Grayson, "History and Historians," 189–90; Tadmor, "Autobiographical Apology," 54–55.

35. On the Tukulti-Ninurta epic, see Peter Machinist, "Literature as Politics," 455–74. For the Synchronistic Chronicle, Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5 (Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1975), 50–54.

36. Gesche, *Schulunterricht*, 147–52; note also Grayson, "History and Historians," 189.

37. Peter Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 723, 725–26.

38. This does not pertain to possible prehistories of sources used in Samuel-Kings, a topic to which I will return in Chapter 17.

39. Here, I find evocative the model proposed in André Lemaire, "Towards a Redactional History of the Book of Kings," in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah: Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History*, ed. G. N. Knoppers and J. G. McConville (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 446–61.

(Deuteronomy 13 and 28) and concludes with the synchronistic history of kings in Judah and Israel in Kings (along with Samuel). These apparent Neo-Assyrian-period elements generally seem to secondarily frame earlier, originally independent materials, such as an earlier West Semitic covenant with Yhwh near Shechem in Deuteronomy, Ephraimite conquest traditions in Joshua, and various monarchal compositions standing behind Samuel-Kings.

The Tetrateuch

Scholars have dated major parts of Deuteronomy through 2 Kings to the Neo-Assyrian period for over a century, but more recently an increasing number of studies have found potential reflections of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology in Genesis through Numbers as well. What follows is a sampling of some of the more persuasive proposals.

I start with one mentioned briefly in the last chapter, the story of the Tower of Babel in Gen 11:1–9. There, I suggested, following previous studies by Uehlinger and others, that the Babylonian focus of the present story, especially as seen in its concluding etiology (11:9), had been given to it in the Neo-Babylonian period. This etiology is only loosely connected to the rest of the story by a stretched analogy between the word בלל in the narrative and בבל/"Babylon." Uehlinger argues persuasively that the bulk of the story, with its focus on a grandiose, failed building project to make a "name" (שם) and an agenda of seeking "one speech," seems tailor-made to mock Sargon II's failed attempt to build a capital named after him (Dur-Sharrukin) and his ideology of seeking to ensure that his subjects with diverse languages speak with "one mouth."[40] Since the story is a constructed myth placed in primeval times, it does not provide the sorts of detailed historical parallels that could establish this thesis with certainty. Nevertheless, Uehlinger makes a strong case that this story, placed at the end of the Genesis primeval narrative, originated as an anti-Assyrian polemic.

This emphasis on Neo-Assyrian origins in recent scholarship has given new life to an older proposal of adaptation of the narrative of Sargon's birth in the story of the birth of Moses in Exodus 2. Earlier scholars saw numerous parallels between the Sargon birth legend and Exodus 2: both children born out of wedlock, exposed by their mother, placed in a basket spread with bitumen, put in a river, found by accident by other adults, adopted by stepparents, and depicted as growing to greatness.[41] Yet earlier scholarship often worked with a very early date for the Sargon legend, seeing it as an Old Babylonian or slightly later myth about the founder of the Akkad dynasty. Some recent studies, however, have argued that

40. Christoph Uehlinger, *Weltreich und "eine Rede": eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11, 1–9)*, OBO 101 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1990), 406–531.

41. Brian Lewis, *The Sargon Legend: A Study of the Akkadian Text and the Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth*, ASOR Dissertation Series (Cambridge, MA: ASOR, 1980), especially pp. 263–66; Eckart Otto, "Mose und das Gesetz: Die Mose-Figur als Gegenentwurf Politischer Theologue zur neuassyrischen Königsideologie im 7. Jh. v. Chr," in *Mose: Ägypten und das Alte Testament*, idem. (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2000), 55.

the Sargon legend is a Neo-Assyrian work aimed at establishing the legitimacy of Sargon II through redescribing the birth of his illustrious predecessor.[42] If this is so, Exodus 2 may be another biblical reflection of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology, indeed another reflection of ideology specifically linked to Sargon II.[43] Moreover, like the potential reflection of Neo-Assyrian ideology in Gen 11:1–9, Exodus 2 has a subversive bent. Whereas the Sargon legend describes him as growing up in and staying in the royal context for which he was destined, the story of Moses ultimately has Moses leave and destroy the Egyptian royal family that originally raised him.[44]

We may see further pale reflections of Neo-Assyrian ideological motifs in the depictions of divine glory preceding the Israelites as they process through the wilderness. This motif of the divine vanguard is not explicit in Northwest Semitic traditions, but is a prominent part of Mesopotamian tradition and—from the Tukulti-Ninurta epic onward—is a feature of the Neo-Assyrian royal historiographic tradition. In that tradition, the emblems of the gods appear in front of the king in his grand campaigns to subdue enemies. Within Exodus, the pillar of fire symbolizing Yhwh moving in front of the Israelites, and this pillar is a central part of several connecting narratives glorifying not the king, but Moses.[45] To be sure, this example does not involve multiple elements to the extent that the Tower of Babel and birth of Moses examples do. Nevertheless, it is suggestive of the potential influence of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology extending across larger sections of the Moses story than its mere beginning.

Psalms and Other Songs

Other major examples of proposed Neo-Assyrian influence on the Hebrew Bible are found in its poetic sections, particularly the royal psalms. The royal psalms would seem a natural place for such influence to be found, since most such proposals have focused on the impact of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology on biblical texts. Insofar as some Judean literates were enculturated into Neo-Assyrian royal propaganda, one would expect that enculturation to be reflected in some way in their articulation of the ideology of the Judean monarchy.

For example, Psalm 2 appears to be an example of a text containing older royal ideology that has been reshaped with some distinctively Neo-Assyrian elements. In Chapter 14, I will summarize some of the scholarship arguing that the divine pronouncement of anointing in Ps 2:6 and parts of the divine decree in 2:7–9 are among the oldest fragments of Judean royal ideology, predating the Neo-Assyrian period. Nevertheless, Bob Becking has argued that the pottery-breaking motif in

42. Lewis, *Sargon Legend*, 106–107. For a survey of other opinions, see Wright, *Inventing Law*, 501, note 89.

43. For an argument against a folkore approach to these shared motifs, see Lewis, *Sargon Legend*, 211–67, especially pp. 263–66.

44. Otto, "Mose und das Gesetz," 56–57.

45. On this, see in particular Thomas Mann, *Divine Prescence and Guidance in Israelite Traditions: The Typology of Exaltation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1977).

Ps 2:9b most resembles threats found in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, which might suggest a dating to later monarchal period of Judah, not the early monarchy.[46] In addition, Eckart Otto has argued that the depiction of rebellion of the peoples in 2:1–3 was prompted by later, Neo-Assyrian royal ideological motifs that probably entered Judah in the eighth and/or early seventh centuries.[47] Thus, Psalm 2 may be a Neo-Assyrian period framing of older royal ideological elements.

Psalm 18 is another locus where some have found intriguing indicators of potential Neo-Assyrian influence on a biblical psalm. In the past, many have seen early elements embedded in Psalm 18, particularly the military aspects featured in a royal psalm contained in verses 33–51 (ET 32–50). Nevertheless, Otto has adduced more specific Neo-Assyrian parallels to this portion of the psalm, particularly motifs of Assyrian gods being the king's shield (18:36 [ET 18:35]), equipping the king for battle (18:33–35, 37, 40 [ET 18:32–34, 36, 39]), and destroying his enemies (18:40b-41 [ET 18:39b-40]) including putting them beneath the king's feet (18:40b [ET 18:39b]).[48] To some extent, these are relatively widespread motifs in Ancient Near Eastern royal ideology, but their combination is best attested in the extensive corpus of Neo-Assyrian royal texts.[49]

The Song of Songs is one final text that deserves mention as an example of a Hebrew biblical text potentially influenced by Neo-Assyrian traditions. In a recent series of publications, Martti Nissinen has argued that the first millennium forms of Mesopotamia sacred marriage rituals of the gods should form part of the background in which the biblical Song of Songs is read. In particular, Neo-Assyrian texts such as the Love Lyrics of Nabu and Tashmetu provide some of the most precise parallels adduced so far to the interchange between lovers and interjections of a chorus seen in the Song of Songs.[50] Nissinen, however, is rightly cautious about drawing overly ambitious conclusions about the literary history of the Song of Songs on the basis of these parallels, acknowledging the importance of parallels from erotic poetry of other culture realms and eras as well. Rather than maintaining that the Song of Songs is an appropriation of Neo-Assyrian marriage rituals, he has used these analogies between the Song of Songs and Neo-Assyrian marriage

46. Bob Becking, "Wie Töpfe sollst du sie Zerschmeissen: Mesopotamische Parallelen zu Psalm 2,9b," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 59–79.

47. Eckart Otto, "Politische Theologie in den Königspsalmen zwischen Ägypten und Assyrien: Die Herrscherlegitimation in den Psalmen 2 und 18 in ihren altorientalischen Kontexten," in "*Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 45–50. Note also André Lemaire's observation that sceptres of iron (see Ps 2:9b) so far have been found in eighth-century and later sites in the Northwest Semitic realm (" 'Avec un Sceptre de fer': Ps. II,9 et l'archéologie," *BN* 32 [1986]: 25–30).

48. Otto, "Königspsalmen," 52–58.

49. Psalm 72 is another psalm where some have found quite specific Neo-Assyrian elements. These proposals are engaged in Chapter 14 of this book.

50. See especially Martti Nissinen, "Love Lyrics of Nabû and Tašmetu: An Assyrian Song of Songs?" in "*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf": Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient (FS Oswald Loretz)*, ed. Manfried Dietrich and Ingo Kottsieper (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 585–634. For a broader survey of such traditions, see Martti Nissinen, "Akkadian Rituals and Poetry of Divine Love," in *Mythology and Mythologies: Melamu Symposia II*, ed. R. M. Whiting (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text-Corpus Project, 2001), 95–125.

rituals for divinities to argue against recent tendencies to see an overly strong divide between ancient secular and theological erotic literature.[51]

Conclusion to Survey

Overall, this last set of discussions of poetic biblical texts has touched on a danger in over-interpreting Neo-Assyrian evidence in relation to the Hebrew Bible. Especially with increased publication of the comparatively vast corpus of Neo-Assyrian materials, there is a temptation to find an ever-increasing number of analogies between those materials and biblical texts, and draw historical conclusions from such analogies. Nevertheless, this increasing number of proposed analogies between Neo-Assyrian and Hebrew Bible texts may say more at times about the over-representation of Neo-Assyrian materials in certain text genres (in comparison to more poorly preserved corpora of other cultures) than it does about the extent of Neo-Assyrian influence on the Hebrew Bible. Such analogies certainly can help counter past tendencies to separate the Hebrew Bible from its Ancient Near Eastern environment. Yet one must have multiple and specific semantic parallels and/or inversions to make a convincing case for the influence of Neo-Assyrian (royal) traditions on the Hebrew Bible.[52]

So far the best case for such parallels has been established for Deuteronomy-Joshua and Samuel-Kings, while Neo-Assyrian influence is more vague and difficult to trace across much of the Tetrateuch and relatively rare in other biblical books. Deuteronomy 13 and 28 were distinguished by unusually close potential links to the Neo-Assyrian loyalty oath tradition (EST), links constituted not only by multiple semantic parallels, but also blind motifs present in the Hebrew biblical texts that had their apparent original home in their Neo-Assyrian counterparts. In addition, the focus on the exclusive and loyal "love" of Yhwh in the broader evaluative framework of 1–2 Kings, a highly selective appropriation of the variety of laws found in Deuteronomy, may be a theologization of the injunction in Neo-Assyrian royal texts to "love" the Neo-Assyrian monarch exclusively. Finally, the composition of an extended evaluative narrative about kings, especially kings in two realms (Judah and Israel//Assyria and Babylonia), may have been inspired by the growing emphasis on such pedagogical royal historiography in first millennium Mesopotamian, including Neo-Assyrian, educational contexts.

In addition, I have discussed potential Neo-Assyrian precursors to the story of the Tower of Babel, Moses's birth, depiction of Israel's divinely guided march through the wilderness and campaign in Canaan, and certain royal psalms (especially Psalms 2 and 18). Some of these proposals (e.g., for Psalm 18) are more precarious than others. Other scholars might draw the lines somewhat differently. Be that as it may, it seems safe to say that potential Neo-Assyrian influence on the Hebrew Bible is most evident in the broader framework of the pious royal historiography in 1–2 Kings. If the literary elites of Judah internalized Neo-Assyrian

51. See especially Martti Nissinen, "Song of Songs and Sacred Marriage," in *Sacred Marriages in the Biblical World*, ed. Martti Nissinen and Uru, Risto (Winona Lake, IN.: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 205–18.

52. On this see my cautions in "The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Old Testament Studies: Actual and Potential," in *Congress Volume (IOSOT): Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen (VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 519–49.

royal traditions in a Neo-Assyrian setting, this process was reflected in their composition of royal narratives and shaping of narratives about life in the land leading up to that royal history. Elsewhere, Neo-Assyrian influence is most evident in texts occurring toward the beginning of two major collections: the Moses story on the one hand (Exodus 2) and Psalms on the other (Psalm 2).[53]

These possible-to-probable examples of specific Neo-Assyrian-period influence share one distinctive characteristic: the extent to which they do not just borrow, but invert Neo-Assyrian genres and motifs.[54] Deuteronomy 13 and 28 appear to use elements from the Neo-Assyrian loyalty oath, shaping preexisting materials in Deuteronomy in ways that make it a virtual loyalty oath to Yhwh, *not* the Assyrian king. The authors of Samuel-Kings appear to draw on Mesopotamian traditions of historiography, including the specific Neo-Assyrian synchronistic historical form, but the result is a historiography oriented toward celebrating the faithfulness of monarchs who defied Assyrian rule (especially Hezekiah, Josiah) and attributing the Neo-Assyrian destruction of the North not to Assyrian might, but Yhwh's punishment for unfaithfulness. Psalm 2 and 18 appear to draw on specific motifs documented best in Neo-Assyrian royal propaganda to celebrate the destructive power of the *Davidic* king. Exodus 2 parallels the Sargon legend in glorifying *Moses*, and Gen 11:1–9* even seems to adapt elements of Sargon II's propaganda to mock his failed construction of Dur-Sharrukin and monarchy more generally. Finally, insofar as the wilderness and/or Joshua narratives are also influenced by such Neo-Assyrian propaganda, they use elements from it to depict the march (and conquest in Joshua) of a divinely empowered *people* rather than the awesome, godlike power of a king. In this respect, these narratives would show an inversive melding of Neo-Assyrian royal traditions with more ancient West Semitic traditions of non-royal peoplehood.[55] Overall, this inversive reappropropiation of Neo-Assyrian royal traditions seems to have helped to prompt the creation of what Sanders terms a "negative political theology" in Judah, where the people rose to the fore and the king was no longer just celebrated, but evaluated in terms of "otherworldly" criteria of faithfulness to broader norms.[56]

■ BIBLICAL MATERIALS EXPLICITLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

Another strategy for uncovering texts from the Neo-Assyrian period, of course, is to survey biblical texts that explicitly date themselves to that period. Prov 25:1 introduces chapters 25–29 as being "other proverbs of Solomon compiled by the

53. Regarding this phenomenon, see soon Sara Milstein, "Revision Through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature," PhD diss. (New York: New York University, 2010).

54. A point well made in Peter Machinist, "Final Response: On the Study of the Ancients, Language, Writing and the Stata," in *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, ed. Seth Sanders (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 291–300.

55. On this ancient tradition of tribally conceived peoplehood, see particularly Daniel Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

56. Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, Traditions (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 152–54.

men of Hezekiah, king of Judah." Similar superscriptions locate the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah to the period of Neo-Assyrian domination of Israel and Judah, while the superscriptions for Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel's prophecies link to the time of king Josiah and/or the descent into Neo-Babylonian domination and exile. Finally, the content of chapters 2–3 of the book of Nahum, a song celebrating the fall of Nineveh in 612 BCE, fairly explicitly links that book to the late seventh century.

Such superscriptions, however, provide only a starting point. Prov 25:1, for example, explicitly asserts that the material that it introduces is much earlier than the superscription itself. As per the superscription, chapters 25–29 of Proverbs constitute an eighth-century collection of proverbial material originating with Solomon two centuries before. This claim requires critical evaluation, a task made difficult by the problems in specifically dating the sort of instructional material found in those chapters. Such material does not typically speak of specific historical events, and most wisdom observations included in those chapters would be relevant at multiple times in Israel's history. Furthermore, the data from the parallel edition of Proverbs in the LXX suggest that collections such as these were modified over time in ways undetectable by literary methods dependent on analysis of the present text. Chances are that at least some of the material in Proverbs 25–29 dates from multiple periods. The most we can do is reconstruct the broader literary beginning point of the collection processes that produced the parallel editions now before us.

Similar problems plague the attempt to identify early material in prophetic books associated with the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian periods. Already in previous chapters of this book, I have discussed portions of these prophetic books that appear to date to the exilic and post-exilic periods. Critical evaluation of early manuscript evidence suggests that the book of Jeremiah was significantly expanded and reordered during the late Hellenistic (including Hasmonean) period, including the addition of numerous passages composed in semi-Deuteronomistic diction (e.g., Jer 33:14–36) and smaller glosses with similar features. The survey of earlier Hellenistic literature mentioned proposals that the Gog and Magog section of Ezekiel (38–39) and some other portions of prophetic books could have been composed then. And still larger portions of these prophetic books (e.g., Isaiah 40–66 along with parts of Isaiah 1–35; Micah 4–7; and much of Jeremiah) appear to have been composed in the exilic and Persian post-exilic periods. In sum, the prophetic books associated with pre-exilic prophets appear to contain multiple compositional layers, many of which are only approximately detectable through methods of *Literarkritik* if at all.

Particular Challenges in Identifying Late Pre-Exilic Material in Hosea and Jeremiah

These methodological problems are particularly acute in cases of biblical books, such as Hosea and Jeremiah, whose diction and ideology closely approximate those of the broader Deuteronomistic tradition. On the one hand, much older scholarship saw Hosea and Jeremiah as among the precursors to Deuteronomistic theology, shaping the ideas and language that would prove influential in the

composition and reshaping of the Deuteronomistic History and more distantly related books. On the other hand, some recent scholarship has turned this relationship around, interpreting the resonances between these prophets and the Deuteronomistic tradition (broadly conceived) as evidence that the books of Hosea and Jeremiah (and the prophetic characters rendered in them) are the pure creations ex nihilo of later Deuteronomistic (or post-Deuteronomistic) scribes. In this way, recent study focused exclusively on the literary production of these books has ended up arguing that the books are virtually exclusively scribal, literary productions, and their semi-Deuteronomistic diction and ideology, both elements characteristic of much later literature, are indicators of this.[57]

Though this study does not find the overall conclusions of the latter group of studies convincing, they have had the virtue of highlighting a point made frequently throughout this book: that the present form of *all* biblical texts is Hellenistic, with scholars frequently being unable, with methodological control, to distinguish precisely which parts of this biblical tradition date to earlier periods. That said, it must also be observed that these (Hellenistic) forms of Hosea and Jeremiah are quite distinct in profile from the literature surveyed earlier as more securely datable to the Persian and Hellenistic periods, including Persian-period prophecy (e.g., Haggai and Zechariah 1–8).[58] Moreover, as Erhard Blum has pointed out, scholars advocating a Persian-period dating of such prophecy have failed to account adequately for how oracles in books such as Hosea and Jeremiah, often featuring a prominent focus on the destiny of the Ephraimite North (almost all of Hosea, much of Jeremiah 2–3, and elsewhere), would have *originated* in a Judean context long separate from that North.[59] Here again, materials surveyed earlier as showing clearer links to the Persian period, for example, the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, Nehemiah Memoir, and Chronicles, show a steadfast focus on Jerusalem and Judah that is quite distant from the world presupposed in Hosea and Jeremiah. One could, of course, frame Hosea and Jeremiah as post-exilic texts opposing such a Judah-focused perspective. Yet Hosea and Jeremiah's Ephraim-oriented oracles are hardly pro-Northern either. Texts such as the cry over Israel's indecision in Hosea 6 or the attack on Israel's spiritual and political infidelity in Jeremiah 2 pronounce judgment of misdeeds of the Neo-Assyrian-period polity of Israel that would have stood in the *distant past* of a Persian-period audience. And this is but one way in which the poetic worlds implicit in texts associated with Hosea and Jeremiah are far removed from that of the post-exilic Persian and Hellenistic periods of potential Persian- and Hellenistic-period audiences. Though these prophetic books could and were reread and reshaped in the post-exilic periods, substantial portions of these books appear to have *originated* earlier.[60]

57. See, for example, Susanne Rudniq-Zelt, *Hoseastudien: redaktionskritische Untersuchungen zur Genese des Hoseabuches*, FRLANT 123 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

58. Note the tendency of many such scholars to engage this problem by dating most such literature, including Haggai and Zechariah 1–8, to yet later periods, but this begins to enter into an endless circle of literary postponements.

59. Blum, "Israels Prophetie," 97–98.

60. To be sure, one can explore how the texts were *re*read in a later period, for example, James M. Trotter, *Reading Hosea in Achaemenid Yehud*, JSOTSup 328 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

So how would one distinguish the later material in books such as Hosea and Jeremiah from parts that might go back to the pre-exilic period, particularly writing/dictation of the prophets themselves? Formal indicators of probable lateness include the phrase "in that day" that is often used to introduce appendices to preceding prophecies, such as a series of additions to Hosea's divorce speech (2:4–17 [ET 2:2–15]) found in Hos 2:18–19, 20–25 [ET 2:16–17, 18–23] or the exilic oracle about the restoration of David in Amos 9:11–15 (note other fairly clear insertions in Amos 8:9–14). Prose speech also marks many sections built around and dependent on poetic materials, such as the prose introduction to Hosea's divorce speech in Hosea 2:1–2 [ET 1:10–11]. In particular, prose narrations about the prophets (e.g., Hosea 1; Jeremiah 26–29, 32–45; note also Amos 7:10–17) stand at least one remove away from the prophets' own instruction, though a few still would attribute parts of the narration about Jeremiah (Jeremiah 26–29, 32–45) to his scribe Baruch (45:1–5). Also, there are some loci in Hosea and Jeremiah that are so Deuteronomistic in character that many scholars have seen them as likely additions to the prophetic books in their centuries of oral-written transmission. For example, Hos 8:1 appears to have been modified from an initial address to Northern Israel and supplemented with an indictment of covenant and Torah disobedience that is particularly characteristic of Deuteronomistic writings.[61] The same could be said for the scattered references to Judah and its king in Hosea (3:5; 4:15; 5:5; 6:11), which are often parenthetical and may have been added at various points in the Judean oral-written transmission of this originally Northern book. For Jeremiah, decades of scholarship have identified much larger swathes of the book as probable exilic/post-exilic Deuteronomistic creations.[62]

Meanwhile, there are some indicators of knowledge of early Hosea traditions in the most probable early parts of the book of Jeremiah. For example, those who still believe that one can reconstruct a pre-exilic substratum in Jeremiah often find it in subcollections such as the sayings against Israel and Judah in Jeremiah 2–6 (aside from apparent prose additions such as 3:6–18 and 5:18–19), oracles concerning kings in 21:11–22:30, and/or the sayings against false prophets in 23:9–22. In turn, a text in one of these subcollections, Jer 3:22 (שובו בנים שובבים ארפה משובתיכם), takes up the call to return found at the end of Hosea (14:2–10), including appropriation of a wordplay on משובת and reference to healing found in Hos 14:5a.

61. Lothar Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, WMANT 36 (Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 146–52; Jörg Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, ATD 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 104; Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 173.

62. Perhaps most influential was Winfried Thiel, *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25*, WMANT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973) and idem., *Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 26–45: mit einer Gesamtbeurteilung der deuteronomistischen Redaktion des Buches*, WMANT 52 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981). For a broader overview of scholarship, see Siegfried Herrmann, *Jeremia: Der Prophet und das Buch*, Erträge der Forschung (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 66–87 and Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.*, trans. David Green, Studies in Biblical Literature 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 303–12.

Insofar as Jer 3:22 does go back to the early written prophecy of Jeremiah and is dependent on Hosea 14, this would be important data for establishing the late preexilic origins of (these portions of) Hosea 14.

Yet more broadly, Jeremiah 2–3 (also the address to Jerusalem in Jer 13:20–27) appropriates and develops imagery of divine-human marriage found in the introductory part of Hosea, chapters 2–3. Within Hosea, the relatively early parts of these chapters use this image to justify Yhwh's impending punishment of the land> people for their lack of exclusive, wifelike loyalty to him (Hos 2:11–15 [ET 2:9–13]) and to undergird a promise that Yhwh's husbandlike love will eventually lead to communal restoration (Hos 2:16–17 [ET 2:14–15]). In Jeremiah, the imagery is intensified to pronounce punishment and irrevocable divorce of sexually unfaithful "Israel" (3:1–5, 19–20) while her "sons" (cf. Hos 2:4 [ET 2:2]) are offered a chance for restoration (Jer 3:21–23). In this way, the most plausibly early portions of Jeremiah (especially Jeremiah 2–3*) build on and beyond imagery found in the most plausibly early portions of Hosea. Overall, the book of Jeremiah from its outset seems to continue and develop both specific elements (e.g., Hos 2:4–17 [ET 2:2–15]; parts of 14) and general ideas of religio-political faithfulness to Yhwh found in the book of Hosea.[63]

Together, Hosea and Jeremiah share a focus on the North and on the importance of fidelity to Yhwh that, in turn, links them with another potential Northern text, an early form of the book of Deuteronomy. As we will see in Chapter 17 of this book, there are some indicators that much of Deuteronomy once was a covenant envisioned, at least poetically, to be performed in the Northern heartland of the tribes of Israel (see especially Deuteronomy 27). Like Hosea and much of Jeremiah, the book of Deuteronomy stresses the importance of exclusive loyalty to Yhwh (Deut 6:4–6) and not "following after" other gods because Yhwh is "jealous" (5:6–10). We do not see in Deuteronomy an explicit use of the marriage metaphor, but we do see an unfolding and extension (through the addition of the "jealousy" theme) of implicit sexual fidelity imagery found in Ancient Near Eastern political contexts. Thus together, Hosea, Jeremiah, and Deuteronomy represent a complex of Hebrew Bible texts with shared Northern interests (Jeremiah) and/or roots (Hosea, Deuteronomy), a common emphasis on the prime importance of fidelity to Yhwh envisioned in implicitly (Deuteronomy) or explicitly (Hosea, Jeremiah) sexual-gendered terms.

These texts share one more feature: the particular methodological challenge in distinguishing (1) early elements in them that preceded and may even have been a model for later Deuteronomistic texts and (2) elements in them that were added by later tradents influenced by Deuteronomistic models. To some extent, one can argue (with Schart and Albertz) that such texts experienced minimal theological interventions since their ideology already was in tune with that of later ages.[64] Yet

63. For a recent treatment and overview of literature, see Martin Schulz-Rauch, *Hosea und Jeremia: zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Hoseabuches*, Calwer theologische Monographien A (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1996).

64. See Schart, *Entstehung*, 169 and Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 232 on the probability that these are relatively rare because the messages of the two prophets were already so close.

one could also maintain that the presence of semi-Deuteronomistic material in wide swathes of these books is evidence that later scribes greatly expanded on whatever proto-Deuteronomistic ideas were present in earlier strata. How might one adjudicate between these alternatives? One strategy would be to investigate the level of clear Deuteronomistic intervention in a group of potential late pre-exilic texts lacking such clear early affinities with the Deuteronomistic tradition.

The books of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah are just such a group of texts. They are associated with figures from the eighth century BCE, but they contrast with Hosea and Jeremiah in containing substantial portions of material quite distinct from that of the Deuteronomistic tradition (broadly conceived). To be sure, some of these books contain epithets and other fragments that may have been added during centuries of transmission of these texts in scribal contexts infused with later, semi-Deuteronomistic ideology. For example, the oracles against the nations at the outset of Amos contain several oracles widely recognized to be secondary (Tyre 1:9–10; Edom 1:11–12; Judah 2:4–5), one of which features an indictment of Judah for rejecting Yhwh's Torah and not observing his commandments (2:4b) that is reminiscent of similarly Deuteronomistic language in Hos 8:1b. Similarly, the review of the conquest, exodus, forty years in the wilderness, and rejection of prophecy in Amos 2:9–12 rightly is seen by many as a probable insertion into a speech that probably originally moved from Israelites laying down beside altars and getting drunk on wines bought with fines (2:8) to Yhwh's breaking beneath them like an overladen cart (2:13; note also the possibly secondary exodus epithet in Amos 3:1bβ).[65] Such additions, however, are relatively rare in Amos and almost completely absent in Micah and Isaiah.[66] In sum, there is little evidence for extensive intervention in the books of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah by scribes influenced by the Deuteronomistic tradition.

Given this, the burden of proof would be on those who would argue for a substantially different picture in Hosea and Jeremiah, maintaining that these books—in contrast to Amos, Micah, and Isaiah—contain extensive swathes of material composed in the (broader) post-Deuteronomistic tradition. Overall, a good case has been made for extensive semi-Deuteronomistic material in Jeremiah, both in identifying large portions of such material and explaining it as a reflex of his status as a prophet quite close in time and ideology to the Deuteronomistic movement.[67] Despite some recent attempts, however, not as strong a case has been made for Hosea.[68] For this reason, I diverge from recent tendencies in some

65. Some other possible secondary references to the exodus and prophecy occur in Amos 3:7 and 5:25–27 (the latter with an anticipation of the exile).

66. Cf. the much broader proposals of Deuteronomistic language in Isaiah in, for example, Jacques Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, EB [Paris: Gabalda, 1977]). The question of the relationship of the opening of Micah and its relationship with Hosea will be addressed shortly.

67. Again, see the literature cited in note 61 above.

68. Cf. Roman Vielhauer, *Das Werden des Buches Hosea: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BZAW 349 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), which ends up with an early Northern composition consisting of Hos 5:1–2; 6:7–7:12* (reflecting, in turn, potential oral traditions in 6:7–9; 7:5–6 and 7:8b-9; note also 5:8–11) and Rudniq-Zelt, *Hoseastudien*, whose earliest layer of material found in Hosea is a series of "*Bildworte*" (Hos 7:8b, 11a; 9:11a, 13a*, etc.) authored after 722 and subsequently expanded.

scholarship to see Hosea as an (almost) completely late creation, and instead take the vast bulk of the book (aside from some probable late additions, e.g., 1:1–2:3 [ET 1:1–11]; 2:18–19, 20–25 [ET 2:16–17, 18–23]; 3:5; 4:15; 5:5; 6:11; 8:1*) as potentially containing substantial amounts of pre-exilic material, by Hosea himself and his first generation of students.

The Extent and Character of Potentially Early Material in Isaiah, Micah, and Amos

Isaiah

I start with a discussion of potentially early material in the book of Isaiah, one of the most multi-layered books in the Hebrew Bible. Earlier in this book, I discussed portions of Isaiah that probably post-date the Neo-Assyrian period of the prophet, not only the exilic and post-exilic materials in Isaiah 40–66, but also many materials from the same periods in Isaiah 1–39, such as 1:29–31; 2:1–4; the exilic (or later) anti-Babylonian texts in Isaiah 13:1–14:4a, 22–23, and 21:1–10; the potentially Hellenistic-period vision of the end of Isaiah 24–27, the anti-Edom oracle in Isaiah 34; and a late bridge to Isaiah 40–66 in Isaiah 35. In addition, the narratives about Isaiah and Hezekiah in Isaiah 36–39 have numerous features that reveal they originated in the context of 2 Kings and were only imported into the Isaiah tradition at a later point.[69] And this does not yet bring into discussion numerous oracles against the nations that often are deemed later, or the probable late prophetic liturgical elements that structure the present broader book (e.g., Isaiah 12 and 33). Here as elsewhere, the fluid character of transmission and the interest of biblical authors in inscribing a transhistorical word of God militate against any precise stratification of the Isaiah tradition, including and especially Isaiah 1–32.

That said, a number of scholars have noted that this portion of the Isaiah tradition probably does preserve two different levels of encounter of the Neo-Assyrian threat, each of which preserves a layer of late pre-exilic tradition. On the one level would be prophecies originating in some way with the eighth-century prophet Isaiah, while on the other level would be anonymous scribal extensions of those prophecies almost one hundred years later in the time of Josiah. For example, the core of Isaiah 14 celebrates the ignominious death and burial away from home (14:18–20a) of a specific king who is accused of continual oppression (14:4b, 6), terrorizing and destroying all the kingdoms of the world (14:16–17). This seems to be a parodic description of the death away from home of Sargon II, the Assyrian king who destroyed the Northern kingdom of Israel.[70] At the same time, the focus in Isaiah 14 on this single king is interrupted by the announcement of judgment against evil rulers more generally in 14:5 (note the lack of prior referents in 14:5 for the singular participles of 14:6) and a judgment against the successors of the

69. For a summary, see my "What Can We Say about the Tradition History of Isaiah?: A Response to Christopher Seitz's *Zion's Final Destiny*," *SBL Seminar Papers* 31 (1992): 593–96.

70. Hermann Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung*, WMANT 48 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 125–41, especially pp. 135–40.

mocked king in 14:20b-21. These sections have been read plausibly as additions to the dirge over Sargon II that probably date toward the conclusion of Assyrian rule, additions that announce judgment on the whole succession of Assyrian rulers.[71] If so, then Isaiah 14 would be an example of an eighth century text containing an earlier mock-dirge over Sargon II (14:4b, 6–20a), a later seventh century extension of that dirge to announce divine judgment against the whole succession of Assyrian kings (14:5, 20b-21), and a still later, exilic redirection of the whole against Babylonian rulers (14:1–4a, 22–23).

Isa 8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7] may contain another portion of the Isaiah tradition dating from the late seventh, rather than the late eighth century. Though the philological difficulties of 8:23 [ET 9:1] remain unresolved, the latter part of the verse appears to refer to a glorification *that has already taken place* of three parts of the Northern kingdom (Naphtali and Zebulon) that had been turned into Neo-Assyrian provinces: the "way of the sea" (Dor/*Dulru*), the "other side of the Jordan" (Gilead/*Gal'azu*), and "Galilee of the nations" (Megiddo/*Magidu*).[72] The perfect forms of the Hebrew verbs הקל ("brought into contempt") and הכביד ("glorified") make clear that the text is referring to events in that past, not predicting the future.[73] The text then turns to description of the rejoicing over the end of war (9:1–4 [ET 9:2–5]) and thanksgiving for the accession of a new "boy" (ילד) king (9:5–6 [ET 9:6–7]). The apparent description of Assyrian withdrawal and the end of war in 8:23–9:4 [ET 9:1–5] matches the late seventh century better than the time of Isaiah, while the celebration of the accession of a young king better fits that of Josiah at age eight (2 Kgs 20:1) than kings associated with Isaiah, such as Ahaz (20 years; 2 Kgs 16:2) or Hezekiah (25 years; 2 Kgs 18:2). Moreover, the vision in this text of this king's permanent restoration of David's kingdom (9:6 [ET 9:7]) may link with Josiah's apparent particular interest in the precedent of David's kingship, an interest reflected in both the emphasis on the Davidic kingship in the Josianic edition of Samuel-Kings (e.g., 2 Samuel) and Josiah's reported incursion to destroy Bethel and other the sanctuaries in the North (2 Kgs 23:15–20), thus asserting limited cultic control over part of the broader kingdom once held by David and Solomon. In any case, the focus of Isa 8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7] on Assyrian withdrawal, thanksgiving for end of war, and accession of a king *in the past* far better fits the late seventh century than it does the late eighth century.

This would suggest that the tradition surrounding Isaiah bears traces of reshaping in the late seventh century, as well as the exilic and later periods. Previous studies have found other traces of this late-seventh-century reshaping in texts such an "on that day" oracle about the king of Assyria (Isa 7:20), anticipations of the destruction of the Assyrian (king) (Isa 10:16–19; 14:24–27; 30:27–33; 31:8b-9),

71. Barth, *Jesaja-Worte*, especially pp. 127–29 and 140–41.

72. Originally argued in Albrecht Alt, "Jes 8,23–9,6: Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, idem. (München: Beck, 1953), 209–11, and accepted in many recent publications (e.g., Marvin Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39 with an Introduction to the Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996], 186 and Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001], 79, despite many other differences between these works).

73. Barth, *Jesaja-Worte*, 143–51.

and even a *prediction* of a righteous king (Isa 32:1–5; cf. Isa 8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7]).[74] Nevertheless, others have pointed out that these and other texts attributed to an "Assyrian redaction" of the book of Isaiah in the late seventh century are not homogenous, and it is certainly possible that some of the anticipations of Assyria's doom could have come from the prophet or his tradents prior to the late seventh century.[75] As at other stages in this survey, we must reckon here as well with certain methodological limits in what can be reconstructed in the history of a tradition for which we lack independent witnesses. On the one hand, there are signs in texts such as Isaiah 14 and 8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7] that the tradition was shaped in the late seventh century, perhaps by multiple hands, in relation to the Assyrian withdrawal and/or the rise of Josiah. On the other hand, it is not possible to reconstruct precisely all of the parts of this reshaping.

Moving further back, the book of Isaiah preserves some evidence for the collection of Isaiah's sayings already in the eighth century, perhaps even at multiple points. The first such bit of evidence is the narrative in Isa 8:16–18, where the prophetic character in the book describes having received an instruction to "bind up the witness, seal the torah in my students" (צור תעודה התום תורה בלמדי) and proclaims that he will wait for Yhwh who has hidden his face from the house of Jacob, and that he and the sons Yhwh has given him (with the prophetic torah internalized) will be "signs and portents" in Israel for Yhwh who dwells in Zion. This text, in turn, connects back to the prophet's description of a theophany of Yhwh in the temple (Isa 6:1–4; see "Yhwh of armies, who dwells in mount Zion" 8:18), the anticipation in that narrative of the rejection of the prophet's words in his own time (6:9–10), and three scenes involving children with sign names (7:1–9 [Shear-yashub]; 10–17 [Immanuel]; 8:1–4 [Mahershalalhashbaz]). Whatever the complex process that produced shifts in person and other irregularities in Isaiah 6–8, this text block presents itself as a largely first-person prophetic memoir, written down for Isaiah's students to preserve for a future time when it might be more favorably received than it originally was.[76] Furthermore, the same conjunction of inscription of prophecy (כתבה על לוח אתם ועל־ספר חקה) as a witness for a future time (לעד עד־עולם) in the wake of the rejection of that prophecy by the current generation occurs in Isa 30:8–11. In both cases, the medium of writing of prophetic oracles is associated in the Isaiah tradition with the rejection of the prophet's words in his own time. Writing serves here as a technology for the prophet to transmit his words to a future generation, including the internalization of such written words in students (בלמדי; 8:18).[77]

74. For example, especially Barth, *Jesaja-Worte* and (on Isa 10:16) Peter Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," 725.

75. For the former critique, see especially Uwe Becker, *Jesaja: von der Botschaft zum Buch*, FRLANT 178 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 16–17.

76. Note the disagreement about the origins of the distinctive elements of Isaiah 7 vis-à-vis Isaiah 6 and 8. Becker, *Jesaja*, 21–42 versus Erhard Blum, "Jesajas prophetisches Testament. Beobachtungen zu Jes 1–11 (Teil I)," *ZAW* 108 (1996): 552–53 versus Jörg Barthel, *Prophetenwort und Geschichte: die Jesajaüberlieferung in Jes 6–8 und 28–31*, FAT 19 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 61–64.

77. Note also the obscure אתם in Isa 30:8, which once may have referred to a similar group who was to internalize the sayings. For a broader discussion of these texts and the context in which prophecy

This does not, of course, mean that all of Isaiah 6–8, let alone all the material preceding Isaiah 30, originated with the prophet. For example, there are a number of signs that the several "in that day" oracles spread between Isa 7:17 and 8:1–4 (7:18–25) and an appended "additional" word from Yhwh starting in 8:5 probably were added at undetermined points in the history of the development of the Isaiah tradition. Moreover, part of Isa 7:1 is a harmonization with the description of Ahaz's reign in 2 Kgs 16:5, chapters 7 and 8 seem expanded by several glosses explaining a metaphor for the attacking kings of the Syro-Ephraimite war (7:4b) and linking other metaphors with (the king of) Assyria (e.g., 7:17), and there are some additional probable expansions that follow the command to write the testimony down (8:19–20, 21–22). Moreover, once we expand to look at Isaiah 1–5 and 10–33, the problems multiply.

Blum, in particular, has produced persuasive arguments that the bulk of Isaiah 1–11 originated, likely with the prophet himself, as a composition built concentrically around the Isaiah memoir contained in parts of Isaiah 6–8.[78] The first bit of evidence for this composition is the evident connection between the sayings immediately before and after 6–8, the series of woes in Isa 5:8–24; 10:1–4, and a series of oracles with strophes concluding with the refrain "in all this his anger is not turned back and his hand is still outstretched" (בכל־זאת לא־שב אפו ועוד ידו נטויה; 5:25–29; 9:7–20 [ET 9:8–21]). However one reconstructs the original shape of these similar series,[79] it appears that they are related to each other, together forming an envelope around the Isaiah memoir. Further out in this envelope stand the proclamation against arrogant Assyria in Isa 10:5–15 and the corresponding pronouncements of judgment against "all that is lofty" in Isa 2:12–19*, the leading men of Jerusalem (3:1–15*), and the rich women of the city (3:16–17, 24). Yet further out stand the proclamation of the purification of Jerusalem in Isa 1:21–26 and of the restoration of an ideal kingship in Zion in the wake of destruction in Isa 10:33–11:9. In sum, concentric portions of Isaiah 1–11 appear as follows:

A Purification of Jerusalem (1:21–26)

B Proclamation against lofty things and leading men and women (2:12–19*; 3:1–17, 24)

C Part 1 of the woe series and strophes with refrains-social criticism (5:8–29)

D Isaiah memoir (Isaiah 6–8*)

C' Part 2 of the woe series and strophes with refrains-social criticism (9:7–10:4 [ET 9:8–10:4])

B' Proclamation against arrogant Assyrian king (10:5–15)

A' Post-destruction establishment of righteous Davidic king in Zion (10:33–11:9)

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such as Isaiah's was written down, see Christof Hardmeier, "Verkündigung und Schrift bei Jesaja. Zur Entstehung der Schriftprophetie als Oppositionsliteratur im alten Israel," *TGI* 73 (1983): 119–34.

78. Blum, "Jesajas Testament"; idem., "Jesajas prophetisches Testament. Beobachtungen zu Jes 1–11 (Teil II)," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 12–29.

79. The beginning of 5:25 ("on account of this" על־כן) suggests it may once have been a conclusion to 9:7–20, and many have seen 10:1–4a as the original introduction to the series of woes in 5:8–24. For advocacy of this sort of approach, see especially Barth, *Jesaja-Worte*, 109–12.

This concentric structure, in turn, may provide some guidance in identifying relatively early material in these chapters. Those who still reckon with early Isaiah material in Isaiah 1–32 generally include texts listed above in this concentric structure. The vineyard allegory in Isa 5:1–7 is an additional text often taken as Isaianic, but it plays a role in the structure by introducing the social critique permeating Isa 5:8–25. Meanwhile, many texts in Isaiah 1–11 that are not part of this concentric structure show other signs of being late additions, for example, the late superscription and exilic/post-exilic vision of peoples streaming to Jerusalem in 2:1–4, the seventh-century celebration of Assyrian withdrawal and Josiah's rise to kingship (8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7]), a probable seventh-century expansion of the saying against Assyria (10:5–15) in 10:16–19, and "in that day" (and prose) oracles in 2:20–22; 3:18–23; 4:1–6; 5:30; and 10:20–32. In sum, embedded in Isaiah 1–11 (aside from the above-surveyed late materials) is a set of texts (1:21–26; 2:12–19*; 3:1–17, 24; 5:1–29; [6–8*]; 9:7–10:4 [ET 9:8–10:4]; 10:5–15; 10:33–11:9), each of which has some claim to be Isaianic, which in turn are part of a broader concentric structure which likely also is Isaianic. This concentric structure is preceded by an initial invitation to repentance, Isa 1:2–20, that may also include some Isaianic material.[80]

One distinctive feature of these probable Isaianic texts in Isaiah 1–11 is their apparent links to earlier prophetic texts, especially texts associated with Amos. As first observed by Fey and more recently buttressed by Blum, this is most clear in the strophes with refrains found in Isa 5:25; 9:7–20 [ET 9:8–21]; and 10:1–4.[81] In particular, Amos 4:6–12 uses a series of five refrains to assert that Israel continually failed to return (שוב) when Yhwh punished the people with famine, military disaster, and a Sodom and Gomorrah-like earthquake ("yet you did not return to me" ולא שבתם עדי; 4:6b, 8b, 9b, 10b, 11b; see Amos 4:11; compare with earthquake-like elements in Amos 2:13–16; 9:1–4; also 1:2). Isa 9:7 seems to refer back to this "word" that Yhwh sent (through Amos) to fall on Israel, and the broader text of Isa 5:25; 9:7–20 recalls the earthquake and military disasters that hit the North, and uses a series of refrains (formally similar to those in Amos 4:6–12) to insist that Yhwh's hand is "still outstretched" to extend the judgment that once fell on Israel (5:25b; 9:11b, 16b, 20b; 10:4b). This Isaiah series of texts thus uses the "word" now found in the book of Amos to interpret the disasters that befell the North in the wake of the Syro-Ephraimite war as a lesson to Jerusalem not to make the same mistake of failure to repent. And this broader portion of Isaiah 1–11* betrays other particularly strong parallels to material found in Amos, such as the use of "woe" sayings to announce judgment

80. For maximal assessments of Isaianic material in these chapters, see, for example, Ronald E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, NCB Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1980), 28–29 and Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 67–69. More recent treatments have tended to be less optimistic about eighth-century material in these chapters.

81. Reinhard Fey, *Amos und Jesaja: Abhängigkeit und Eigenständigkeit des Jesaja*, WMANT 12 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), 83–104; Erhard Blum, "Jesaja und der דבר des Amos: Unzeitgemäße Überlegungen zu Jes 5,25; 9,7–20; 10,1–4," *DBAT* 28 (March 1992): 75–95.

(Isa 5:8–24; 10:1–4; see Amos 5:18–20; 6:1–8), the transformation of the "day of Yhwh" into a time of calamity (Isa 2:12–19; Amos 5:18–20), evocation of the analogy of Sodom and Gomorrah (Isa 1:9–10; 3:9; Amos 4:11), and the overall attribution of calamity to the leadership's perversion of justice (Isa 5:7; Amos 6:12), specifically failure to protect the widow and orphan and their corruption of justice with bribes (Isa 1:23 [see also 1:17]; 3:14–15; 5:7, 8, 20, 23; 10:1–2; Amos 2:7–8; 3:10; 4:1; 5:7, 10–11, 24; 6:4–6; 8:4–6). These similarities surpass the potential faint echoes of Hosea's sexual polemic in the initial lament over Jerusalem in Isa 1:21 (cf. Hos 2:4–17 [ET 2:2–15]; 4:13–15; etc.) and of Hosea's anti-idolatry critique in Isa 2:8, 18; 10:10–11 (cf. Hosea passim).

The next major section of Isaiah, the oracles against nations in Isaiah 13–23, has proven more controversial. Datings of these oracles have varied widely, usually depending on scholars' prior assessments of the scope and major themes of the eighth-century prophet's message. At one end, Marvin Sweeney has offered one of the most extensive recent attempts to reconstruct an eighth-century context for most of the oracles against the nations (major exceptions include Isa 13:2–22; 14:1–2, 22–23, 24–27; 16:13–14; 19:18–25; 20:1–6; 22:5–11; 23:15–18).[82] At the other end, Kilian is an example of a recent commentator who found nothing from the eighth century in Isaiah 13–23.[83] As indicated in Chapter 8 of this book, I find most plausible the approach of Blenkinsopp, who argues that the oracles against Babylon in Isaiah 13–14 and 21:1–10 may have been added/revised during the exile to provide a Babylonian frame for an earlier form of collection of oracles against nations.[84] If he is right, this late frame could provide a clue to the scope of that early collection. That early collection would have started with Assyria (14:4b, 6–20a) and moved to (portions of the material concerning) Philistia (14:28–32*); Moab (15:1–16:11*); Damascus (17:1–3*); Israel (17:4–6*); and Egypt (18:1–6; 19:1–15*). This hypothesized early collection in Isaiah 14–19* would have stood as the Isaianic counterpart to the series of oracles against Damascus, Philistia, Amon, Moab, and Israel that once stood at the outset of Amos's early collection (Amos 1–2*). Overall, the list of nations is quite similar in the probable early portions of Amos and Isaiah's foreign oracle series. The early Isaiah collection left out Amon, which was not significant to Judah in Isaiah's time, but added at either end the empires of Assyria (Isaiah 14*) and Egypt (Isaiah 18–19*) that had become vitally important.

The last portion of the book of Isaiah that might include early Isaianic material is chapters 28–32. This section is built around a series of woe oracles often attributed to the prophet (28:1–4; 29:1–4; 29:15–16; 30:1–5; 31:1–3) that continues the tradition of use of this form for announcement of judgment seen in Amos (e.g., 5:18–20) and Isa 5:8–24; 10:1–4. Otherwise, except perhaps for an echo of the plumbline of Amos (Isa 28:17; see Amos 7:7–8), these chapters lack many links to

82. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39* discussions of "Setting" across parts of 232–310.

83. Rudolf Kilian, *Jesaja 13–39*, Neue Echter Bibel 32 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1994), 108, 113, 117–18, 120,125, 127, 130, etc.

84. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 272.

material in Amos, and assessments of other early Isaianic material in these chapters have varied. On the one hand, this section contains some apparently late prose material (e.g., 29:11–12; 30:19–26; 31:6–7), "on that day" oracles (e.g., 28:5–6; 31:7), probable seventh-century extensions of Judah's judgment to Assyria (e.g., 30:27–33; 31:8–9), and a promise of fertile restoration reminiscent of the latter chapters of Isaiah (Isa 29:17–24). None of these texts are good candidates for originating in the late eighth century. On the other hand, the remaining material contains a critique of Jerusalem's women (32:9–14) and drunken leading men (28:7–10, 14–15; 29:9–10) reminiscent of similar early Isaianic critiques of the same groups in Isa 1:21–24; 3:1–17, 24; 5:11, 22, and the overall emphasis on trusting Yhwh's protection of Zion rather than foreign alliances is consistent with the message Isaiah is reported to have given in the Syro-Ephraimite war (e.g., 7:7–9, 16; 8:4). Though legitimate questions can be raised in particular about the promise of a righteous king and leadership in Isa 32:1–8 and promise of restoration in 32:15–20, the rest of this material could well be an extension of Isaiah's written prophecy, written down in the face of opposition to his message about false reliance on an Egyptian alliance (30:8–17; 31:1–5).

In sum, there is good reason to see much eighth-century material in Isaiah 1–11, 14–19, and 28–32. This corpus probably started with the Isaiah "memoir" in Isaiah 6–8, which itself shows signs of early growth (e.g., differences between 7 and 6+8). Already probably in the eighth century, it was extended backward and forward to produce the above-diagrammed concentric composition in Isaiah 1–11 (1:21–26; 2:12–19*; 3:1–17, 24; 5:1–25; [6–8]; 9:7–10:4 [ET 9:8–10:4]; 10:5–15; 10:33–11:5). At some point, some Isaianic oracles against foreign nations were added, whose contents are uncertain but probably encompassed some of the material found in Isaiah 14–19. Finally, Isaiah added one more complex of sayings focused on the crisis of 701 that now stands embedded in Isaiah 28–32 (28:1–4, 7–29; 29:1–10, 13–16; 30:1–18; 31:1–5; possibly parts of 32 [e.g., 9–14]). There may be some eighth-century Isaianic oracles in Isa 1:2–20 as well, perhaps already added as an introduction to the above-mentioned concentric structure, and there are many uncertainties involved in the rest of the picture. Nevertheless, the set of texts outlined above represents a likely deposit of Isaianic testimonies for future generations, a deposit that used the medium of writing to combat the false wisdom of his time and preserve his message of reliance on Yhwh's protection of Zion.

Micah

The discussion of potential late-eighth-century material in Micah will be briefer, since the chapters containing such material, Micah 1–3, are less extensive and less obviously complex literarily than those attributed to Isaiah. As discussed previously, Micah 4–7 consists of a mix of oracles added to the Micah collection in the exilic and later periods. Thus, the bulk of material potentially containing pre-exilic material from Micah is confined to Micah 1–3, a collection concluding with a proclamation of doom over Jerusalem (Mic 3:12) that is quoted in the narrative tradition surrounding Jeremiah (Jer 26:18).

Despite some arguments to the contrary (particularly in recent scholarship), there is good reason to see the vast bulk of these chapters as originating in an early Micah collection. The main exceptions are the introductory summons to hear from the Jerusalem temple in 1:2,[85] the "on that day" oracle in 2:4–5, and the previously discussed exilic-seeming promise of Yhwh to gather the survivors of Israel in Mic 2:12–13. Otherwise, the rest of Micah 1–3* appears to be a largely eighth-century Judean prophetic collection with strong similarities to early Isaiah material. Though some have been inclined to take all or part of the opening theophany scene (1:2–7, also 8–9) as a late composition coordinating Micah's message with that of other prophets, it also can be seen as an eighth-century reapplication to Judah of past prophecies to the North, a reapplication thus parallel to the reapplication of Amos's prophecy seen in Isaiah. The initial description of Yhwh's theophany in Mic 1:3 echoes Yhwh's "treading" on the "heights" in Amos 4:13, and the vision of mountains melting and valleys bursting in 1:4 is reminiscent of Amos's earthquake (Amos 1:2; 2:13–16; 4:11; 9:1–4). Next, the proclamation of idol destruction in Samaria in Mic 1:6–7 parallels Hosea's indictment of Israel for harlotry (Mic 1:6–7; see גלה ["lay bare"] in Hos 2:12 [2:10]; 7:1; פסילים ["graven image"] Hos 11:2; אתנן ["prostitute's wages"] Hos 2:14 [ET 2:12]; 9:1; עצבים ["idols"] Hos 4:17; 8:4; 13:2; 14:9 [ET 14:8]; זנה ["play the whore"] Hos 2:6–7 [ET 2:4–5]; 3:3; 4:10–15, 18; 5:3–4; 6:10; 9:1). Some have maintained that the coordination of Samaria and Judah in Mic 1:5b, along with the parallels to Hosea in Mic 1:7, are the result of interventions by later scribes.[86] Yet we saw a similar coordination of destinies of North and South in the early Isaiah material, coupled with a similar reappropriation of themes from Northern prophecy. Rather than assuming that such coordination could only come at a late point, we probably are better off understanding Isaiah and Micah as parallel interpretations of the crises facing late-eighth-century Judah *as seen through the lens of written prophecies from the North*. Notably, the potential echoes of Amos continue through other parts of Micah 1–3, as well, as in the prophet's description of being told not to "drip/prophesy" (2:6–7) in terms similar to those described for Amos at Bethel (7:16; נטף) and the comment "it is an evil time" in Mic 2:3 as in Amos 5:13.[87]

The impression of substantial early material in Micah 1–3 is reinforced by the presence in these chapters of material that either parallels or specifically contrasts with features found in probable early material from Isaiah. For example, as investigated most thoroughly by Stansell, both Micah 1–3 and potential early material in Isaiah evoke conflicts with contemporary prophets (Mic 3:5–8, 11; Isa 3:2; 28:7–13; linked to priests in both Mic 3:11 and Isa 28:7) who are attacked for their

85. This verse is consistent with introductory material occurring at the outset of Amos as well, but not resonant with Micah's otherwise quite critical attitude toward Jerusalem.

86. Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 211; cf. Rainer Kessler, *Micha*, Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1999), 83–84, which sees the same links, but argues that the verses are integral to their context and thus dates all of 1:2–7 to a late point.

87. Note also a possible echo of Amos 5:15 hate evil and love good in Mic 3:2a who hate good and love evil, though this also could be rooted in more general terms for foolishness.

drunkenness (Mic 2:11; Isa 28:7–8) and whose words are quoted and refuted (Mic 3:5, 11; Isa 28:9–10). Yet there are not the sort of specific verbal parallels between these sections to suggest textual dependence. Similarly, both Micah 1–3 and probable early material in Isaiah condemn the leaders of Judah for the corruption of justice (משפט Isa 10:2; Mic 3:1, 9), accepting bribes (Isa 1:23; 5:23; Mic 3:11), and specifically expropriating property, land,and houses (Isa 3:14; 5:8–10; Mic 2:1–3). In this respect, they represent parallel Judean extensions of the social-wisdom critique found in Amos. As often observed, Micah and Isaiah oppose each other on the question of Yhwh's investment in Zion/Jerusalem. Whereas much of the probable early Isaiah material urges Jerusalem's leadership to trust in Yhwh's protection of Zion (e.g., Isa 8:18; 14:32; 28:16–17; 29:5–8; 31:4–5), Micah announces that Zion will be destroyed precisely because Jerusalem's corrupt leaders insist that Yhwh is with them and they are invulnerable (Mic 3:9–12). In none of these cases is the genetic dependence of Micah on Isaiah or vice versa likely. Instead, these resonances and disagreements between the *probable early* materials of each book point to the origins of both complexes of texts in a similar late-eighth-century prophetic-scribal milieu.[88]

Amos

Finally, I turn to the book of Amos. Like Isaiah and Micah, this book is attributed to a Judean prophet, yet one who is said to have prophesied in the North, prior to the time of Isaiah and Micah, during a highly constrained period (two years before an earthquake). By now it should not be surprising to find portions of probable later material in Amos. Earlier in this and previous chapters, I discussed probable later additions to Amos in 1:1 (superscription to an exilic 4-prophets book); 1:9–12; 2:4–5, 9–12; 3:1bβ, 7 (additions showing potential semi-Deuteronomistic elements); 5:25–27 (exilic extension of Amos); 7:10–17 (narration about Amos) and "on that day" oracles toward the end of Amos (8:9–14; 9:11–15).

In addition, some portions of Amos probably represent early extensions of the Amos tradition, whether by the prophet or his students. For example, the broad overview of disasters in Amos 4:6–12 presupposes the addressees mentioned in Amos 4:4–5 and blends Amos's prediction of an unavoidable earthquake (Amos 4:11; compare with 2:13–16; 9:1–4; also 1:2) with the later military defeats that would come with the Neo-Assyrian advance (Amos 4:10–11). Contrary to some attempts to identify an exilic insertion here, this pericope maintains the focus of other potential early parts of the book on Israel (with a military, 4:10) and its destiny, with no trace of focus on Judah or later events.[89] Together, this section in Amos 4:6–12 and the doxologies in 4:13 and 5:8–9; 9:5–6 are good candidates to be part of the shaping of an early book of Amos extending to 9:6. These sections, in turn, are among those possibly reappropriated by Isaiah on the one hand

88. Gary Stansell, *Micah and Isaiah: A Form and Tradition Historical Comparison*, SBLDS 85 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988).

89. Though there are commonalities with threats of disaster in Deut 28:16ff. and Lev 26:14ff., these passages do not share enough of the sorts of vocabulary that would establish a *textual* linkage.

(especially Amos 4:6–12 in Isa 5:25; 9:7–20 [ET 9:8–21]; 10:1–4) and Micah (2:3; see Amos 5:13) on the other.

That leaves three main parts of the book as containing possible eighth-century material. The first is an early form of the oracles against the nations following a 4+1 pattern (1:3–8, 13–15; 2:1–3, 6–8, 13–16 [Damascus, Philistia, Moab, Moab, Israel]). The second is a sayings collection now centering on a concentric call to "seek Yhwh and live" in Amos 5 (3:1*-6; 3:8–5:24; 6:1–14). The final section is built around a 4+1 vision sequence (7:1–9; 8:1–3; 9:1–4), but also may have included a narrative about Amos (7:10–17), additional prediction of an earthquake as a consequence for Israel's injustice (8:4–8), and possibly part of a final saying about Israel's status and destiny (9:7–10). The order of these blocks diverges from that of other prophetic books, especially in the placement of the oracles against nations at the outset, a sign that the first edition of Amos was shaped in a different context than other prophetic books, probably earlier than them. Aside from the probable compositional piece in Amos 4:6–12, the sub-collections of which Amos was formed seem to have preceded the Neo-Assyrian advance. Nevertheless, as seen in 4:6–12, his prediction of earth-shaking disaster because of Israel's injustice soon was understood as an accurate forecast not just of an earthquake, but more broadly of the imperial, Neo-Assyrian onslaught that so deeply affected the history of Israel. So, though Amos's own prophecy probably occurred earlier in the eighth century, the formation of the first Amos book probably happened in the wake of the Assyrian attack on and reduction of Israel, starting particularly in 732. It was this early Amos book, then, that formed a major model and prompt for the creation and expansion of other prophetic collections in Judah, for example, Micah and Isaiah, that appropriated and extended Amos's words to Judah.

Eighth-Century Southern Prophecy and the Book of Zephaniah

Looking back, the complex of Amos, Micah, and Isaiah represents a trajectory of early Judean literary prophecy distinctive in some ways from that seen in Hosea and Jeremiah. In contrast to Hosea, these other prophets are all Judean. Moreover, none shows strong links to the language and ideology of the later Deuteronomistic movement. Instead, it appears that the book of Amos played a more dominant role as the literary model for other early Judean literary prophetic collections, with echoes of his prophecy across Micah and especially Isaiah's early collections. In both cases, Micah and Isaiah represent early attempts to interpret the crises facing the South through the lens of Amos's prophecy of judgment against the North. To be sure, there may be faint recollections of Hosea's prophecy as well, if the parallels to Hosea's message in Isa 2:8, 18 and Mic 1:7 are not later insertions. Nevertheless, it appears that the collection associated with Amos played a dominant role in prompting both the message of judgment in Micah and Isaiah and their social critique. Moreover, the collections surrounding all three prophets contain reminiscences of opposition to their message (e.g., Amos 7:10–17; Mic 3:5–8; Isa 28:7–13; 30:9–12; also perhaps behind Isa 6:9–10), while Isaiah's prophecy includes two indications that its inscription was specifically linked to such opposition (8:16–18; 30:8–11). Indeed, this probably was a factor in the

writing down of the prophecies of Amos and Micah as well, ensuring that their unpopular messages of doom would survive as a literary deposit for future generations to preserve and extend.[90]

Apparently, this stream of literary prophecy continued into the seventh century with the book of Zephaniah. Zechariah 1 in particular features a reversal of the "Day of Yhwh" tradition seen in Amos (5:18–20) and appropriated in Isaiah (2:12–19). As in Amos 5:18, 20, Zephaniah's day of Yhwh is "darkness" (חשׁך) and "gloom" (אפל) (Zeph 1:15b). And much as Isa 2:12–19 is patterned by multiple repetitions of the word "against"/על (2:13b-16), so Zeph 1:14–16 is patterned by an extended repetition of the term "day"/יום (Isa 2:12, 17) along with repetition of the word "against"/על (Isa 2:12–16), with the concluding "against" portions of both texts focusing on military power and fortifications (Isa 2:15–16; Zeph 1:16). Like the probable early Isaiah collection, the book of Zephaniah contains a series of oracles against foreign nations with a prominent focus on Assyria (Philistia 2:4–7; Moab 2:8–11; Ethiopia 2:12; and finally Assyria 2:13–15), and this collection resembles both Amos and early Isaiah in concluding with proclamation(s) against the prophet's own people (Zeph 3:1–8; see Amos 2:6–8, 13–16 and Isa 28–32*). Whether this latter portion of Zephaniah (2:4–3:8), however, represents a pre-exilic parallel to the books of Amos and Isaiah is unclear.[91] Moreover, strong arguments have been raised against the seventh-century dating of the rest of the book, including the "at that time" promise of reversal of the curse at the Tower of Babylon (Zeph 3:9–10; cf. Gen 11:1–9), the "on that day" announcement of preservation of a remnant (Zeph 3:11–13), and the final song of restoration to/about Zion (3:14–20).[92] Overall, the best parallels to eighth-century literary prophecies occur in the part of Zephaniah, Zephaniah 1, that is most broadly agreed to contain pre-exilic (seventh-century) material. This is true not only for the above-discussed potential links to Amos and Isaiah, but also for the possible echo of Hosea's anti-idolatry critique in Zeph 1:4b-5 and the critique in Zeph 1:6b of those who failed to "seek" (בקשׁ; Hos 3:5; 5:6) or "inquire" (דרשׁ; Amos 5:4, 6) of Yhwh. As such, the first part of Zephaniah, at least, is evidence for continuing growth of a corpus of literary prophecy in Judah whose later compositions occasionally drew on elements from earlier ones.

We should be careful how we conceptualize this "stream" of literary prophecy, particularly given the influential heritage of various theories about an "Isaianic school" behind the series of layers in the book of Isaiah.[93] That theory has suffered

90. Jörg Jeremias, "Das Wesen der alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *LitZ* 131 (2006): 6; Blum, "Israels Prophetie," 107.

91. Marco Striek, *Das vordeuteronomistische Zephanjabuch*, Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie 29 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1999), 140–93 does see it as pre-exilic, but note Albertz's objections (*Israel in Exile*, 218).

92. See, for example, Striek, *Zephanjabuch*, 195–216 and Hubert Irsigler, *Zefanja: übersetzt und ausgelegt*, HTAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2002), 62–65.

93. Note, for example, the critique of past approaches to this in Martti Nissinen, "Das Problem der Prophetenschüler," in *Houses Full of All Good Things: Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola*, ed. Juha Pakkala and Martti Nissinen (Helsinki and Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 337–53.

from anachronistic ideas about what constituted a "school,"[94] the large chronological distance separating the layers of Isaiah, and the increasing evidence that parts of the book of Isaiah, for example, Isaiah 40–55, have as much in common with other texts (e.g., Jeremiah) as they do with traditions found in Isaiah 1–35.[95] There is little to indicate the persistent influence of any specific prophetic "school" across centuries. Nevertheless, this need not mean that we jettison completely the idea of competing textual sub-communities in Judah, some of which were centered on prophetic figures like Isaiah. Toward the outset of my discussion of Isaiah, I noted two texts, Isa 8:16–18 and 30:8, where the Isaianic prophetic voice reports divine commands to seal/write down his prophecy for a future generation. As we saw, the former text explicitly specifies that the prophet was to seal his text in his "students" (למדים), implying that his "teaching" (תורה) was not just to be written down, but internalized by these members of the next generation.[96] In this way, he could use writing to ensure transmission of his prophetic instruction within the next generation of his students, an inner circle, *so that* it could speak to a broader audience later, ostensively a more receptive future generation. Notably, though Isaiah can hardly be termed a Deutero-Amos, his early prophecy itself shows signs of being an appropriation and extension of an early literary form of Amos's prophecy. In this sense, Isaiah, and to a lesser extent Micah, represent the wider appropriation of a literary deposit of initially rejected prophecy linked with Amos (see Amos 7:10–17), while they, in turn, seem to have used the medium of writing to attempt similar transmission of their (initially rejected) prophecy to others. Zephaniah, then, would represent a further extension of this process. The main difference would be that the Zephaniah collection lacks indicators that Zephaniah's prophecy was opposed. It may well be that by the time of Zephaniah, the precedent of writing of prophetic teaching was well enough established by collections such as Amos, Micah, Isaiah, and Hosea that a prophetic figure such as Zephaniah might simply build on that precedent.

Conclusion on Pre-Exilic Literary Prophecy

The discussion so far certainly has highlighted the difficulties in achieving any certainty in reconstructing stages of prophetic writings that predate their present form by centuries, but it has attempted to show that some such reconstruction is possible. Discussions in previous chapters of this book have helped identify large swathes of these prophetic books that partake of the themes and concerns of the exilic and later periods in the development of Hebrew literature. Moreover, scribes sometimes unintentionally left marks of their enrichment of earlier collections, such as the prose form of their additions or secondary links to earlier contexts

94. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 113–15.

95. Benjamin Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66*, Contraversions (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

96. For discussion of an Egyptian analogy to this sort of textual subcommunity in Isaiah, see my comments in *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 70, 143–45.

(e.g., "on that day," "in that time"). And occasionally we can use historical references and variations in number to trace yet more later additions, such as the probable late-seventh-century "Josianic" redaction of early prophecies by Isaiah (e.g., 14:5, 20b-21 versus 14:4b, 6–20a and 8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7]). By using these sorts of indicators we can isolate a range of texts in these prophetic books that likely originated in the eighth (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah) or seventh (Zephaniah, Jeremiah) centuries.

These texts, in turn, show a profile distinct both from the texts discussed in earlier chapters and those discussed in this chapter as specifically reflecting Neo-Assyrian influence. Here in these probable eighth-century texts, we see only the beginnings of what would become the above-discussed broader appropriation and inversion of Neo-Assyrian traditions in Deuteronomy, Samuel-Kings, and other loci. For example, Hosea seems to feature at least a knowledge of the Neo-Assyrian vassal covenant tradition, if not a preliminary appropriation of its motifs for depicting the relationship of Israel to Yhwh. Hos 12:2b specifically associates the idea of covenant with Assyria, albeit in a passage marked off from its immediate context as potentially secondary by its plural subject. Meanwhile, prophecies associated with Hosea mention a "covenant"/ברית with Yhwh (Hos 6:7; 8:1b), and his prophecy more generally is characterized by a call for exclusive loyalty to Yhwh that is analogous to the exclusive love and loyalty demanded by the Assyrian king of his subjects in some vassal treaties. To be sure, at least Hos 8:1b shows signs of being a later Deuteronomistic addition to Hosea, the reference to a covenant in Hos 6:7 is unclear,[97] and the book of Hosea (unlike Deuteronomy) does not explicitly call for Israel to "love" Yhwh in the way Neo-Assyrian royal texts called on subjects to "love" and be loyal to their imperial king.[98] Nevertheless, these multiple texts in Hosea suggest that it may have been the first step in a process of inversion of Neo-Assyrian tradition that developed further in the seventh century.

Meanwhile, as Machinist has argued, some potentially early parts of Isaiah's prophecy seem to reflect and invert Neo-Assyrian propaganda. Where the Assyrian king claims victory for himself, Isa 10:5–7 claims that, in fact, Yhwh is the one who is controlling his success or failure. Where the Assyrian monarch (as depicted in Isa 10:8–9) gives a typical catalogue of victories and attributes them to his "officers" (Akkadian *malku*) who are really "kings" (Akkadian *šarru*) (10:8–9), Isaiah may imply in this depiction that the Neo-Assyrian monarch, in fact, is an "officer" with respect to the true king, Yhwh.[99] And where Assyrian royal texts mock foreign

97. כאדם is particularly problematic, often amended (without manuscript support) to באדם ("at Adam"). However this obscure portion of the verse is understood, at the most this couplet accuses Israel of having transgressed "a covenant" in a way that involved the betrayal of Yhwh (שם בגדו בי). There is no way to know if this unspecified "covenant" had distinctive features of the Neo-Assyrian treaty.

98. Indeed, the explicit references to "love" in Hosea pertain to Israel's false "lovers" (e.g., 2:7, 9, 12, 14, 15 (ET 2:5, 7, 10, 12, 13; see also 3:1), Israel's "love" of idolatry (4:18; 9:1), or Yhwh's betrayed love (9:10, 15; 10:11; 11:1; 14:5 [ET 14:4] and 4:18).

99. See Sanders, *Invention*, 221–22, note 96 for an oral communication by Machinist where he suggested this also may play on the double status of vassal rulers as seen in bi-lingual inscriptions such as Tel-Fekeriye (e.g., "governor" vis-à-vis Assyria, but "king" vis-à-vis the local population).

nations for trusting in their own power, Isaiah mocks the Assyrian king for thinking he conquered Judah and other nations through his own power (10:13–15).[100] If this oracle, in fact, goes back to Isaiah and echoes these elements of Neo-Assyrian propaganda, it would represent an early and specific engagement with such materials otherwise rare in the materials dated here to the eighth century.

Overall, the balance of early prophetic literature surveyed here reflects the trauma of encounter with Neo-Assyrian imperialism, but not an internal shaping by Neo-Assyrian imperial enculturation. Aside from the very earliest layers of Amos, which probably precede the main Neo-Assyrian attacks on Israel (starting in 732 BCE), the early shaping of the book of Amos (e.g., 4:6–12) and the early prophecies of Micah, Hosea, and Isaiah (along with its extension[s] in the late seventh century) all include some attempt to anticipate and interpret the unfolding Neo-Assyrian domination of the region. In general, most of these texts interpret such domination from an outside perspective, from the experience of Neo-Assyrian military *force*. Only a few such texts, for example, possibly Hosea and some parts of Isaiah, show signs of a more specific encounter with Neo-Assyrian propaganda. Insofar as they do, they reflect the efficient exercise of Neo-Assyrian imperial *power*, that is, the range of ideological techniques (image, display text, education of some local elites, deposit of officials as liaisons) used to create cooperative leaders across their empire.

Finally, I should note that these eighth-century prophetic materials represent a crucial stream of generative textuality that would flower in later periods. To be sure, though prophecy was a largely oral phenomenon in the Ancient Near East, we do have some documentation of the writing down and even collection of some prophecies in royal contexts outside Israel, especially at Mari and in Neo-Assyrian records.[101] Nevertheless, it is specifically in the Judah, Israel, and nearby territories (Deir Alla) that we see the appearance of non-royal collections of literary prophecies, collections that apparently continued to be expanded and reshaped outside royal contexts. To some extent, this development in Judah seems to have been prompted by the initial rejection of the (Judean) prophet's words, first with Amos and then Isaiah and Micah. Nevertheless, by the seventh century this prophetic medium seems to have gained a wider audience, and in later periods (surveyed previously) literary prophecies are collected and expanded to help process the trauma of Jerusalem's destruction and exile.[102]

■ CONCLUSION

Though plagued by the uncertainty endemic to any attempt to excavate Neo-Assyrian-period texts from Hellenistic-period textual traditions, this analysis has

100. Machinist, "Power and Culture," 303–4. See also the discussion in Sanders, *Invention*, 149–52.

101. For this, see the helpful collection in Martti Nissenen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta: SBL, 2003).

102. This is one of the loci where some of Seth Sanders' reflections on the shift in voicing of Hebrew biblical texts and contemporary epigraphic developments (Sanders, *Invention*, especially pp. 140–54) are most evocative.

found reason to identify both late-seventh and late-eighth-century elements in the Hebrew Bible. The probable late-seventh-century materials with signs of Neo-Assyrian influence were concentrated in an early form of the synchronistic history of the Northern and Southern monarchies, certain portions of Deuteronomy (particularly 13 and 28), framing elements of the intervening books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel), and narratives around the edges of blocks of the Pentateuchal history (e.g., Gen 11:1–9; Exodus 2). Yet parts of Zephaniah (especially Zephaniah 1, possibly Zeph 1:1–3:8*) and Jeremiah (e.g., 2–6*; 21:11–22:30*; 23:9–22*) probably date from this period, along with the taunt song over the destruction of Nineveh in Nahum and some probable seventh-century additions to the Isaiah tradition (e.g., 8:23–9:6 [ET 9:1–7] and 14:5, 20b-21). Insofar as this group of texts do date from the late seventh century, they show that Neo-Assyrian influence was more prominent in some scribal contexts and genres (e.g., monarchal history and related texts) than in others (e.g., literary prophecy).

When the discussion in this chapter moved earlier from the seventh to eighth century, we found probable eighth-century material in Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Isaiah. The Northern prophecy in Hosea shows affinities with Deuteronomy, a text whose Northern affinities will be discussed in a later context. Meanwhile, Amos, Micah, and Isaiah form a related group of Judean prophets, with Micah and particularly Isaiah representing appropriations and extensions of traditions found in Hosea and particularly Amos. This probably is a literary reflection of the socio-political divisions between North and South that characterized the eighth century, a time when there were two monarchal states based in Samaria and Jerusalem. This is but one way in which early materials found in these prophets provide important reflections of dynamics prior to the destruction of the Northern kingdom.

One other way to build the profile of these late pre-exilic texts is to note elements that they *lack*. Aside from (potentially late) references in Deuteronomy to Yhwh's promise of the land by oath to the fathers (sometimes Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), we see few early references to Abraham, Isaac, or the promise, all elements that grew importance over the course of the exile, and the clearest early references to events in the Pentateuch are concentrated in texts with connections to the North (especially Hosea and Deuteronomy). Furthermore, though Hosea's prophecy is close to apodictic calls for fidelity to Yhwh and the social indictment in Amos 2:6b-8 contains some parallels to themes found in the Covenant Code of Exod 20:22–23:33 (e.g., the return of a cloak taken as collateral Amos 2:8a//Exod 22:26–27), we do not see specific references to other Pentateuchal laws in probable eighth-century materials. Indeed, as Wellhausen and others long ago observed, the eighth-century prophets reflect a situation of multiple functioning sanctuaries (e.g., Hos 4:13; 8:11; 12:12; Amos 4:4; 5:5) that contradicts calls for centralized worship in the Deuteronomic and later codes. Finally, the materials from the eighth century do not feature the sorts of concerns about foreign influence, let alone the wish for revenge, characteristic of materials from the seventh century and later. In this respect, we can trace the impact of imperial trauma on Israelite literature in the move from eighth-century indictments of foreign nations alongside Judah/Israel (e.g., Amos 1–2*; Isaiah 14–19*) to the celebration of

enemy defeat and increased anxiety about foreign influence in Nahum, seventh-century Isaiah materials, Deuteronomy-Joshua, Judges, and Samuel-Kings.

In sum, aside from the earliest materials associated with Amos, the diverse texts surveyed in this chapter are all touched in some way by the experience of Neo-Assyrian domination. At points (e.g., Hosea, Isaiah, Micah), this comes in attempts to interpret the reasons for domination or critique of the means used by leaders to resist it. At other points (e.g., Deuteronomy 13, 28; Exodus 2; Gen 11:1–9; possibly Isa 10:5–15 and Hosea), this comes from the ways in which biblical authors seem to have appropriated and/or subverted elements of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology. Finally, toward the end of the period, this comes in a celebration of the end of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its domination of the land of Israel (e.g., Nahum; Isa 14:5, 20b-21).

11 From the Neo-Assyrian to Hasmonean Periods

Preliminary Conclusions and Outlook

Before moving yet further backward to identify potential early pre-exilic materials in the Hebrew Bible, let us review the profiles that have been established for the periods surveyed in the preceding chapters. These profiles can prove useful in isolating material that may have originated from later periods in Israelite history. In addition, back-references in some of the more datable texts, particularly those datable to the later pre-exilic period, can provide some preliminary indications of the sorts of material in the Hebrew Bible that might have been written yet earlier.

OVERVIEW OF THE PROFILES FROM THE NEO-ASSYRIAN TO HASMONEAN PERIODS

The preceding survey concluded with texts that have the most potential to be dated early in the Neo-Assyrian period: a group of texts with Northern connections on the one hand (Hosea, Deuteronomy) and another group of texts, collections of literary prophecies (Amos, Micah, and Isaiah), that are associated with Judean figures. Though the latter, Judean group may draw to a limited extent on the earlier literary prophecy of Hosea, the two groups reflect different emphases and literary worlds. Hosea and Deuteronomy share an emphasis on the importance of exclusive loyalty to Yhwh and cultic purity, along with back-references in Hosea 12 to Jacob traditions (in Hosea 12) and back-references in both to traditions about exodus and wilderness. Meanwhile, the most likely early material associated with Southern prophets (Amos, Isaiah, Micah) lack such back-references to Jacob or exodus-wilderness traditions. Instead, Micah and Isaiah overlap to a significant extent with each other, including sharing different sorts of engagement with Zion traditions, while Amos and Isaiah both include some kind of reference to the Sodom and Gomorrah tradition.

The main thing that these potential eighth-century materials share is a grappling with crises facing Israel and Judah, especially the subjugation of Israel and Judah to Assyria. To be sure, Amos precedes this with his social critique and anticipation of an earthquake that apparently struck Israel prior to the main Neo-Assyrian advance. Nevertheless, already in the early processing of the Amos material in Amos 4:6–12, we see the adaptation of his prophecy to address the imperial "earthquake" of Neo-Assyrian domination, and this focus appears again in the literary prophecy associated with Hosea, Isaiah (apparently specifically adapting Amos 4:6–12 in Isa 5:25; 9:7–20 [ET 9:8-21]; 10:1–4), and Micah. In this way, these materials reflect the beginning of a centuries-long use of written textuality in ancient Judah and Israel to process the experience of subjugation to a series of ancient empires.

Starting possibly with Hosea and Isaiah's early writings, and especially in various writings in the seventh century, we see a different sort of reflection of the impact of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Whereas most eighth-century (and later) literary prophecies anticipated and reflected the trauma of Neo-Assyrian attack and subjugation (thus, the "force" of imperial power), texts such as Isa 10:5–15; Deuteronomy 13 and 28; Exodus 2; and others seem to reflect more specific knowledge and inversion of Neo-Assyrian royal propaganda (echoing strategies of "hegemony"). The possible conditions under which such knowledge was gained were discussed in the previous chapter. What is striking in these cases is the extent to which these texts manifest a mix of detailed knowledge of Neo-Assyrian traditions and hostility toward the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its claims.

Thus, many of these biblical traditions reflect a hostility toward foreign influence at the very point of most intimate contact with Neo-Assyrian traditions. Though the Judean authors of these texts seem to have known and perhaps even have memorized some parts of Neo-Assyrian propaganda, they often invert these elements so that they encourage exclusive loyalty to Yhwh in place of the Neo-Assyrian king. Moreover, in the case of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Samuel-Kings, these Neo-Assyrian elements are surrounded by materials saturated with hostility toward foreign influence, a hostility likely engendered by the years of subjugation to Assyria by the time of composition of these texts. At least in the late pre-exilic period, engagement with Mesopotamian tradition seems to have been a fraught enterprise, and this is reflected in the inversive and otherwise slanted way many of these Neo-Assyrian traditions are reappropriated for their Judean context.

This hostility toward foreign peoples and foreign influence then continues, albeit in changed form, into the Neo-Babylonian period. The literary prophecies associated with Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel show ongoing textual engagement with the experience of domination now by the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and (as Vanderhooft has shown) even Babylonian-period critiques of Babylon appear to be refracted, in part, through the prism of Neo-Assyrian-period traditions.[1] Nevertheless, a shift is evident in the intimacy of Judean contact with Mesopotamian culture when compared with traditions surveyed in the Neo-Assyrian period chapter. Though there may be Neo-Babylonian-period biblical reflections of the Akitu festival/Enuma Elish in texts such as Genesis 1 and Leviticus 16[2] and perhaps adaptation of internal Neo-Babylonian polemics in Second Isaiah, we do not see much other detailed engagement of clearly sixth-century Judean materials with specific Neo-Babylonian-period royal or other written traditions. Hostility toward foreign powers continues, particularly rage at Babylonia and Edom for their participation in the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah. Nevertheless, despite the fact that a number of literate Judeans probably actually lived in Mesopotamia during the sixth century and beyond, there is comparatively less evidence in datable sixth-century materials for cultural interpenetration between Mesopotamia and Judah.

1. Vanderhooft, *Neo-Babylonian Empire and Prophets*, 117–23, 128–29, 136–49.

2. For this, see the helpful summary of data and past scholarship in Kenton L. Sparks, "Enuma Elish and Priestly Mimesis: Elite Emulation in Nascent Judaism," *JBL* 126 (2007): 625–48.

Meanwhile, we saw various reflections of collective trauma of destruction and forced displacement throughout much of the literature clearly associated with the sixth century. To some extent, of course, this is already reflected in the hostility toward foreign peoples discussed above, particularly in the widely attested sixth-century wishes that other nations (particularly Babylon and Edom) have to suffer the shaming and destruction that Judah had suffered in the sixth century. This trauma is further reflected in the evident displacement of originally monarchic motifs to non-state figures (e.g., Israel in Isa 55:3–4; Cyrus in Isa 44:28–45:2; and the ancestors in another probable exilic text Gen 12:1–3) and perhaps also displacement of originally temple-linked concepts of holiness to the Sabbath in Ezekiel and especially H. Perhaps most of all, however, this collective trauma is reflected in the evidence from many (probable) sixth-century texts of a sense of pervading sin and shame among Judeans, accompanied often by fear that the destruction of the Jerusalem sanctuary and exile meant permanent abandonment by Yhwh (directly attested in Lamentation literature [and quotes of Lamentations in Second Isaiah], caricatures of exilic discourse in Ezekiel's disputation speeches and diverse discourses about inter-generational sin (or not) in Ezekiel, and the extension of Samuel-Kings into the exile). Such a sense of shame and despair, I argued, is attested among many contemporary communities who have experienced/are experiencing forced migration. In addition, we saw typically diasporic constructions of hope in response to such despair in late Jeremiah and Ezekiel oracles, Second Isaiah, and the gathering and expansion of smaller prophetic books (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Zephaniah) to join the indictments of pre-exilic Israel with oracles of hope. Given the strong sense of sin attested in many of these sixth-century texts, the messages of hope that they construct often envision a divine mercy not conditional on the people attaining perfect obedience (e.g.. God giving them a new heart and/or saving them for the sake of God's reputation). Finally, a number of these probable sixth-century texts justified visions of hope through references back to Israel and Judah's history, initially the monarchic past (e.g., divine commitments cited in Psalm 89) and Reed Sea/exodus story (which is then typologized in Second Isaiah), but increasingly a more intense focus attested especially in Second Isaiah on Abraham and the pre-exodus ancestral promise. This forms the context, I argue, for the gathering and reconfiguration of Israel's origin traditions seen in the post-D Hexateuch and originally separate P composition, including their featuring of exilic indicators (e.g., echoes of exile in Joshua 24 and P's and H's focus on diaspora practices) and themes (Yhwh redeeming people in spite of sin especially in the post-D Hexateuch, Yhwh's honor, promise to ancestors).

All this might be read as an affirmation of the idea that the exile was the time of the creation of much Hebrew Bible literature, but that impression would be mistaken in this case. Rather much of the creativity found in texts dated to the sixth century appears to have come in the gathering and reframing of older traditions in light of experiences of exile. That is the process envisioned for the creation, probably in the late exile (or early post-exile) of the post-D Hexateuchal composition, which appears to be a joining and reframing of (at least) three larger compositions: a proto-Genesis composition, non-P Moses story (and perhaps other Moses traditions), and Deuteronomy-Joshua composition. P correspondingly appears to build

around earlier materials (in addition to counter-writing episodes found in the post-D Hexateuch) such as Gen 1:1–2:3, the toledot book embedded in Genesis 5*, and precursors to the sacrificial instructions in Leviticus 1–7. The exilic materials in Samuel-Kings are most clearly evident toward the very end of Kings, representing an apparent exilic-period extension of that work to reach to and explain the destruction of Jerusalem and exile. Furthermore, much of the exilic material in the prophets (e.g., reshaping of Isaiah [13-]14; exilic materials in Jeremiah; the sixth-century expansion and collection of materials associated with Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah) represents an evident reshaping of older materials rather than the creation of brand-new, freestanding compositions. Finally, the same point about reshaping older materials could be said for the apparent creation of a Psalms collection now concluding with the (probable) exilic-period royal Psalm 89 (cf. an apparent end of a Davidic collection in Psalm 72:20). According to the survey offered here, many of the best possible examples of new sixth-century compositions are linked in some way with the Zadokite and/or Levitical sphere, for example, Lamentations, Ezekiel, some form of Isaiah 40–55, and various psalms (e.g., Psalms 44, 74, 79, 89; 137; Isa 63:7–64:11 [ET 64:12]). Aside from these, I maintain that the bulk of impact of Neo-Babylonian destruction and exile on Hebrew Bible texts likely was concentrated in the preservation, gathering, and recontextualization of older pre-exilic traditions in the light of the collective trauma of destruction and exile.

This dynamic of preservation and recontextualization of earlier tradition continues into the Persian period, particularly in materials located in Hexateuch. Consider, for example, the joining of P (broadly conceived now to include many or all "H" materials) with the Post-D Hexateuch, the late Persian or early Hellenistic expansion and adaptation of Samuel-Kings in Chronicles, and the Persian-period expansion of the Isaiah tradition (e.g., 1:27–31; most of 56–66; 35 integrating 40–55). Even Job, though a new (and probably Persian-period) composition, in large part represents an artful juxtaposition of older genres and fragments of texts to say something new. New Persian-period compositions seem to be either individual psalms (e.g., 107), specifically post-exilic prophecy (e.g., early Haggai and proto-Zechariah), or narratives about post-exilic events (a possible Ezra memoir, Nehemiah Memoir, and the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative). Such a focus on expansion/joining/coordination does not mean that the literary activity is insignificant. For example, insofar as the Pentateuch is defined as such toward the end of the Persian period (e.g., Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative versus Nehemiah; note also Hellenistic era compositions), this reconfiguration of older Hexateuchal materials would have decisive and long-lasting repercussions that include the eventual construal of the whole canon as consisting of "Torah and Prophets."

Perhaps the biggest shift evident throughout this collection and reconfiguration process was the overall privileging of Hexateuchal and prophetic traditions to the expense of older traditions specifically linked to the monarchy. We have yet to come to a discussion of those latter materials. Nevertheless, I already discussed the cultivation, in later pre-exilic Judah, outside royal contexts, of collections of literary prophecies. Where at least the early Judean exemplars of this literature appear to have been textualized and expanded in response to initial rejection of

the prophets' oral messages, these initially marginal texts came to play an ever more important role in interpreting the events of the seventh and especially sixth centuries. Meanwhile, Deuteronomy and Samuel-Kings represent hybrid blends of ancient West Semitic ideologies of the tribal people and inversions of Neo-Assyrian genres and motifs, depicting the Judean monarch as standing or falling on his success in leading the people to faithfulness to Yhwh's dictates (Deut 17:14–20 and 1–2 Kings passim). Though this unique blend of emphases again was probably the product of a particular confluence of factors during the reign of Josiah (and perhaps earlier, Hezekiah) and though it is likely such literature was marginalized soon afterwards, it was cultivated by some scribal literates outside the monarchal center (e.g., the family of Shaphan) and also was expanded and became central in the exilic period. Finally, the exile and post-exile seems to have been the time when Hexateuchal traditions came to the fore, again distinguished by their relative lack of direct reflection of royal and Zion traditions. Here again, the ancient traditions surrounding "people" and Yhwh were privileged in comparison with whatever specifically royal traditions were in circulation. In all these instances, such compositions did not spring up ex nihilo. They built on earlier traditions, in many cases written (e.g., eighth-century collections of literary prophecies, some monarchal narratives). Nevertheless, the exile into post-exile appears to have been the time when these products of non-royal textuality were not just collected, or expanded, but also privileged as the central heritage of various communities of Judean literates. Whatever focus there may once have been on specifically royal texts, it has been replaced at this point by a focus on this blend of Hexateuch, history of divine judgment on kings, and literary prophecy developed outside royal contexts. In general, the "king" over the exile/early post-exile has been displaced by the prophet (including Moses).[3]

The bulk of Persian-period material, *especially as the period continues*, shows Priestly links. To be sure, early on we have a Davidide (Zerubbabel) associated with the rebuilding of the Second Temple, and the continuation of non-Priestly scribal activity through the early Persian period may be reflected in the early Persian-period composition of texts such as Job and the Nehemiah Memoir. Most of the remaining and apparently later Persian-period Judean compositions show priestly links: the P-oriented combination of P and non-P (and further P expansion of the Hexateuch), Ezra memoir and Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative, Chronicles,

3. On this, see the excellent reflections in Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 164–67, though my prior work (*Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*) is mischaracterized here (p. 167; see also p. 166) as combining biblical discourse about writing and epigraphic evidence for writing to place the composition of the Hebrew Bible more generally in the "scribal culture" of the late pre-exilic period. In this respect (and several others; e.g., note 43, p. 187), Sanders does not sufficiently distinguish my work from that of Schniedewind (*Bible to Book*) and Van der Toorn (*Scribal Culture*). With regard to Sanders, it is in the exile/early post-exile that I most clearly see indicators of a broader shift in biblical literature toward the focus on people (and voicing from non-royal subjects) so central to his thesis. In this respect, it may be no coincidence that his initial signature example of this shift in the Bible (Invention, 61–66) is the Priestly ritual of atonement text (Leviticus 16). Though he is right to note this could have earlier origins, its current shape and strategic placement probably originate from exilic Priestly circles at the earliest.

Isaiah 56–66, and Malachi.[4] Furthermore, in contrast to earlier Persian-period materials (e.g., Elephantine, Job), we see an increasing evidence in Ezra and Chronicles materials of a focus on the Torah—indeed, a combined P and non-P Torah that will be yet more documented in the following Hellenistic period. This is joined in the cases of Chronicles, the Rebuilding-Ezra materials, and parts of Isaiah 56–9, 65–66 with an intensifying emphasis on the Sabbath, the holiness of the people in general, and the importance of the Levites in the Aaronide-dominated temple cult.

The early Hellenistic period represents in many ways a continuation of basic elements seen in the Hellenistic period. Indeed, partly because of this continuity, there are some compositions that seem best placed somewhere on the border between the late Persian/early Hellenistic period, such as the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative and Chronicles. Yet we see apparent innovation, too, especially in a Hellenistic-period priestly swerve toward the apocalyptic and eschatology, as evident both in freestanding compositions (e.g., early Enoch materials, some wisdom materials at Qumran) and the possible Priestly revision of older materials (e.g., rough rearrangement of preexisting prophetic materials into more or less tripartite structures and possible eschatological extension of the psalms collection). In addition, I discussed a number of probable Hellenistic-period compositions that focus on diaspora experience and emphasize Torah piety and prayer, for example, Esther, Daniel tales, LXX additions to Esther and Daniel, three guards material in Esdras, possibly Tobit. Finally, Ben Sira's wisdom represents another major example of Hellenistic-period literary creativity, founded in a complex way on older Torah and other Judean traditions, but incorporating non-biblical Hellenistic traditions as well.

At the same time, it appears that there were significant limits to the type and extent of creative intervention in older tradition in the Hellenistic period. Aside from some possible levels of Pentateuchal harmonization that probably cannot be more precisely located in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period (e.g., in the tabernacle materials; P-like coordinations of non-P material with Priestly texts), there are few demonstrably Hellenistic-period additions to the Torah, a state of affairs that probably reflects a solidifying focus during this time on the Pentateuchal Torah (see, e.g., Ben Sira, creation of the Pentateuchal LXX, letter of Aristeas, Tobit). Also, it is difficult to identify clear evidence for Hellenistic-period additions to other existing texts, for example, prophets, psalms, and historical narratives (cf., however, Ezekiel 38–39 and other materials discussed). This difficulty in identifying clearly Hellenistic-period additions in the Hebrew Bible may stem from a relative lack of such additions in such books. Nevertheless, it may also reflect the fact that Hellenistic-period (priestly) scribes were so focused on conservation and archaic-appearing extensions of older Hebrew materials that they left too few indicators in such texts for us to reconstruct Hellenistic interventions in a methodologically controlled way. Indeed, insofar as Ben Sira's praise to

4. Proto-Zechariah shows a number of affinities with Ezekiel, something that might indicate a shared Zadokite context. Otherwise, both Haggai and proto-Zechariah are only tertiarily linked with priestly concerns via their focus on temple rebuilding and the elevated role of the high priest, Joshua.

the fathers can be taken as an index of broader developments, some kind of Torah and Prophets corpus of old Hebrew texts seems have coalesced by the end of the second century, albeit one without clear boundaries.

When we focus on new compositions that can be dated to the Hellenistic period and/or the end of the preceding Persian period, we do see one other noteworthy development: the interpenetration of Aramaic (already used administratively in the sixth century and with more productive expressions attested in the mid-fifth) into the Hebrew of Judean literary works of the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods, such as the Nehemiah Memoir, Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative (particularly parts of the Ezra Narrative), and Chronicles. This interpenetration is found as well in texts datable to the later Hellenistic period (e.g., Daniel 8–12; Esther), and we even see the creation of new Hellenistic-period texts using Aramaic, especially the composition of free-standing materials in genres not core to the existing classical Hebrew corpus (e.g., Daniel tales; Enoch materials; Testament of Levi, etc.). Notably, this use of Aramaic and Aramaized Hebrew appears to have occurred alongside the conservation and slight expansion/coordination of the older Hebrew corpus *in Hebrew*.

As we move toward the end of the second century and Hasmonean period, we see a renewed focus on the Hebrew tradition (see Jubilees, Ben Sira, paleo-Hebrew coins), marked in part by the composition of materials in Hebrew (e.g., Daniel 8, 10–12) that are in genres that previously were written in Aramaic in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period. Ultimately, this leads, I argue, to the preliminary attempt to establish a Hebrew corpus of increasingly standardized/fixed Hebrew texts (aside from small exceptions in Ezra, Daniel, and [a verse of] Jeremiah), an attempt I see as most likely made by the Hasmoneans (and resisted in the prologue to Ben Sira). The (attempted) establishment of this Hebrew corpus included the preservation and promulgation of often archaic iterations of Judean texts (perhaps from the temple archive?), sometimes retouched with isolated literary revisions specific to the proto-Masoretic editions of biblical books. Most such revisions appear to have been minor insertions, for example, Jer 33:14–26, and/or merely involve the conflation of older traditions (e.g., the David-Goliath pluses). Sometimes, however, they were strategic (e.g., the probable anti-Samaritan revision of Deut 27:4–7 to stigmatize Gerizim and lift up Jerusalem) and occasionally extensive (e.g., the creation of Ezra-Nehemiah from pre-existing compositions; the expansion of Esther). Other materials that I located in this period included 1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith, and special-MT materials more or less linked to the concerns evident in those books: for example, reorganization of the book of Jeremiah to conclude with an expanded version of the anti-Babylon oracle, reorganization and inclusion of special materials in Ezekiel (cf. Papyrus 967), and reorganization of the book of the Twelve to the Jerusalem-focused proto-MT order. Finally, I tentatively proposed that the post-Priestly framing and placement of Judges into its present locus between Joshua and Samuel, partly through the addition of materials in Judg 1:1–3:11 (missing in LXX Josh conclusion), might be placed in this period as well.

Notably, the materials with most claim to be datable to the Hasmonean period, whether separate compositions (1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith) or potential Hasmonean features of the proto-MT recensions of biblical books, do *not* seem

characterized by Priestly elements characteristic of the late Persian and Hellenistic periods. We still see such elements attested in the Qumran library, probably including works preserved and/or composed by Zadokite priests alienated from the Hasmonean priesthood-kingdom. Nevertheless, it seems as if keys to the texts overall have shifted hands by the Hasmonean period (which might also explain the lack of P-like material in Judges). This does not mean, of course, that the people of this time (including the Hasmoneans and their scribes) did not know P material, it was in their Pentateuch! But the productive literary idiom of the Hasmonean period no longer seems derived predominantly from P-like materials. This development may reflect a shift of some sort from primary scribal training using P materials to primary training using Deuteronomy above all. After all, Deuteronomy presents itself as a representation of Torah tailored for ongoing transmission during life in the land. Moreover, any broader emphasis on Deuteronomy and D-associated materials (evident also at Qumran) may have been intensified in Hasmonean circles by antipathy toward specifically Zadokite impulses.

Overall, I suggest that there was a changing balance of literary creativity and preservation across the stretch of the periods surveyed. At the outset, we saw some evidence for separate streams of tradition in the North (e.g., Hosea; possibly also Deuteronomy, Jeremiah somewhat) and South (e.g., Amos into Isaiah and Micah) that formed some of the basis for the literary production of early pre-exilic prophets. In the seventh century, however, we begin to see ever-clearer evidence for the creation and/or modification of texts using idioms and/or ideological motifs attested especially in Deuteronomy (e.g., expansions of Deuteronomy itself; creation and revision of Samuel-Kings, Jeremiah, parts of the post-D Hexateuchal composition). This may reflect the increasing use (and divergent impact of such use) of Deuteronomy (perhaps with related texts) in the education/enculturation of Judean scribes. As noted above, this seems to be replaced in later Persian-period and early Hellenistic-period texts with a dominant (though not exclusive) reflection of Priestly idioms and motifs seen in the P-like expansions of the Hexateuch, Chronicles, and the Rebuilding-Ezra Narrative. Yet Deuteronomy reappears as an evident focus at (priestly!) Qumran and semi-Deuteronomistic elements become more prominent in some of the latest additions to the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Josh 20; special proto-MT revisions to Jeremiah, Ezekiel). Thus, over time it appears that the authors and tradents of biblical books were shaped by different educative traditions, many of which (e.g., Deuteronomy, P materials [broadly construed]) are still present in our Hebrew Bible. One question leading into the next section of the book will be the extent to which we can identify educative traditions that helped shape authors covered toward the (Neo-Assyrian) outset of this chapter's survey, for example, Hosea, Amos, early Isaiah, Micah, and Deuteronomy.

METHOD AND THE SURVEY OF POSSIBLE NEO-ASSYRIAN THROUGH HASMONEAN-PERIOD BIBLICAL TEXTS

Before turning to that next section, however, this chapter provides an opportunity for a brief look back at how the methodological reflections in the first part of the

book played a role in the discussions of the second. This will set the stage for the subsequent, even more methodologically fraught challenge of identifying the earliest literary materials preserved in the Hebrew Bible.

To start, I noted at the close of the first section of the book how the methodological reflections given particularly in the fourth chapter had led me to discard some of the major models proposed recently for the development of the Hebrew Bible. For example, I have not engaged extensively in this book with some theories regarding the development of the narrative and prophetic books mainly because of the extent to which they depend on isolated and fluid linguistic criteria combined with (what I view as) problematic use of arguments regarding textual dependence and potential continuity between disparate texts. As discussed in Chapter 4 of this text, similar problems attend the identification of cross-Pentateuchal J and E sources. This has meant that my engagement with such perspectives throughout the broad survey in the previous chapters has only occasionally reflected the scale of the proposals or (to some extent) their influence on some schools of contemporary scholarship.

In addition, the reflections on textual fluidity throughout Chapters 1 through 4 led me to reverse the order of my discussion of historical periods, focusing first on the latest of the periods that I discussed (the Hasmonean period) before moving backward to discuss how we might reconstruct Hebrew Bible materials originating in ever more distant periods. I started here despite significant debates regarding evaluation of early textual evidence for the development of biblical books and the question of whether specifically proto-Masoretic features pre- or post-date their non-Masoretic counterparts. Despite such debates, at least we have some manuscript evidence dating in and around the Hasmonean period with which to work. Moving backward, I had to suggest a number of other strategies, for example, the use of a profile of more datable texts to identify other texts from a given period, to more speculatively identify corpora of texts dating from the major periods of Israel and (particularly) Judean history.

As I moved back into those earlier periods, I was guided in part by the type of revisions found in documented cases of revision. Thus, Chronicles and other texts (e.g., proto-MT Jeremiah) show an impulse toward types of harmonization/coordination that is well documented in late Hellenistic/Hasmonean-period manuscripts, even as some of the relatively early texts in this group (e.g., Chronicles) also evidence a level of creativity not typical of later examples such as the proto-Samaritan tradition. In addition, much as the Temple Scroll documents a Hellenistic-period favoring of Levites, so also we see a similar elevation of interest in Levites in some biblical texts dated to this period, for example, Chronicles and the Rebuilding-Ezra composition.

Moving further back to Neo-Babylonian exile (or just after), we see what I judge to be earlier examples of scribal coordination of disparate texts, in these cases combined with a yet higher level of creativity and production of new (non-coordinating) material. With the Priestly materials, this seems to have happened in a general way in the initial formation of a Priestly composition through linkage of various precursor traditions (e.g., Gen 1:1–2:3; Genesis 5*; etc.) into a broader (Hexateuchal?) narrative that formed an alternative to the post-D Hexateuch. And

it then happened further in the frequent focus of H on the coordination of specific Priestly materials with materials in earlier legal corpora, especially Deuteronomy. With the non-Priestly materials, we saw such coordination particularly in the way many post-D Hexateuchal materials (e.g., "oath promise" texts in the Tetrateuch, Exod 32:8*, 10–14 and much of Exodus 33–34; Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b-30; 14:11–25) secondarily coordinate elements of the Tetrateuch with materials in Deuteronomy while also adding their own theological accents. This issue of divergence of Deuteronomy from its Tetrateuchal precursors was identified in Chapter 3 as one of the most prominent issues in the documented development of the Pentateuch, an even more prominent spur to documented cases of growth than any divergence between P and non-P materials. Yet, as in the case of H materials, the reconstructed post-D Hexateuchal layer seems to have been focused on far more than mere harmonization or coordination of Deuteronomy and Tetrateuch. Indeed, I suggest this layer was responsible for joining a proto-Genesis composition, Moses story, and Deuteronomy-Joshua into a new "Torah of God." This was a Hexateuchal synthesis, albeit a Hexateuchal synthesis that privileged Moses as the only one to whom God spoke face-to-face and configured Joshua as a figure completely dependent on Moses and the Torah given through him. I was enabled in this set of hypotheses by the realization, gained through documented cases of transmission history, that documents appropriated in major revisions (as opposed to minor glosses and coordinations) were rarely completely preserved in the ancient world. This would explain why, for example, we cannot trace the end of a pre-D Moses story in the present Bible, why its beginning may not also be preserved, and why the end of an originally separate Priestly document is so difficult to identify.

Notably, the model for the formation of the Hexateuch proposed here involves fewer main stages than many under discussion in the present context: the creation of some precursor documents to the post-D and Priestly compositions (e.g., the proto-Genesis composition, an early Moses story now truncated, a form of Gen 1:1–2:3* and 5*), the creation of those post-D and P compositions themselves (along with an H expansion of P), and their conflation (followed by further coordination and assimilation, partly documented by manuscript witnesses).[5] In doing so, I have placed together in hypothesized single compositions or compositional layers a variety of biblical texts that many of my colleagues have been inclined to locate in far more compositional layers, for example, various levels of Hexateuchal and Pentateuchal redaction, and chains of post-Priestly additions. And, as I have acknowledged throughout, given the often seamless character of revision, it is always possible, even likely, that there is more complexity behind the text than can be reconstructed reliably. Nevertheless, I urge serious consideration of this picture for two broad reasons beyond those raised specifically in Chapters 7 and 9 of this book. First, this relatively simple picture of the growth of biblical

5. To be sure, perhaps partly out of scholarly inertia, I continue to believe that more can be said about the prehistory of the non-Priestly proto-Genesis composition, including its composition out of earlier blocks of material about the primeval history, Abraham (multiple complexes), and a (Southern version of the) Jacob-Joseph story. The background to this picture can be found in *Reading the Fractures*.

narratives comes closer to the relative simplicity of documented examples of transmission history, examples that (apart from a variety of often seamless micro-modifications) rarely feature large numbers of stages of combination and significant revision of earlier documents. Second, I submit that the texts identified as compositional parts of the P/H strand on the one hand and the post-D Hexateuchal strand on the other share a family of characteristics that will lead them to be put together somehow in various combinations, and indeed often have been in prior studies. For example, the post-D Hexateuchal layer proposed here contains many of the texts central to Van Seter's "Yahwist," the 1984 version of Blum's D layer, and Gertz's "Endredaktion." Their different treatment in each work had to do with the methodological presuppositions each one of us has brought to bear on this otherwise similar family of texts (e.g., my arguments vis-à-vis post-Priestly redaction, linguistic criteria, and method in the determination of intertextual dependence). Those presuppositions will evolve, but I submit that these broader blocks of texts (whether considered in a more unified way or merely as layers of like compositional materials) have and will continue to emerge as central to the study of the formation of the Hexateuch.

As I moved forward and further from the present form of the text and certain documented modes of transmission of it (e.g., coordination of Deuteronomy and Tetrateuch), the more I was thrown back on other ways of identifying materials from a given period, particularly the use of profiles derived from texts more easily datable to a given period. For example, in my treatment of the Neo-Babylonian period, I suggested that we might develop a profile for exilic-period texts by coordinating (1) analysis of biblical texts featuring relatively explicit links to the destruction of Jerusalem and exile (e.g., Psalm 137; Lamentations and exile lamentation psalms; and Isaiah 63–4, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah) with (2) the social-scientific study of the effects of forced migration and collective trauma. The profile thus developed then helped in the identification of a number of elements of Hebrew Bible texts as potentially originating in the exile, such as various elements of Hexateuchal material (elements of a proto-Genesis composition, parts of the Moses story, the post-D Hexateuch, P and H), expansion and extension of an earlier Samuel-Kings work to the exile, and the composition of Psalm 89 as the conclusion to a new (exilic) collection of psalms up to that point.

The use of profile became even more important in the chapter on potential Neo-Assyrian materials. For example, I agreed with work by others in identifying Deuteronomy 13 and 28 as likely seventh-century portions of Deuteronomy on the basis of evident appropriation in these texts of fairly specific parts of a Neo-Assyrian oath tradition best attested in Esarhaddon's loyalty text (EST). Such points of Neo-Assyrian appropriation and *inversion* are more faintly attested in texts such as Exodus 2 and possibly Gen 11:1–9. As discussed, it is difficult to know the points of contact with Neo-Assyrian culture that would have allowed such appropriation/inversion. Nevertheless, the discussion of "blind motifs" as a tool for identifying textual dependence in Chapter 4 anticipated my argument in Chapter 10 that blind motifs in Deuteronomy 13 and 28 are among the elements that suggest *some kind of* specific contact between seventh-century Judean literary productivity and specifically Neo-Assyrian literary

traditions. Furthermore, the documented fluidity of oral-written culture that was discussed in Chapters 1–3 (especially across a language barrier) helps explain the lack of exact agreement of any potentially Neo-Assyrian-period biblical text with a Neo-Assyrian counterpart.

Moving earlier, I suggested that large blocks of material associated with eighth-century pre-exilic prophets (especially Isaiah, Micah, Amos, Hosea) reflect distinctly different Northern and Southern responses to the experience of Assyrian domination (see also Jeremiah in the tradition especially of Hosea; note also Zephaniah in the tradition of Amos-Isaiah). The frequent reflections of Neo-Assyrian domination and evidence of ongoing North and South division suggest that significant blocks of these texts (aside from blocks such as Micah 4–7 or Isaiah 34–66 [and many others discussed in previous chapters] that fit profiles of later periods) testify to a pre-exilic reality of distinct Northern and Southern kingdoms suffering under the Neo-Assyrian Empire. It is, of course, impossible to know the precise extent of this early material, given the fluidity of oral-written transmission of texts discussed throughout the book.

■ LOOKING AHEAD

This issue of fluidity and profile becomes even more prominent as I turn to the next stage of this exploration, the investigation of whether and how we might identify elements of the present Hebrew Bible that pre-date the encounters with Neo-Assyrian through Hellenistic empires that were so important to the profiles developed in previous chapters. It is a given that any such texts will be significantly influenced by centuries of oral-written transmission in subsequent centuries, whether semi-Deuteronomistic and Priestly language, Aramaisms that became more frequent in the late Persian into Hellenistic periods along with other linguistic pollutions (e.g., Persian), some possible later scribal coordinations of early written traditions with later texts (e.g., Torah, possibly especially Deuteronomy), etc. The question I will explore next is whether behind the smoke of layer upon layer of Neo-Assyrian through Hasmonean modifications, we can perceive the contours of yet earlier materials, if in fact we can even reconstruct a scribal setting before the Neo-Assyrian period that might have produced and circulated such materials. That will be the focus of the next part of this book.

One final finding from this second section of the book that is relevant to the next is the way materials discussed so far appear in various ways to have been added to preexisting compositional blocks. The Neo-Assyrian polemic against Sargon potentially underlying Gen 11:1–9 comes at the end of a non-P primeval history, the Neo-Assyrian inversion of Sargon traditions in the story of Moses's birth and rescue at or near the probable beginning of the pre-D Moses story, and the "additional words of Solomon that Hezekiah's men collected" do not occur until chapter 25 of Proverbs. As discussed in Chapter 3 of this book, Ancient Near Eastern scribes were particularly inclined to expand earlier traditions at the beginning and end of existing compositions. The occurrence of these Neo-Assyrian-period materials *around the edges* of such compositions is an initial indicator that the materials that they now encompass (e.g., non-P primeval

history, non-P Moses story, Proverbs 1–25) predate them. Yet we also saw in Chapters 2 and 3 that scribes could add to the middle of compositions, and I mentioned signs that Deuteronomy 13 and 28 were added to some earlier form of the surrounding text. This could be an indirect indicator of a pre-Neo-Assyrian-period form of Deuteronomy, or at least a form of Deuteronomy that predated the sort of specific inversive use of Neo-Assyrian material found in those chapters. It remains the task of the following chapters to explore more direct evidence for the existence of pre-Neo-Assyrian materials embedded in these and other loci.

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PART THREE

The Shape of Literary Textuality in the Early Pre-Exilic Period

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12 Early Highland States and Evidence for Literary Textuality in Them

As we progress yet further backward, it becomes more difficult to build a methodologically modest picture of the sorts of texts being formed in the early centuries of the history of Judah and Israel. As we will see, the archaeological remains in the Judean and Israelite highlands, particularly in the tenth century, are sparse and disputed. Moreover, far fewer ancient Israelite epigraphs have been found dating from these periods than from the later monarchies. The biblical texts that describe these periods are yet more distant from them than for other periods, separated from them by centuries of oral-written transmission. Finally, these texts were written from a decidedly Judean (Southern) perspective and their picture shaped by a desire to portray "founding moments" in the Judean monarchy. As a result, their narration almost certainly magnifies certain aspects of the early Judean monarchy, for example, Solomon's early reign, while downplaying others, for example, the power and dominance of the early Northern kingdom. Scholars' ever-increasing recognition of these problems has rendered problematic the attempt to reconstruct remnants of texts created during, say, the time of Solomon.

Meanwhile, any remnants of early monarchal texts in the Hebrew Bible are inherently difficult to identify. The editions of books in the present Hebrew Bible date from around the third to second centuries at the earliest. Any earlier editions now in the Bible have been passed down through the memories and copies of many generations of scribes. Moreover, if we follow the broad outlines of history as outlined in the biblical narratives, the communities of those scribes underwent massive shifts and shocks across those centuries: Assyrian and Babylonian imperialism, the exile of most scribes to Babylon, the return of some to Persian-dominated Judah, and the onset of Hellenistic rule in Judah and the surrounding Mediterranean.

Nevertheless, this section of the book, both this and the following chapters, will make the argument that Judah and Israel did adopt centralizing political structures during the tenth and ninth centuries. This is important because it is possible (though not necessary!) that the composition of some of the earliest texts embedded in the Hebrew Bible was intertwined with this process of creation of broader political entities. To be sure, writing per se can be linked to all sorts of social groups, states are not needed to organize the large-scale group activities of various sorts, and there are ample examples of states that did not use literary textuality.[1] Specifically literary textuality, however, did represent one possible resource

1. Seth Sanders, "Writing and Early Iron Age Israel: Before National Scripts, Beyond Nations and States," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. Ron Tappy

in the ancient Near East for recruiting people oriented primarily around tribe and people into a social organization centered on the king and city-state.[2] Moreover, even though Israel over time came to develop and privilege literary collections developed outside the state (on this, see the previous chapters), the city-state (broadly construed to include priestly and other para-state groups) appears to have been the primary context in the ancient Near East where literary writing in various groups initially was cultivated and preserved.

■ CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A TENTH-CENTURY DAVIDIC-SOLOMONIC MONARCHY

Views of the early monarchy in ancient Israel have undergone massive shifts in the last few decades. Up through the late twentieth century, most scholars found both textual and archaeological evidence for a substantial monarchy developing under David and (particularly) Solomon. Though many recognized ways in which the biblical histories magnified the Solomonic period into a temple-building Golden Age, they nevertheless affirmed a basic historical core to the picture in 2 Samuel 5–1 Kings 11 of a powerful Judean-Israelite monarchy that dominated nearby areas as well. On the continent, this was expressed in Gerhard von Rad's often cited description of a "Solomonic enlightenment" when pathbreaking historical works such as the Succession Narrative and the Yahwistic Pentateuchal source were written. In Israel and the United States, archaeological arguments played a bigger role, particularly Yigael Yadin's contention that significant fortifications found at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor were related, could be dated to the

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and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 105–106, and especially M. C. A. MacDonald, "Literacy in an Oral Environment," in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society (FS A. Millard)*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski, Christopher Mee, and Elizabeth Slater (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 49–118.

2. In this respect, we must be careful not to think of the state as "context" and writing as "product," but of the two as potentially interdependent. On this, see especially Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, Traditions (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). Note that the focus on specifically literary textuality here diverges somewhat from Sanders's frequent focus on epigraphic textuality. Though I will argue in this chapter that some aspects of epigraphic textuality can provide an indirect index for social structures that could support literary textuality, I am wary of using epigraphic evidence of nonliterary texts as too close an index of the cultivation and uses of the sorts of texts found in our Bible. Thus, for example, Sanders is right (130–33) that our epigraphically best-documented forms of writing in pre-exilic Judah are not confined to what some might think of as typical "school" contexts (for a critique of these concepts, see also David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2005], 12–13, 113). That may say more, however, about the types of material we happen to have available written on ostraca and other less perishable materials. After all, as Sanders himself says, "If David's court did keep records, Seriah (2 Sam 8:17), the sole scribe mentioned, may well have set them down on papyrus in the dignified Phoenician suitable to a tenth-century Levantine monarch" (p. 113). Such papyrus, which Sanders rightly says was a probable medium for royal literary materials of the pre-exilic period, is no longer preserved. On p. 111, as on p. 113 and elsewhere, Sanders acknowledges the probable creation of older royal materials, albeit in Phoenician (where Sanders is particularly interested in the development of specifically Hebrew writing traditions). For more discussion regarding the likely "Phoenician" character of such early pre-exilic writing, see the excursus on Phoenician influence below.

Solomonic period, and corresponded to the biblical description of Solomonic building projects in these same cities (1 Kgs 9:15). Added to this was the posited 10th-century date of a massive stepped stone structure in early Jerusalem, an apparent platform for the citadel of David. Data such as this, combined with Glueck's earlier supposed identifications of Solomon's copper mines (in the Timnah valley) and ship-building port (1 Kgs 9:26; Tell el-Kefeileh), seemed to provide archaeological corroboration of the extent of Solomon's kingdom and accuracy of biblical descriptions of it.

The general consensus about the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy started to crack in the early 1990s with publications by J. Wightman and particularly Jamieson-Drake.[3] These scholars noted the relatively meager archaeological evidence for tenth-century Judah and Israel, particularly when compared to the much more extensive archaeological remains datable to the eighth and seventh centuries. In the mid-1990s Finkelstein proposed an alternative chronology of pottery types that resulted in the dating of fortifications at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor to the ninth, rather than the tenth century. Building on this, Finkelstein, among others, argued that the first recognizable monarchal state in the area was that of Omri, not that of David and Solomon. The picture of David and Solomon's united monarchy, he argued, was a fantasy of a Golden Age created by Judean authors writing history in what was, by then, a much enlarged Jerusalem and Judean state. Previously, scholars already had recognized Glueck's identifications of Solomon's copper mines and seaport as faulty,[4] and most realized that the biblical picture of the Omride dynasty failed to match the ascendant power of the Northern Israelite state. Nevertheless, the works by Jamieson-Drake on the one hand and Finkelstein on the other were particularly important in creating a broader doubt about whether there ever was a Davidic-Solomonic monarchy. Soon a series of essays, volumes, and articles emerged arguing that there was or was not a united monarchy, or that David and/or Solomon's "monarchy" was, in fact, a "chiefdom." Many such treatments worked with lists of criteria for chiefdoms and early states that had been developed in evolutionist anthropology in the 1970s and 1980s, seeing whether or not the archaeological remains—whether dated by the older pottery chronology or Finkelstein's "low chronology"—conformed to cross-cultural definitions of "states" or "chiefdoms" or "transitional states" or the like.[5] The variability of criteria and chronologies rendered resolution of the problem virtually impossible. The most one could say was that Judah and Jerusalem were far more developed in the seventh and eighth centuries than the tenth, but that there was still considerable dispute about what archaeological remains could be dated to the tenth centuries and what they told us about early state formation in Israel and Judah.

3. G. J. Wightman, "The Myth of Solomon," *BASOR* 277/278 (1990): 5–22; David W. Jamieson-Drake, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-Archeological Approach*, JSOT Suppl., Vol. 109 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1991).

4. G. Practico, "Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell-el-Kheleifah: A Reappraisal," *BASOR* 259 (1951): 1–31.

5. This point is made well in the first chapter of Ryan Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel," PhD diss. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2002).

■ CONTROVERSY ABOUT IDENTIFICATION OF EARLY MONARCHAL DOCUMENTS IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Meanwhile, scholars have become increasingly unclear about what Old Testament writings, if any, can be dated to the time of David and Solomon. Though the documentary hypothesis for the formation of the Pentateuch had been affirmed by most historical-critical scholars through the bulk of the twentieth century, works in the 1970s and 1980s by (H. H.) Schmid, Van Seters, Rendtorff, Blum, and others raised significant questions about the existence of early J and E documents.[6] By the end of the 1990s, few specialists in Pentateuchal studies continued to affirm the existence of a separate, identifiable, "Elohist" document.[7] Moreover, in 2002 and 2007 two major volumes collecting the views of various scholars from diverse

6. Examples of larger works include: Rainer Kessler, "Die Querverweise im Pentateuch: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der expliziten Querverbindungen innerhalb des vorpriesterlichen Pentateuchs" (Heidelberg: Heidelberg Universität, 1972); John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1975); Hans H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist: Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976); Rolf Rendtorff, *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, BZAW 147 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977); Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, BKAT I/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977 [English translation 1985]); *Genesis 37–50*, BKAT I/3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982 [English translation 1986]); Erhard Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984); Christoph Levin, *Der Jahwist*, FRLANT 157 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996); Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments*, WMANT 81 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999); Jan Christian Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*, FRLANT 186 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

7. There have been two main exceptions. One is a circle of scholars educated at Harvard, who have promoted various forms of the traditional documentary hypothesis, but have not engaged in any detail more recent continental scholarship undermining it (e.g., Richard Friedman, Theodore Hiebert, etc.). For example, in his *The Hidden Book in the Bible* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), pp. 353–58, Friedman presents a brief summary of the traditional case for dividing J and E without any engagement of the critiques of that hypothesis, particularly in Europe. He is not adverse to engaging specific approaches in this book, as can be seen in his arguments against Van Seters's case for a late Yahwist (pp. 361–89), but his main reference to European scholarship in this section is a paper presented by Erhard Blum in a panel where he was a participant. One sees a similar lack of awareness of recent European scholarship in a recent Harvard dissertation (2007) that assumes the existence of E in the process of making an argument for a new picture of the combination of J and E (and P): (published as) Joel S. Baden, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch*, FAT 68 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

Meanwhile, the main center in Europe for continued defense and development of the E hypothesis has been Bonn, Germany, where Werner H. Schmidt and Horst Seebass both continued to work within the traditional source framework and defend it. A student of theirs, Axel Graupner, wrote an extensive defense of the existence of E as a Habilitationschrift, published as *Der Elohist: Gegenwart und Wirksamkeit des transzendenten Gottes in der Geschichte*, WMANT 97 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002). For a response, see David M. Carr, "No Return to Wellhausen," *Bib* 86 (2005): 107–14.

In addition, Tzemah Yoreh wrote a dissertation at Hebrew University advocating the existence of E (now translated into English and published as *The First Book of God* [BZAW 402; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010]), albeit an E whose contents and design are quite distinct from those of past source critics. Finally, note should be made of Joel Burnett's *A Reassessment of Biblical Elohim* (SBLDS 183; Atlanta: Scholars, 2001), a publication of a Johns Hopkins dissertation.

schools showed that ever fewer scholars continued to work with the idea of a pre-exilic Yahwistic source.[8] Though there were potential early cores behind separate Pentateuchal traditions, such as the ancestral or Exodus-Moses traditions, most specialists in the study of the Pentateuch now think that the first proto-Pentateuchal narrative, one extending from creation to Moses, dated to the exile at the earliest. Furthermore, this redating has extended to other writings typically dated to the tenth century as well. For example, for different reasons, both Van Seters in North America and various European commentators on the books of Samuel-Kings have questioned the existence of a separate tenth-century "Succession Narrative" for David, proposing that this block of material likewise dates to the exilic or post-exilic period instead.[9]

In sum, both the united monarchy and the hypothesized documents associated with it are no longer a part of the scholarly consensus. Scholars cannot agree on what archaeological remains can be dated to the tenth century, nor on how to analyze those remains in relation to models of centralized political organization. Once-assumed models that dated large swatches of biblical narratives to the tenth century (e.g., the documentary hypothesis) no longer command the assent of scholars fully in command of the full range of research on the Pentateuch and historical books. Some might date a few royal psalms to the early monarchy, some proverb collections, and/or something like the "book of Yashar" mentioned sometimes in the biblical histories, but many scholars now are inclined to be agnostic on whether there was any writing of biblical materials in tenth-century Judah, given the uncertainties surrounding it.[10]

The situation is not much better for dating biblical writings to the ninth-century North. As mentioned before, one of the major writings once set in the early monarchal North, the "Elohist" document of the documentary hypothesis, no longer appears to be identifiable as a coherent whole. Though some scholars, such as Gary Rendsburg, have argued for the Northern origins of psalms, proverbs, and other texts on the basis of Northern dialect features in their language, their arguments

8. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, BZAW 315 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002); Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, eds., *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*, SBLSymS 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

9. A range of opinions on this are collected in Albert de Pury and Thomas Römer, eds., *Die sogenannte Thronfolgegeschichte Davids: neue Einsichten und Anfragen*, OBO 176 (Göttingen and Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 2000) along with John Barton, "Dating the Succession Narrative," in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 95–106.

10. A good example, one that features a particular focus on the "book of Yashar," is William Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 52–63. Note, however, the innovative attempt by Reinhard Kratz to use epigraphic evidence from pre-exilic Israel and Judah as an initial index of types of literature produced by the "Israelite-Judean scribal culture" on pp. 462–8 in his "The Growth of the Old Testament," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, ed. J. W. Rogerson and Judith M. Lieu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Given the genre and media differences between the the Bible and the bulk of extant Judean and Israelite epigraphic remains, this approach hardly can claim to identify the full range of scribal production in ancient Judah and Israel, but it is suggestive of the existence of *some* kinds of material produced in that context.

have not carried the field.[11] Textbooks still mention the probable Northern origins of some part of the book of Deuteronomy, but few have attempted to reconstruct anything like an early Northern version of the Deuteronomic lawbook. Theories of a supposedly Northern history standing behind certain parts of Kings have not found significant agreement. The only major countertrend to this tendency toward denial of (reconstructible) Northern origins of biblical texts has been a tendency to see some sort of Northern origin for the exodus traditions as well as a set of proposals originating from Erhard Blum that the Jacob and Joseph stories of Genesis originated in the early Northern monarchy.[12] I will return to this topic in Chapter 16.

■ THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY MONARCHIES

In the midst of this present consensus of uncertainty, it would be tempting to end this book's survey with the previous chapter on the Neo-Assyrian period. Nevertheless, there are good reasons to see that as an hyper-correction. To be sure, there is no return now to the picture of a glorious Solomonic age when a hypothesized, cross-Pentateuchal "Yahwistic" source and other major swathes of Old Testament literature were written in Jerusalem as a major urban center. Yet the biblical narratives themselves do not require such claims to be made about Jerusalem and the Judean monarchy of the tenth century. Moreover, more recent archaeological research seems to be coalescing around affirmation of a more modest centralized political order based in David and (particularly) Solomon's Jerusalem, followed by a more extensive state apparatus in ninth-century Northern Israel (with a "house of David" co-existing, based in Jerusalem). This section will summarize some of that research in preparation for an exploration in the following chapters of what parts of the Hebrew Bible have the best claim to be datable to those early monarchal contexts.

Biblical and Archaeological Evidence Surrounding Political Centralization in Early Judah and Israel

The historical narratives of the Hebrew Bible take a "division" of the monarchy after Solomon's rule as the major chronological divide in the early history of the monarchies. Nevertheless, as recent work by Daniel Fleming in particular has elucidated, this periodization is an anachronistic projection related to the later

11. Daniel C. Fredericks, "A Northern Israelite Dialect in the Hebrew Bible?" *Hebrew Studies* 37 (1996): 7–20; William Schniedewind and D. Sivan, "The Elijah-Elisha Narratives: A Test Case for the Northern Dialect of Hebrew," *JQR* 37 (1997): 303–37; Ian M. Young, "Evidence of Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew," *Hebrew Studies* 38 (1997): 7–20; and reviews of Rendsburg's work by Zevit (*CBQ* 54 [1992]: 128), Pardee (*JAOS* 112 [1992]: 702–704) and Goulder (*JSS* 36 [1991]: 335). For a linguistically sophisticated discussion of Southern and Northern Hebrew in the broader context of other Northwest Semitic dialects, see Randall Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 227 and 232–35.

12. Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 7–263.

perspective of the authors of these historical narratives.[13] They were Judean scribes in the late pre-exile and/or exile who were promoting a view of a united Israel in the wake of two distinct monarchies that had co-existed in the ninth and eighth centuries: an "Israelite" monarchy ultimately based in Samaria and a "house of David" based in Jerusalem. For these (Deuteronomistic) scribes working in the context of the later "house of David," the ideal unification of the two kingdoms had been most proximately realized in the reign of Josiah. Nevertheless, these scribes saw a precedent for Josiah's incursions into the North in the founder of his dynasty, David. Whereas it is more likely that any tenth-century political centralization in the Israelite highlands under David took the form of a temporary dominance of the "house of David" over the broader Israelite region (see, e.g., 2 Sam 5:1–3), these later pre-exilic Judean authors anachronistically depicted this tenth-century political entity as a "united monarchy" (of "Judah" and "Israel") that was then tragically split by the apostasy of Northern tribes setting up their own kingdom. Now this late pre-exilic Judean perspective has been reproduced in the standard archaeological distinction between Iron IIA (David and Solomon's "united" monarchy) and Iron IIB (the early history of the divided kingdoms).

Many archaeologists and historians, however, now note that the tenth and ninth centuries *together* appear to have been a time of gradually emergent political centralization, and there are numerous signs that Judah and Israel remained bound together—albeit under different arrangements—well into the ninth century.[14] This process started with traces of such political centralization in the tenth century—with the rule of the "house of David" over Israel from Jerusalem—and it continued with even more extensive evidence for rule over a similar area in the ninth-century North. By the ninth century, Samaria was built under the Omrides, one of the most substantial monumental constructions in the Southern Levant, and numerous other fortifications and other constructions appear to be linked to this major Northern dynasty. The importance of this centralized political structure, the Northern Israelite kingdom, is corroborated by Assyrian testimony to the resources that Ahab was able to send as part of an anti-Assyrian coalition, thousands of chariots and foot-soldiers. By the end of ninth century, this Northern Israelite kingdom had become a force to be reckoned with, alongside Damascus, as first among peers who successfully resist the Assyrian Empire. As a result, the area was known in Mesopotamia throughout the Iron Age as "land of Omri," and even the usurper who kills Omri's grandsons is known in Assyrian sources as the "son of Omri."

13. Daniel Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012). The remainder of this paragraph originates from Fleming's oral communications with me about his research.

14. The most widely published advocate of this revised chronology is Amihai Mazar. For one of his recent formulations, see Amihai Mazar, "The Spade and the Text: The Interaction between Archaeology and Israelite History Relating to the Tenth-Ninth Centuries BCE," in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*, ed. Hugh M. G. Williamson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 143–71. Note the nuanced arguments for a similar point of view also in Chapter 2 of Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel."

It seems unlikely that this significant Northern kingdom sprang forth of its own accord, without any precedent. Instead, the substantial centralization evident in the early Northern kingdom appears to have been a continuation and expansion of nascent moves toward political centralization already present under David and Solomon.[15] To be sure, the "Jerusalem" of their time—even granting the problems associated with finding tenth-century remains in a site such as Jerusalem continuously occupied for millennia afterward—did not correlate with the size of Jerusalem of Hezekiah and Josiah's time or the glory of "Jerusalem" in the theological imagination of later Judaism and Christianity. The biblical narratives themselves do not suggest that David and Solomon extensively expanded Jerusalem, and it is a modest enough settlement that David appears to have felt it better to flee with a few soldiers into the Judean wilderness than remain and confront Absalom's similar-sized force when he attacked (2 Sam 15:11–18).[16] The preceding narratives about David's conquest and settlement of Jebusite Jerusalem merely suggest that he settled in an existing mountain fortress, which he renamed the "settlement [עיר] of David," and engaged in building projects around and inward from the mysterious "Millo," perhaps the stepped-stone structure dated by most archaeologists to the time of David or just before.[17] To be sure, the biblical narratives do affirm that Solomon built or rebuilt this Millo, along with fortifications in Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer (1 Kgs 9:15), along with a modest temple, and palaces for himself and his Egyptian bride (1 Kgs 9:24), possibly slightly to the North of Jebusite Jerusalem toward the temple mount. Nevertheless, the massive focus in 1 Kings 5–9 on Solomon's construction mostly reflects the interest of later scribes in Solomon's founding of the temple cult that would be at the center of Josiah's reform. The word בנה that is used for Solomon's construction work in Jerusalem and elsewhere could—in part—refer to repairs and/or rebuilding of pre-Israelite fortifications rather than exclusively new construction.[18]

In sum, both archaeological and biblical evidence suggest that David and Solomon's Jerusalem was a modest 4–6 hectare settlement (about 10–14 acres) on a relatively inaccessible hillside and lightly fortified by a large retaining structure along with some kind of fortress. David occupied it as a personal holding for his emergent dynasty and immediate retainers, and Solomon expanded it somewhat through the palace-temple complex and some other (re)constructions. It was not yet a major residential center for a vast bureaucratic apparatus, but a base from which these two rulers assembled a short-lived military and economic domination of the surrounding area.

15. This point, too, is made well in Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel," 159–60.

16. Ziony Zevit, "The Davidic-Solomonic Empire from the Perspective of Archaeological Bibliology," in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism Presented to Shalom Paul*, ed. Chaim Cohen, et al. al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 205–206.

17. For a discussion of problems surrounding the identification of this structure, see Andrew G. Vaugn and Ann E. Killebrew, eds., *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology: The First Temple Period* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

18. Zevit, "Davidic-Solomonic Empire," 204–205.

Another possible indicator of emergent political centralization in early Judah and Israel are the monumental, six-chambered gate constructions at Gezer (VIII), Megiddo (VA-IVB), and Hazor (X). Though similar gates have been found in later Philistine Ashdod (IX) and Judean Lachish (IV), the former three gates at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor are particularly interesting because they are similar, potentially Solomonic-period constructions, occurring in towns that are mentioned in the Bible (alongside Jerusalem) as foci of Solomon's building projects using forced labor (1 Kgs 9:15; cf. 2 Chr 8:9).[19] The settlements prior to the construction levels associated with these gates had diverse prehistories: as Israelite settlement (Hazor), Philistine dependency (Gezer), and Canaanite city (Megiddo), while the archaeological assemblages associated with the gates are similar to each other and other early Iron Age IIA sites associated with Judah and Israel.[20] For this reason, virtually all who bring these sites into the debate about early political centralization in the highlands agree that they are significant data for this question, only disagreeing about the dating of the structures (on this, see the excursus below).

The significance of the sites for the question of political centralization lies in two areas. First, these remains show the apparent ability of an early state to marshal substantial resources for the construction of monumental architecture. This is an indirect testimony to the existence of the kinds of political centralization, for example, a corveé, that could enable such construction at geographically disparate sites. Second, these constructions may testify to the intent to extend military and ideological control over areas outside the highlands that were the base of Judean and Israelite elites. Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor lie in non-Israelite lowland areas. The building of massive gate enclosures at cities such as this not only helped protect garrison forces based there. These constructions also stood as a long-term display of the military power of highland rulers standing behind such garrisons. As Byrne has pointed out, past scholars often have assumed uncritically that monarchies would have been preoccupied with investing resources in fortifications of a capital city. He proposes that more would have been gained through fortifications of cities such as these in more distant and hostile areas such as those in the lowlands of the North. A capital such as Jerusalem was protected by a buffer of relatively friendly tribes, while these lowland areas were sites requiring more military protection and allowing opportunity for military display to inherently hostile populations. In this case, Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor represented strategic lowland sites along the Western and Northern frontiers of the central highland peoples of Judah and Israel. Gezer to the Southwest stood close to coastal routes and stood between the Northern part of the Shephelah and Philistine plain. Megiddo to the Northwest controlled the Esdraelon valley and

19. There are also four chamber gates at a number of other sites (see Gary N. Knoppers, "The Vanishing Solomon: The Disappearance of the United Monarchy from Recent Histories of Ancient Israel," *JBL* 116 [1997]: 28).

20. Volkmar Fritz, "Monarchy and Re-Urbanization: A New Look at Solomon's Kingdom," in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States*, ed. Volkmar Fritz and Philip R. Davies, JSOTSup 228 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 189–94.

routes into Tyre (with whom Solomon is supposed to have had close relations). Hazor to the North controlled the Huleh basin and routes into Syria. Similar military/display construction at these three sites shows a large-scale, regional focus untypical of immediately previous eras.[21]

In addition, scholars have found other kinds of evidence of early Iron Age political centralization, though each of these examples is accompanied by certain problems in dating and/or interpretation. For example, approximately fifty encircled/semi-fortified settlements appear in the Negev around the time of the tenth century, and a tenth-century inscription by Sheshonq seems to know of settlement in this region. But where some would take these settlements as marks of Solomon's fortification of his Southern frontier (fortifications destroyed by Sheshonq), others have questioned the dating of these settlements to the time of Solomon and/or questioned their function as fortifications.[22] In addition, several other sites in the Negev and Shephelah become semi-walled towns sometime around the tenth century, sites such as Arad (XII) and Beersheba (V) in the Negev; and Tel Zayit (III), Timnah (IV) and Lachish (V-IV) in the Shephelah. This has suggested to some that a state now assumed responsibility for protecting these newly-unwalled settlements. Nevertheless, the pottery typology used to date the relevant stratigraphic layers of these settlements is under dispute (see the excursus below), and these towns are not specifically associated with Solomon in the biblical narrative. Finally, broader surveys have shown an increase in settlements and settlement sizes during the tenth century, reflecting a possible growth in population associated with political centralization under David and Solomon.[23] Nevertheless, there is yet more growth in settlements in later centuries, and such growth could as easily be seen as a spur for later political centralization as a reflection of centralization that already occurred.

Excursus: Dating the Six-Chambered Gates at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer

The difficulties of interpreting archaeological data are well illustrated by the debate surrounding the dating of the six-chambered gates at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer. Though Yadin's 1958 dating of these structures to the time of Solomon has been the consensus view for decades, starting in the mid-1990s, this consensus has been challenged by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and others, who date the structures and associated pottery about sixty years later in the time of Omri. This has been part of a broader proposal by Finkelstein, et al. of a "low chronology" for

21. Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel," 133–54.

22. For a survey, see Knoppers, "Vanishing Solomon," 30–31, and for more recent discussion, see Amihai Mazar, "The Search for David and Solomon: An Archaeological Perspective," in *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt (Atlanta: Scholars, 2007), 133–34, and idem., "Spade and the Text," 151–52.

23. Avi Ofer, "The Highland of Judah during the Biblical Period," PhD diss. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1993); "All the Hill Country of Judah: From a Settlement to a Prosperous Monarchy," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy*, ed. Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Naaman (Jerusalem and Washington, DC: Israel Exploration Society and Biblical Archaeology Society, 1994), 92–122.

highlands pottery that would date many of the settlements once associated with Solomon to the time of Omri.[24]

Though there continues to be debate among archaeologists, it does not appear that the low chronology will prevail as it was originally proposed. First, many have pointed out shortcomings in the original reasoning for the low pottery chronology (e.g., the lack of overlap between Egyptian and Philistine pottery), and the stratigraphy of certain key sites (Jezreel, Arad, Taanach) seems to contradict the lower chronology.[25] Moreover, radiocarbon methods once thought to confirm the low chronology have proven equivocal, even confirming in some cases the traditional chronology that would date the fortifications at Gezer, Hazor, and Megiddo to the time of Solomon.[26] A second, ancillary argument that Finkelstein has used for dating the fortifications at Megiddo to the time of Omri is the observation of similar mason marks found on them and on Omri's constructions at Samaria, an index, he thinks, that they were built at the same time by the same craftspeople.[27] Nevertheless, A. Mazar has pointed out that these sorts of features are explained as easily as indices of the same guild or family of masons working on fortifications constructed a few decades apart from each other.[28]

Despite these problems with the low chronology, it is not as clear as it once was that pottery typology can confirm a dating of the six-chambered gates at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor to the time of Solomon. Instead, one result of the debate about early Iron Age pottery typology has been to highlight the lack of exactitude of pottery chronology in establishing absolute dates for construction layers. Highland pottery forms from the tenth and ninth centuries are relatively similar, and new features would not have appeared in every group and place at the same time. Therefore, an increasing number of archaeologists have advocated a new periodization of early Iron Age highland pottery, one that places tenth and ninth

24. A relatively recent statement with a bibliography on older treatments is Israel Finkelstein, "A Low Chronology Update: Archaeology, History and Bible," in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox, 2005), 31–42.

25. Just a few relevant responses are Chapter 2 of Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel" and Amihai Mazar, "The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant: Its History, the Current Situation, and a Suggested Resolution," in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox, 2005), 15–30 and idem., "Search for David and Solomon," 119–35 along with Lawrence Stager, "The Patrimonial Kingdom of Solomon," in *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age Through Roman Palestina*, ed. William G. Dever and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 64–67.

26. A collection of perspectives on radiocarbon dating is Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham, eds., *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* (London: Equinox, 2005), and note as well Mazar, "Search for David and Solomon," 121–23.

27. Finkelstein, "Low Chronology Update," 38–39, idem., "King Solomon's Golden Age: History or Myth?" in *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt (Atlanta: Scholars, 2007), 113–14. See also Norma Franklin, "Correlation and Chronology: Samaria and Megiddo Redux," in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox, 2005), 310–22 (a summary of results from a Tel Aviv University dissertation).

28. Mazar, "Debate over Chronology," 21–22.

century pottery and other archaeological features from those centuries together, with the material from both centuries distinguished from later assemblages. Iron IIA thus would not just encompass the monarchy of David and Solomon, but extend through the end of the Omride dynasty, around 930.[29]

In so far as this new periodization holds, one must find another basis than pottery typology to date the gates at Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer, since the pottery would seem to support either a tenth- or ninth-century dating. That said, there are two data that support dating these structures to the Solomonic period. The first is the mention of precisely these loci as major sites for Solomonic construction in 1 Kgs 9:15. Though similar gates are found elsewhere, these particular gates are associated in the biblical record with Solomon. The second datum is the fact that the construction layer at Megiddo following that of the "Solomonic" gates appears to have featured massive stables. This seems to correlate with construction by the later Omride dynasty, particularly Ahab, who is said by the Assyrians to have amassed a massive chariot army.[30] Certainly, 1 Kgs 9:15 could be unreliable, standing as it does in a later ideologically oriented narrative, and it is possible that Omri, not Solomon, constructed the earlier gate at Megiddo. Nevertheless, a face-value reading of these two data would suggest that Solomon is the most likely candidate for building these similar fortifications at three lowland cities, with Omri and/or Ahab responsible for the following "stable" layer at Megiddo.

Coordinating Different Kinds of Evidence on Early Judean and Israelite Political Centralization

One thing the above discussion has highlighted is that archaeology by itself is an inexact tool for reconstructing ancient history. Though monumental architecture such as the gates at Gezer, Megiddo, and Hazor indicate probable political centralization and the effort by a political center to gain far-flung influence over strategic areas, they do not tell us much specifically about what kind of political centralization was taking place or when it started happening. Structures in Jerusalem may date from the time of David and Solomon or slightly before, but again say nothing definitive about the type of political organization that did or did not take place there. And the same is even truer for the broader archaeological data for smaller-scale settlements in Judah and Israel.[31]

Textual data can provide an important additional dimension for answering these historical questions, even as it too requires critical analysis. For example, the eighth- or ninth-century Tel Dan inscription (and perhaps the Mesha inscription as well) testifies to apparent Syrian knowledge of a "house of David," thus providing non-biblical confirmation of the probable early existence of a royal dynasty founded by

29. Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel, " Chapter 2 and Mazar, "Debate over Chronology" and idem., "Search for David and Solomon," 119–23.

30. This argument has been made by many, for example, Mazar, "Search for David and Solomon," 129–31.

31. These arguments rely on more detailed reflections along these lines to appear in the published version of Ryan Byrne's dissertation, "Statecraft in Early Israel."

David. This does not, of course, confirm the details of the biblical narratives about David and Solomon, but it does provide non-biblical evidence that they are historical figures and not complete fictions.[32] Indeed, broader comparison of the biblical narratives with non-biblical documents has shown high levels of correlation between biblical and non-biblical mentions of Israelite and non-Israelite rulers, suggesting that the Bible—despite its highly theological-ideological character—preserves much accurate historical data, particularly for earlier periods (chronological confusion and fiction seem more typical of Persian-Hellenistic-period works).[33] Furthermore, the narratives specifically about the time of David and Solomon preserve mentions of place names—for example, Tov, Zobah, Que, Ammon, Bet Rehov, Maacah, and the Philistine pentapolis—that existed exclusively in the pre-exilic period, often only in the tenth century.[34] This, too, is an indication that these narratives contain some early historical information, despite the multiple ways in which they also reflect the political-theological agendas of the later times in which they were written and/or revised.

Read in the light of the above archaeological evidence, the narratives of Samuel and 1 Kings suggest limited levels of political centralization in the early Judean monarchy, certainly nothing like the vast empire often assumed to have existed under David and Solomon. This is particularly true in the case of David. As numerous others have pointed out before, David's main achievements appear to have been military: unifying clans of North and South (2 Sam 5:1–5//1 Chr 11:1–3),[35] neutralizing the Philistines (2 Sam 5:17–25//1 Chr 14:8–17; 2 Sam 8:1//1 Chr 18:1), conquering Jebusite Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:6–8//1 Chr 11:4–6), raiding and collecting tribute from tribal groups in Moab (2 Sam 8:2//1 Chr 18:2), raiding and installing a garrison in Edom (2 Sam 8:13–14a; cf. 2 Chr 18:12–13a), and conquering Ammonite forces and defortifying the Ammonite citadel at Rabbah and other settlements (2 Sam 10:1–14; 11:1; 12:26–31).[36] In addition, he is said to have

32. For discussion and citation of the first wave of literature following the publication of the Tel Dan stela fragments, see Knoppers, "Vanishing Solomon," 36–40. For the Mesha inscription, see André Lemaire, " 'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription," *BAR* 20, no. 3 (1994): 34, 36.

33. J. Maxwell Miller, "Separating the Solomon of History from the Solomon of Legend," in *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium*, Lowell K. Handy (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 24; Alan Millard, "Assessing Solomon: History or Legend?" in *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium*, ed. Lowell K. Handy (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 28–29; W. G. Lambert, "Mesopotamian Sources and Pre-Exilic Israel," in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 352–65; Baruch Halpern, "David Did It, Others Did Not: The Creation of Ancient Israel," in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, ed. Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham (London: Equinox, 2005), 428–29; and for a set of case studies comparing inscriptions and the Bible, see especially Nadav Naaman, "The Contribution of Royal Inscriptions for a Reevaluation of the Books of Kings as a Historical Source," *JSOT* 82 (1999): 3–17.

34. Halpern, "David Did It," 429–30.

35. The moving of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:1–11//1 Chr 13:1–14) can be seen as part of this broader process.

36. For a broader survey, see the following syntheses: Walter Dietrich, *Die frühe Königszeit in Israel: 10. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997) [also available in an updated 2007 English translation published by Scholars Press]; Steven McKenzie, *King David: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001).

achieved similar military success against the Arameans of Zobah (2 Sam 8:3–5//1 Chr 18:3–5; 2 Sam 10:15–19//1 Chr 19:15–19) and Damascus (2 Sam 8:6//1 Chr 18:5), looting the cities under Zobah (2 Sam 8:7–8//1 Chr 18:7–8), and stationing a garrison in Damascus and receiving tribute from that locale (2 Sam 8:6//1 Chr 18:6) and Hamath (2 Sam 8:9–10//2 Chr 18:9–10). Many of these texts, especially the list of conquests in 2 Sam 8:1–14//1 Chr 18:1–13, contain stereotyped bragging language typical of royal inscriptions aiming to establish the manly achievements of a given ruler, and it is difficult to know how seriously to take these claims of Davidic domination of distant realms. Nevertheless, they suggest a specific profile for David, potentially contain archaic material, and should not be dismissed out of hand as historical sources.

In comparison with Solomon, it is striking how much emphasis is given in the narratives about David to his military prowess (and his military officers), while so little is said about concrete ways in which he might have built a political apparatus that would have functioned beyond intimidation of neighbors. The list of officials under him (2 Sam 8:16–18//2 Sam 20:23–26//1 Chr 18:15–17) is brief and appears particularly similar to and perhaps imitative of Egyptian royal court traditions, containing—like the Egyptian court did—a scribe (whose name, Shavsha'/Sherayah/Shisha/Sheva, sounds much like the Egyptian word for scribe *sšš.t*), a herald, and two priests, among others.[37] Yet here again, the military emphases of David's reign shine through. In contrast to both Egyptian lists and a similar list of officials under Solomon, David's list of officials starts with his general Joab (2 Sam 8:16a//20:23a), and the narratives about David associate him primarily with military officers and heroes (2 Sam 23:8–39//1 Chr 11:10–47; note also 2 Sam 21:15–22//1 Chr 20:4–8). A potentially authentic list of stewards of David's royal property in Chronicles would suggest some sort of administration spanning the Northern and Southern kingdoms (1 Chr 27:25–34),[38] and he is reported to have attempted a census, which was a means of instituting taxation and forced labor (2 Sam 24:1–9; cf. 1 Chr 21:1–5). Otherwise, however, he does not seem to have invested in the sorts of construction and other projects that ancient rulers used to enhance their prestige. He is reported to have moved the ark of Israel into his capital city, Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:1–11//1 Chr 13:1–14; see also Psalm 132), built a

37. On David's scribe, see A. Cody, "Le titre égyptien et le nom propre du Scribe de David," *RB* 72 (1965): 381–93; R. Williams, "A People Come Out of Egypt," in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh, 1974 (VTSup)*, ed. G. W. Anderson (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 236; T. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy*, Coniectanea biblica Old Testament Series (Lund: Gleerup, 1971), 45–51; and Nili S. Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah*, Monographs of the Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), 112–13. On links with the Egyptian court, see Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Social Institutions*, trans. John McHugh (1961), 127–32; and for updated information on the Egyptian court in the New Kingdom, see Ronald J. Leprohon, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Pharaonic Egypt," in *CANE* (1995), 284. Note that de Vaux points out that the "chief of forced labor" included in David's list contrasts with the tradition in 1 Kgs 5:27 (ET 5:13) that Solomon introduced the practice of forced labor to Israel (*Social Institutions*, 128–29).

38. For discussion, see Sara Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 472.

house for himself from cedar given to him by Hiram of Tyre (2 Sam 5:11//1 Chr 14:1; see also 2 Sam 7:2//1 Chr 17:1), and engaged in limited construction "from the Millo inward" in the citadel of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:9//1 Chr 11:8). These projects, however, would have had impact, at most, on the allegiance of highland tribes to David in his new capital. Again, he seems to have secured submission and goods from more far-flung groups mainly through the threat of military raids and perhaps some garrisons in areas such as Edom or Damascus.

In contrast, the biblical text makes more claims for political centralization under Solomon, though also hinting at how temporary and partial his attempts at political consolidation were. The list of Solomon's officials in 1 Kgs 4:1–6 suggests that Solomon continued and expanded David's court, reappointing Jehoshaphat as herald and Adoram/Adoniram as chief of forced labor, appointing a son of David's priest (Zadok) as priest, two sons of David's scribe as scribes, and either Joab's son or David's chief bodyguard as general.[39] In addition, this list includes a royal office known in Egypt and briefly mentioned in the David narratives (2 Sam 15:37; 16:16; also in the LXX of 15:32), the office of the king's "friend," occupied in Solomon's court by a son of Nathan, one of David's main counselors and a supporter in Solomon's seizure of David's throne (1 Kgs 1:11–14, 32–40). Furthermore, Solomon's list includes another royal office known outside Israel, the one "over the palace" (1 Kgs 4:6), an office that in Israel took on the large-scale responsibilities which are particularly analogous to that of the Egyptian *mr pr* (see Isa 22:15–22 for a later "one over the palace").[40] Finally, this list of officials in Solomon's court is followed by a list of twelve officials appointed to secure supplies for the king from twelve districts spanning the monarchy (aside from Judah), twelve officials/districts for the twelve months of the year (1 Kgs 4:7–19; 5:7–8 [ET 4:27–28]).[41]

Another mark of Solomon's attempt to institutionalize David's sphere of influence are biblical reports of his interactions with foreign rulers. To be sure, there seems little of historical value in the legend about his encounter with the queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–13//2 Chr 9:1–12), and the main assertions about his intermarriages with foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:1–8) seem to have been crafted to link with Deuteronomic prohibitions of intermarriage with non-Israelite peoples who were to be excluded from the assembly (see Deut 7:1–6 along with Deut 23:4–9).[42] Nevertheless, as Kitchen has proposed, there is less reason to doubt the report of Solomon's marriage with an Egyptian princess (1 Kgs 3:1; also 1 Kgs 9:24//2 Chr

39. The MT of 1 Kgs 4:4 has David's bodyguard Benaiah (2 Sam 8:18; 20:23) as chief of Solomon's army, while the Lucianic version of the Greek has Eliab, son of Joab, as the chief general (LXX^L 1 Kgs 4:6).

40. De Vaux, *Social Institutions*, 129–30.

41. Notably, the special status of Judah appears to be reflected in its absence from the list of these taxation districts. David and Solomon's identity as Judeans, along with Judah's special role in supporting David in the wake of the Israelite revolt under Absalom (2 Sam 19:12–44 [ET 19:11–43]), may have led to Judah being spared some of the burden of forced labor and taxation to support their monarchy. See Frank Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum: die antiköniglichen Texte des Alten Testaments und der Kampt um den frühen israelitischen Staat*, WMANT 49 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 101–104.

42. Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 125–26.

8:11).[43] Such a marriage alliance, along possibly with others now overlaid by the Deuteronomistic critique of Solomonic intermarriage in 1 Kgs 11:1–8, would have been a significant achievement in Solomonic international relations. In addition, the biblical narratives suggest specific and plausible dealings with Hiram of Tyre. Though the biblical narrators seem to have some embarrassment about non-Israelite involvement in temple building (see 1 Kgs 7:13; 2 Chr 2:13; and Chronicles passim), they still describe Solomon securing building materials and skilled labor for temple building from the Phoenician king Hiram (1 Kgs 5:15–26, 32 [ET 5:1–12, 18]; cf. 2 Chr 1:18–2:15 [ET 2 Chr 2:1–16] and 1 Kgs 7:13–47; cf. 2 Chr 4:11). In addition, Solomon is described as giving twenty cities in the Galilee to Hiram in return either for the construction help or for additional financial help (cf. 1 Kgs 5:23–25 [ET 5:9–11]). Finally, the biblical narratives describe a sea-trading partnership between the two based in the Red Sea port of Ezion-Geber (1 Kgs 9:26–28; cf. 2 Chr 8:17–18; see also 1 Kgs 10:11–12//2 Chr 9:10–11). These dealings suggest a Solomonic shift in style when compared to David, a shift toward building his kingdom through diplomacy as opposed to David's dependence on military intimidation.

One prominent way for rulers to legitimate their rule and promote it as permanent was to erect monuments and massive fortifications. In addition to providing a military advantage (in the case of fortifications), these building projects solidified the king's claim to be destined by the god(s) to rule over diverse peoples.[44] In contrast to David, who seems to have engaged in limited projects directed toward his Jerusalem fortress, Solomon appears to have used the tools of political centralization to engage in more kingdom-legitimating building projects. First, the Bible's claim that he was the builder of the temple is hard to challenge. The narrators of Kings seem to have struggled with the fact that Solomon was the temple builder, since he did not measure up to their later standards for kingship and the kingdom split in the wake of his rule (see 1 Kings 11 in particular). Moreover, it is difficult to know to whom else to attribute the construction of the Jerusalem temple, if not Solomon. In addition, Solomon is reported to have built or rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem, the mysterious "Millo," his own palace, the three above-discussed lowland cities (Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer), and several other settlements and storage cities as well (e.g., Lower Beth-Horon, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness; 1 Kgs 6:1–51//2 Chr 3:1–5:1; 1 Kgs 9:15–19//2 Chr 8:1–6; 1 Kgs 11:27). The construction in Jerusalem has been difficult to verify archaeologically, though some would attribute the stepped-stone structure to Solomon. Nevertheless, as discussed above, there are reasons to think that other archaeological remains at Gezer, Megiddo, Hazor, and elsewhere date back to the time of Solomon. Whether viewed through an archaeological or biblical lens, Solomon's construction efforts are modest by the standards of many

43. Kenneth A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips, 1973), 280–82. For discussion and citation of some divergent opinions, see Knoppers, "Vanishing Solomon," 26.

44. This point is developed in Chapter 3 of Byrne, "Statecraft in Early Israel" and will be nuanced further in the publication of this work.

non-Israelite kingdoms, but nevertheless would represent a significant step forward in state-building when compared with David.

Within the Near East, such large-scale construction projects were executed through mobilizing forced labor, and the Bible contains good evidence that Solomon did use such forced labor (1 Kgs 5:27–32 [ET 5:13–18]; 9:15–19; see also 1 Kgs 12:4]), whether under the supervision of Adoram (1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28 [ET 5:14]; cf. 2 Chr 2:16–17) or (at least for Ephraim) Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:28). As in the case of temple building, there is little reason to believe this use of forced labor by Solomon was invented by the biblical authors, since at least some other biblical authors seem to have wished either to assert that this forced labor only involved non-Israelites (1 Kgs 9:20–22//2 Chr 8:7–9; also 2 Chr 2:16–17 [ET 2:17–18], but cf. 1 Kgs 12:4, 14//2 Chr 10:4, 14) or to avoid the topic altogether (much of 2 Chronicles). Such use of forced labor of Israelites contradicted the values of later Israelites, but it was a common way for ancient monarchs to gather resources to project architectural images of their right to rule.

Another common way for monarchs to promote their divine right to rule was through claims to possess divine wisdom and rule justly. Certainly the narratives about Solomon contain such claims, starting with the story of his reception of judicial wisdom at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:2–15//1 Chr 1:1–13) and continuing with legends about his demonstration of this wisdom (1 Kgs 3:16–28 and 1 Kgs 10:1–10//2 Chr 9:1–9) along with more general claims for his superlative wisdom and compositions of proverbs and songs (1 Kgs 5:9–14 [ET 4:29–34]). In addition, biblical superscriptions attribute several sections of proverbs (1:1; 10:1; 25:1), the Song of Songs (1:1), and two psalms to Solomon (72:1; 127:1). Moreover, the superscription and initial royal autobiography in Qohelet implicitly attribute that book to him as well (Qoh 1:1–2:26). In contrast to cases such as forced labor, however, it is difficult to identify elements of these traditions that contradict the aims of later tradents. Certainly, it seems that Solomon enjoyed more of a reputation than David for wisdom and justice (on David cf., e.g., 2 Sam 15:1–6), but it is difficult to sort how many of these biblical traditions about his wisdom he and his administration were responsible for cultivating and which of these traditions were later inventions and/or elaborations of earlier legends.

Traditions about Solomon's vast reign and riches seem to have the least historical basis. For example, there is a sharp contrast between the generalized claims for Solomon's realm extending from the border of Egypt to the Euphrates (1 Kgs 5:1 [ET 4:21]//2 Chr 9:26; 1 Kgs 5:5; 1 Kgs 8:65//2 Chr 7:8) and specific information about his administration and protection of this broad realm. Rather, the most specific narratives about him focus exclusively on the area of greater Judah-Israel, along with some discussion (mentioned above) of dealings with Hiram of Tyre. Furthermore, the only particular information we have about Solomon's military actions are his inability to cope with ongoing insurrections and raids by Hadad of Edom (1 Kgs 11:14–22) and the Aramean, Rezon, who achieves independence for Damascus (1 Kgs 11:23–25). This hardly seems like a kingdom where everyone in Judah and Israel lived in peace under his own vine and fig tree (cf. 1 Kgs 5:5 [ET 4:25]). Similarly problematic are texts that make superlative claims about Solomon's vast wealth (1 Kgs 3:4; 5:2–4, 6 [ET 4:22–24, 26]; 10:11–29//2 Chr 9:9–28), going

so far as to assert that Solomon made silver as common in Jerusalem as stones (1 Kgs 10:27//2 Chr 9:27). Both monarchs and their later heirs often make such claims, but they mostly reveal the desire of these rulers to magnify their rule, legitimacy, and glory. In Solomon's case, the claims for his vast reign are contradicted by particulars that show him active in a very restricted area. The claims for his vast army are balanced by reports of his inability to suppress raids from Aram and the Transjordan. The claims for his vast chariotry are balanced by his loss of control of Damascus and inability to suppress raids from Aram and Edom. And the claims of his vast wealth contrast with Hiram's assessment of the pitiful state of the towns that Solomon had given him in exchange for construction help and/or a large payment of gold (1 Kgs 9:11–14).

The tendency in biblical texts toward exaggeration of Solomon's glory is reversed in the case of early kings of the Northern state of Israel, Jeroboam, and those that followed. Where biblical texts surrounding Solomon's temple building often minimize his misdeeds (though cf. 1 Kgs 11), the same Judean historical texts downplay the significant achievements of the powerful Omride dynasty and emphasize ways in which the rulers of that dynasty failed to measure up to the standards of later Judean writers. Chronicles ignores the Omride dynasty altogether, as it does most rulers of the Northern kingdom of Israel. Kings devotes only a handful of verses to Omri (1 Kgs 16:16–28) and focuses virtually all of its narrative about Ahab on his and his wife's, Jezebel's, misdeeds (1 Kgs 16:29–22:50). Though Kings hints at the domination of the South by the North during the time of the Omrides and briefly mentions the building of what was a huge complex in Samaria (1 Kgs 16:24), this Judean account of the Omrides lacks any of the vast claims for dominion, wealth, and prestige found in the David and (particularly) Solomon narratives.

In contrast, there is so much non-biblical evidence for the prominence of this dynasty, that Finkelstein is correct to argue that it represents a new high level of political centralization in comparison with David and Solomon. To be sure, he probably goes too far in saying, "If there was a United Monarchy that ruled from Dan to Beer-Sheba it was that of the Omride dynasty and it was ruled form ninth-century Samaria," but the error is in how much centralization he denies in Judah, not his claims that Omri and Ahab achieved a level of centralization surpassing that of their Judean predecessors.[45] Even without Finkelstein's "low chronology," the archaeological remains that are datable to the time of the Omrides are more extensive than those with some claim to be from the time of Solomon. The capital in Samaria that Omri built is the largest such installation in the Levant of that time, and similarly extensive fortifications were built at Jezreel, Dan, Hazor, Kinneret, Megiddo, and other Northern sites. Many of these sites feature high-quality pottery, and luxury furniture inlays were found at Samaria. The presence of such high-quality items is another indicator of a centralized, stratified society, an indicator not as present in previous periods.[46] Meanwhile, Shalmaneser's

45. Finkelstein, "Solomon's Golden Age," 115.

46. Amihai Mazar, "The Divided Monarchy: Comments on Some Archaeological Issues," in *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt (Atlanta: Scholars, 2007), 163.

monolithic inscription from Kurkh claims that Ahab contributed thousands of chariots and foot-soldiers to a broader alliance resisting an Assyrian advance at Qarqar. Though the numbers may be exaggerated, they still attribute to the Northern kingdom the largest military of any of the allies. Finally, the ninth-century Mesha inscription (along with the Bible) indicates that the Omrides took over some of the Transjordanian lands once dominated by David and Solomon (Mesha 4–9; see also 2 Kgs 3:4). Thus, even before consulting the Bible, this kind of non-biblical evidence indicates that the Northern kingdom was a formidable power, with a higher international profile, more military and construction resources, and more social stratification than what was seen in David and Solomon's kingdom.

Critical reading of the biblical narrative can enhance and refine this picture. For example, some construction in the ninth-century North and some luxury items show Phoenician influence, such as in ashlar masonry or carved ivory inlays. The narratives in Kings attest that the Omrides entered an alliance with a king of Sidon, Ethbaal, sealed by a marriage between Ahab and the Sidonian princess Jezebel (1 Kgs 16:31). This alliance with Sidon was the Northern counterpart to David and Solomon's previous cooperation with Hiram of Tyre, but the biblical narratives suggest that this alliance played a larger cultural role in the Northern kingdom than it did in the South. In particular, the narratives in Kings accuse the queen mother, Jezebel, of killing Yahwistic prophets (1 Kgs 18:4, 13; 19:2; 2 Kgs 9:7) and introducing foreign religious and oppressive social practices into Israel (1 Kgs 16:31; 18:19; 21:1–16, 25; 22:52; see also 2 Kgs 10:18–28).

The biblical narratives also provide hints that the Omride dynasty dominated the kingdom of Judah, reducing it to the virtual status of a vassal. Much to the consternation of the Judean narrators of the history, Jehoshaphat of Judah is said to have "made peace" with Israel (1 Kgs 22:45 [ET 22:44]), an arrangement that apparently involved placing Judean troops at the disposal of the Omride rulers at multiple points (1 Kgs 22:4; 2 Kgs 3:7). Moreover, this alliance was sealed through the marriage of Joram/Jehoram of Judah and Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (2 Kgs 8:18, 26).[47] For a brief period around 843, descendants of Omri ruled in both North (Jehoram) and South (Ahaziah). This truly was a "united monarchy," albeit of a different sort than the monarchies of David and Solomon. This broader Omride monarchy, it seems, was more developed and more powerful than its Davidic-Solomonic predecessor, but it also had a different center of power: Samaria rather than Jerusalem.

In sum, over the course of the tenth and first half of the ninth centuries, both non-biblical and biblical evidence show a gradual increase in political centralization, what might be broadly termed "state formation." This first emerges clearly in the case of Solomon, but there are some indicators that Solomon built on preliminary moves in this direction made by David. We see parallel evidence for political centralization in the continuity between offices and officials in David and Solomon's courts (David 2 Sam 8:16–18//2 Sam 20:23–26//1 Chr 18:15–17 and Solomon 1 Kgs

47. As in the case of her mother Jezebel, the Israelite Athaliah seems to have been a powerful figure, even taking over the Judean kingdom for seven years after her son Ahaziah was assassinated by Jehu (2 Kgs 9:27–28; 11:1–3).

4:1–6), but there are other ways in which Solomon's moves toward political establishment may have built on precedents established by David. Solomon was famous for building the temple and other parts of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 6:1–7:51; 9:15), yet he was extending David's initial establishment and preliminary fortification of the settlement (2 Sam 5:9). The biblical narratives are more specific about how Solomon used forced labor (1 Kgs 5:27–32 [ET 5:13–18]; 9:15–19), but they also suggest that David had an official in charge of forced labor (2 Sam 20:24) and did a census that would normally be a prelude to tribute and forced labor (2 Sam 24:1–9; cf. 1 Chr 21:1–5). 1 Kings includes a list of Solomon's administrative districts taxed to supply the monarchy month by month (1 Kgs 4:7–19), yet this list's exemption of Judah from that burden may reflect a special status already achieved by David's own tribe as a result of their support of him in the wake of Absalom's revolt (2 Sam 19:12–44 [ET 19:11–43]).[48] Even Solomon's extensive reported dealings with the Phoenician king, Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 5:15–26, 32 [ET 5:1–12, 18]; cf. 2 Chr 1:18–2:15 [ET 2 Chr 2:1–16] and 1 Kgs 7:13–47; cf. 2 Chr 4:11; 1 Kgs 9:26–28; cf. 2 Chr 8:17–18; see also 1 Kgs 10:11–12//2 Chr 9:10–11), have a precedent in the report that Hiram gave David cedar to help build his house in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:11//1 Chr 14:1). Thus, though there is less explicit evidence of political centralization under David than under Solomon, it appears that some of Solomon's moves in this direction built on precedents established by his father.

In turn, there are some ways in which the "united monarchy" under the Omrides built on precedents already seen in the time of David and Solomon. To some extent, this probably started already at the outset of the Northern monarchy. When the Northern tribes split off from Solomon's son Rehoboam, the Israelite monarchy they established controlled the bulk of the highland and Transjordanian lands once controlled by the Solomonic monarchy. These areas now under the Northern kingdom, the heartland of earlier tribal "Israel," contained more fertile lands and more strategic routes than those found in the smaller Southern neighbor of Judah.[49] As a result, even before the rise of Omri, the center of gravity probably started to shift from South to North. The kingdom of Judah ruled by Davidic kings in Jerusalem became a relative backwater. The kingdom of Israel, already from the time of Jeroboam on, became the closest remaining political counterpart to the earlier kingdom of (David and) Solomon.

The parallels between the Northern kingdom and earlier Davidic-Solomonic monarchy were more pronounced under the powerful Omride dynasty. Like the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy, the Omride monarchy established control of varying kinds of the Northern and Southern highlands: Moab, Edom, and Gilead. Moreover, the Omrides reestablished and deepened the relationship with Phoenicia, this time sealing the connection with a marriage alliance with Sidon that had significant cultural impacts. Finally, in the next section of this chapter, we will see signs that scribal practices already begun in the tenth century were

48. Crüsemann, *Widerstand gegen das Königtum*, 101–104.

49. Israel Finkelstein and Neil Silverman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York and London: Free Press, 2001), 155–58 along with 131–32.

continued in the ninth, with an emergent shared script in North and South and perhaps some shared traditions. Original patterns of political geography, organization, and structure established under David and (particularly) Solomon were reproduced under Omri and Ahab. The main difference was that the Omride dynasty was based in Samaria and built on more specifically Israelite roots, while the Davidic dynasty was based in Jerusalem and built on a mixed Judean and Jerusalemite heritage. We will have occasion to return to this shift in the following chapters.

■ EPIGRAPHIC AND OTHER EVIDENCE FOR WRITING AND EDUCATION IN THE TENTH AND NINTH CENTURIES

Before we move to those chapters, I conclude with a discussion of the non-biblical evidence for writing and related phenomena in the tenth- to ninth-century highlands. Because our ultimate focus will be on the history of biblical traditions, I start with a look at what non-biblical, epigraphic finds might have to tell us about the development of scribal traditions in these early kingdoms. In and of themselves, these finds are modest, adding up to just a few letters, words, and parts of words. Nevertheless, I argue that even these fragmentary epigraphs can provide valuable hints about the emergence of written textuality in the Israelite-Judean highlands. These hints, then, can balance data about emergent scribal development found in the Bible itself.

Evidence from the Tenth Century

Most, but not all, epigraphic finds from the tenth century are brief labels or word fragments. Many indicate possession or the destination of the contents of a given container or object: [*b*]*n ḥnn* on a bowl rim from a probable tenth-century level at Tel Batash in the Judean Shephelah, ḥnn carved on a gaming board at Beth Shemesh in the Shephelah,[50] []*n ḥmr*[] in Khirbet Rosh Zayit in the Galilee, *lʾdnn* in ink on an ostracon at Tell el-Fara, *lnmš* on a jar handle from a tenth-century level at Tel Amal in Northern Israel, and three inscriptions found at a possible tenth-century level of Tel Rehov in Northern Israel: *lnḥ*[*?*] incised on a storage jar found in the tenth-century level of Tel Rehov, *mʿ—ʿm* on the collar of a jar, and *lšq?nmš* ("to the cupbearer Nimshi" ?). Notably, two of the inscriptions found in the Shephelah, the Tell Batash bowl rim inscription and the Beth Shemesh ostracon, feature a name, *ḥnn*, that is prominent in the description of Solomon's Shephelah district (1 Kgs 4:9). This provides non-biblical confirmation of the prominence of the clan mentioned in the 1 Kings list in the same area with which

50. Note the context is the tenth to eighth century, but it is dated on paleographic grounds to the tenth by Cross. Overall, this survey most closely follows Kyle McCarter in Ron E. Tappy, et al., "An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judaean Shephelah," *BASOR* 344 (2006): 28–29. Cf. the somewhat different survey in André Lemaire, "West Semitic Inscriptions and Ninth Century BCE Ancient Israel," in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel*, ed. Hugh M. G. Williamson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 279–303.

that name is associated.[51] Moreover, the reference to the cupbearer at Tell Rehov indicates a level of social stratification untypical of earlier highland tribal groups.

Two longer inscriptions also often are dated in the tenth century. One is the Gezer Calendar. This text is particularly interesting because it may be a school exercise listing months of the agricultural year. It is a limestone tablet that appears to have been written on multiple times, the character of the script indicates that the one who wrote it may have been learning, and the text provides the sort of memorizable list that was typical of many ancient exercise texts.[52] The dating of this calendar, however, is based not on stratigraphic context (a fill with remains from various pre-exilic periods), but on its archaic paleography and language. Such criteria are useful for dating, but not as secure as the finding of an object in a stratigraphic context.

Fortunately, we now have such a find in context. In the summer of 2005, a full abecedary was found in a tenth-century level at Tel Zayit in the Judean Shephelah. This abecedary was found incised on a boulder secondarily set into a tenth-century wall. Its letters, placed in an order that diverge in several respects from alphabet orders known elsewhere, resemble those of the Gezer Calendar, though possibly representing a slightly earlier form of that script tradition.[53] Its use is unclear. Though some have proposed a mantic or educational purpose, the order of the letters and their divergent arrangement may indicate that this was the work of a craftsman practicing incising the alphabet on stone.[54]

One of the most interesting aspects of this group of inscriptions, especially the Gezer Calendar and Tel Zayit Abecedary, is the fact that they are written in a form of the standardized Phoenician alphabet. Notably, the emergent script standardization in these tenth-century inscriptions stands in stark contrast to script variability in alphabetic inscriptions written prior to the tenth century.[55] These more

51. Mazar, "Search for David and Solomon," 131–32.

52. William F. Albright, "The Gezer Calendar," *BASOR* 92 (1943): 21–22; P. Kyle McCarter, *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996), 102–103; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 156. Though Sanders (*Invention*, 111, note 16) cites MacDonald's work (MacDonald, "Literacy") in suggesting that this calendar was created for amusement, it is not the same sort of game or riddle text as those discussed by MacDonald.

53. Tappy, et al., "Tenth Century Abecedary. "

54. This analysis depends, in part, on reflections by Paul Iverson of Case Western Reserve University that were reported in Susan McCarthy, "Abecedaria Blog March 16, 2006," http://abecedaria.blogspot.com/2006/03/update-on-tel-zayit-abecedary.html.

55. For thorough discussions of the script of the Zayit abecedary, see P. Kyle McCarter, "Paleographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedary," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. Ron Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 45–59 and Christopher Rollston, "The Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary and Putative Evidence for Israelite Literacy," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, ed. Ron Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 61–96 (which disagree on whether it is possible to detect incipient indicators of the Hebrew script in the inscription). In this respect, the Tel Zayit Abecedary and Gezer Calendar are distinct from the Qeiyafa Ostracon and other inscriptions bearing a less standardized, early alphabetic form of the script. Despite some sensational readings of the Qeiyafa ostracon, its contents are not yet clarified as of the time of this writing. Whether it dates to the tenth century (as per its *editio princeps*) or a bit earlier, it appears to attest to a

standardized letter forms on tenth-century epigraphs hint at the existence of a broader process of scribal training and text production. People do not naturally write letters in the same form. Such standard letter forms must be taught in some kind of educational system spanning space and time.[56] That educational system probably does not feature dedicated buildings and professional teachers—"schools" as one might conceive them today. Yet for such a system successfully to transmit the same alphabet to students in widely divergent locations, it must have a certain ongoing shape to it, one that allows the transmission of detailed graphic knowledge to various individuals.

Within the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, this training in the craft of writing was but the foundation of a larger process of standardization of imagination and memory. Where children in exclusively oral cultures were/are enculturated through relatively flexible oral traditions, writing offered a means for early states to require some youths preparing for elite careers to submit their minds more fully to memorizing specific, fixed texts. Such education in writing and ancient literature shaped imagined communities of scholar-bureaucrats, who shared—by virtue of their education—imagined, shared identities as "Sumerians," "Egyptians," or "Greeks." It created a more homogeneous leadership group who then served as the glue joining together disparate groups and administering the kingdom.[57]

Especially once such writing-supported education had been used in the larger, more ancient cultures of the Near East, smaller cultures, such as those seen in Judah and Israel, had an incentive to replicate such educational systems—albeit on a much smaller scale and adopting the relatively less complicated Phoenician alphabet as their basis. These smaller political entities did not have the resources nor any reason to invent their own scribal education-writing systems from scratch. Yet they could build on the precedents of earlier civilizations and claim some of the prestige of those ancient cultures by developing their own local scribal systems. We see evidence of both the existence of such a local system and the wish to claim prestige through it in the Bar-Rakib Stela, which features an image of a scribe standing with a scroll before the king.[58] It may well be that David aimed to claim such prestige for himself as well, through adopting a royal court structure

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stage of textuality in the area of Israel (whether "Hebrew" textuality or not) where the writing system involved and accompanying scribal apparatus had not yet been standardized.

56. As noted in MacDonald, "Literacy," 85, formal features such as standard letter order and form are typical of school-taught literacy (with "school" understood in a broad sense). These along with evidence for increasingly standardized writing direction, etc. can be indices of a system that goes beyond the genres of the epigraphs themselves. On this, cf. Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 111–12 and idem., "Writing and Early Israel," 102–103, which emphasizes the affinities of the order of the Tel Zayit inscription with earlier linear alphabet inscriptions and concludes that "we do not have a shred of evidence for a state curriculum in the 10th century" (Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 103).

57. On this, see my *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

58. This image is reproduced (among other loci) in David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 114, Fig. 1. Overall, this dynamic of imitation of prestigious cultures follows the model of "elite emulation" proposed by Carolyn Higginbotham in *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accomodation on the Imperial Periphery*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2000). It is relevant for other potential cases of imitation discussed in the following chapters.

that was modeled on the Egyptian one, a court including a royal "scribe" (2 Sam 8:17//20:25). And the traditions surrounding Solomon seem particularly focused on associating him with the trappings of such scribal systems. Not only do they claim two scribes for his royal court (1 Kgs 4:3), but they attribute superlative wisdom to him (1 Kgs 5:9–12, 14 [ET 4:29–32, 34]; see also 1 Kgs 3:2–28 and 1 Kgs 10:1–10), including the kind of list wisdom particularly typical of the Mesopotamian tradition (1 Kgs 5:13 [ET 4:33]).

Given the obvious ideological benefits attending such claims for royal wisdom, it is difficult on the basis of biblical traditions alone to assess how much written textuality had been institutionalized in Judah and Israel of David and Solomon's time. Nevertheless, the presence of some tenth- and (early) ninth-century inland epigraphs, written in standardized forms of the Phoenician alphabet, seems to corroborate that important scribal developments were already underway in the tenth century.[59] As mentioned above, more organized training was required to spread such a standardized alphabet across a wide geographic area than that required for the making of individual, variable labels of the sort typical of the eleventh century and before. In addition, the fact that this standardized alphabet is Phoenician in origin fits well with the strong links claimed in the biblical tradition between the Phoenician kingdom of Tyre and the kingdoms of David and (particularly) Solomon. Given these links, we would not be surprised to see that Solomon's Phoenician allies also shared their alphabet along with other forms of technical know-how and materials for palace and temple construction.[60] Indeed, given that training in the alphabet generally formed just the foundation of a broader process of training in literary classics, it would be quite normal for the Phoenicians to have transmitted some of their writing literary traditions to Judah and Israel along with their alphabet. Unfortunately, however, those traditions—whatever they were—are no longer extant, probably because they were written on perishable papyrus. Instead, all we have are a handful of fragmentary inscriptions that provide paleographic evidence of the standardization of highland script along Phoenician lines, evidence that points to a broader process of writing instruction.

As documented most extensively by Rollston and reflected on by Sanders, we eventually see the development of a distinct script tradition that is documented in areas reported to have been dominated by David (on this see below),[61] but Phoenician is so similar to Hebrew that it would have posed no problem for its alphabet (and even many orthographic conventions) to be used to render texts

59. Cf. Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 109–13 and idem., "Writing and Early Israel," which stresses the extent to which neither text represents the sort of genre typical of state structures and emphasizes that neither epigraph represents a decisive generic divergence from early Bronze Age labels to specifically royal genres. Though these points are well taken and Sanders is correct in pointing out significant epigraphic evidence for more widespread use of writing in later periods (e.g., inscribed seals, pp. 105–106 of Invention), I feel he does not take sufficiently into account the significance of the standardized script in these cases.

60. Note also the summary in Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 212, note 6 on indicators of Phoenician origins/links for the eighth- and ninth-century City of David seals and bullae.

61. Christopher Rollston, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence," *BASOR* 344 (2006): 47–74; Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*.

that would have been memorized and performed later as "Hebrew."[62] In so far as early texts initially were written in this standard alphabet and/or orthography, they likely were no less "Hebrew" than the Tel Fekheriye inscription (written in Phoenician script) is "Aramaic" or the Mesha Stela (written in Hebrew script) is "Moabite." And indeed, even after the development of the Hebrew alphabet, we continue to see examples of this Phoenician script in other Iron II inscriptions from Israel, such as some inscribed ninth-eighth century sherds from Hazor, inscribed ivories from Samaria, and four inscriptions at Kuntillet Ajrud.[63] In each case, the writing and some orthography are Phoenician, reflecting the adopted scribal practice, but names, find context, and/or other features in the texts often mark them as (probable) Israelite texts.

Excursus: The Scope of Possible Phoenician Influence

Intriguing is the question of how deep and broad such Phoenician influence was. One key problem is the lack of direct information about the broader contours of the Phoenician literary system indirectly reflected in old Byblian dedicatory inscriptions and the like. As in ancient Israel-Judah, extended texts in Phoenicia almost certainly were written on papyrus, which is much more perishable than the clay on which Akkadian and Ugaritic texts were written. As a result, the data for Iron Age alphabetic textuality, particularly literary forms of Iron Age textuality, are much less plentiful than for Bronze Age cuneiform textuality and skewed toward documentary, dedicatory, and other more informal forms of textuality. This situation renders problematic judgments about the absence of certain kinds of texts based on their nondiscovery (or variations in their contents) so far. This point can be illustrated with the example of Israel. If we did not have the Hebrew Bible and were limited to the kind of inscriptional evidence for Israel that we are for Phoenicia, the only literary texts we would have access to would be fragments, such as the Keteph Ḥinnon amulets and the hymnic inscription from Kuntillet Ajrud. On this basis, we might (wrongly) conclude from silence that neither culture had a broader literature.

Nevertheless, given what we know about other systems of textuality where extended texts like Ahiram and Yehimilk were produced, it is probable that Phoenicia did not just have an alphabetic system for writing documentary and display texts, but also a corpus of literature, faint echoes of which we see in the Bible.[64] Furthermore, given Phoenicia's unusually close ties to Egypt, this literature may have reflected strong influence from the Egyptian literary-educational system. The narrator of the Story of Wenamun thought it plausible to depict an Egyptian

62. Here and in the following sentence, I put the language name in quotes because of the difficulties in identifying language boundaries when our exclusive access to them is through written texts.

63. B. Delevault and André Lemaire, "Les inscriptions pheniciennes de la Palestine," *Rivista di studi fenici* 7 (1979): 27–28.

64. Yitzhak Avishur, *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible: Select Inscriptions and Studies in Sylistic and Literary Devices Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center, 2000). (Much of this is an English translation and slight updating of studies done in the late 1970s.)

songstress being available to sing in the court at Byblos (chapter XXX), and some Phoenician inscriptions found across the Levant (including Israel) show the adaptation (for different purposes) of the red-lettering system seen earlier in Egypt.[65] In addition, the example of Ugarit—fortunately written on less perishable materials—might also be analogous in some respects to whatever literature was developed in Phoenicia.[66] Beyond this, we have nothing specific to go on. It is highly probable *that* a text-supported, oral-written form of Phoenician education stands behind these longer inscriptions—probably education with some particular links to Egypt—but we cannot know on the basis of available evidence what literature was in that system.

As discussed above, it is evident that a form of the script initially standardized in Phoenicia did make its way into highland Israel and other parts of the Levant, along with some Egyptian scribal practices such as the use of red lettering and the right-to-left order of writing. In addition, we know that Israel, whether through the medium of Phoenicia or another medium, imported and used a form of the hieratic numbering system borrowed from Bronze Age Egypt.[67] Given the uncertainties discussed above, it is difficult to know how much else came to Israel via Phoenicia. Whatever it was, it likely was not specifically recognizable educational materials. Aside from abecedaries, alphabetic systems feature few word lists and other dedicated educational texts, but instead use written forms of literary texts (usually not recognizable as meant for educational use) to teach students the cultural tradition. Lacking copies of such extended literary texts in Phoenicia, we cannot say anything specific about them or their transfer in some form to Israel-Judah. But again, I suggest that we should reckon with some such process standing behind the early creation of some Hebrew literature, along perhaps with early Israelite use of remnants of other forms of pre-Israelite ("Canaanite") literature.[68]

Evidence from the Ninth Century

We have seen ways that the Bible's picture of the Northern kingdom is distorted in a negative direction as parts of its depiction of David and Solomon are distorted in a positive direction. This also affects its depiction of writing and scribal developments in the North. We have no lists of courtiers in the North, nor claims for the wisdom of its kings. Yet we still do have potential pale reflections of the continuing

65. For a survey and discussion, see P. Chantraine, "A propos du nom des Phéniciens et des noms de la pourpre," *Studii Classici* 14 (1972): 12–15; G. P. Edwards and R. B. Edwards, "Red Letters and Phoenician Writings," *Kadmos* 13 (1974): 48–57; Delevault and Lemaire, "Inscriptions pheniciennes," 9. See below on the use of red lettering in the Deir Alla inscription.

66. A. Millard, "The Ugaritic and Canaanite Alphabets—Some Notes," *Ugarit Forschungen* 11 (1979): 165.

67. For a recent survey, see Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 128–29.

68. On this latter point, see the reflections in Edward L. Greenstein, "The Canaanite Literary Heritage in the Writings of Hebrew Scribes," *Michmanim* 10 (1996): 19–38. Note also the interesting observation in Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 110–11 on reflections of a pre-Israelite Phoenician-Canaanite dating system in 1 Kgs 6:38.

development of written textuality, even in these late and distorted narratives about the North. For example, the tale about the seizure of Naboth's vineyard features one of the first examples of the use of writing, of letters, to execute the seizure, and notably it is initiated in the story by the Phoenician princess Jezebel (1 Kgs 21:8–14). This could be a later projection of writing into an earlier story. Nevertheless, its link of written textuality with Phoenicia is an interesting correlate to other Phoenician links and the Phoenician origins of the early Hebrew alphabet. In addition, by the time Jehu puts an end to the Omride dynasty in North and South, seventy "sons" of the king are in Samaria under the care of elders and אֹמְנִים—the latter possibly a modified form of אָמְנִים < Akkadian *ummānu* "teacher" (2 Kgs 10:1[-7]).[69] Though this text is focused on the bloody end of the Omrides, it may preserve an indirect reflection of a more developed educational/enculturational apparatus than anything explicitly mentioned in the time of David and Solomon.

The archaeological record does not provide much to supplement these rare and potentially problematic pictures of textuality and/or education/enculturation in the North. There are not many inscriptions that can be dated specifically to the time of the divided kingdoms through the Omride dynasty. The best candidates for inscriptions from this period were found in the Transjordan: the substantial Mesha Stele found in Moab and a short label linked to Ahab on a storage jar (*l'ḥb*) found at Tell el-Hamme. Otherwise, the dating and placement of other inscriptions to this period are difficult. McCarter and others present good arguments for dating three painted inscriptions on storage jars at Eshtemoa near Hebron to the ninth century based on paleography, along with the earliest of the ostraca from stratum XI at Arad (especially 76, but also possibly 77–81).[70] Other inscriptions, such as the inscription *l'mṣ* at Tell Dan or *l'lplṭ* at Tell el-ʿÔrême, have been dated by some on paleographic grounds to the ninth century, but others would date them later.[71] For still other inscriptions, the language of the inscription renders problematic a connection to Israelite and Judean textuality. Early strata at Hazor yielded several small alphabetic inscriptions, but the five-letter inscription from stratum IX (late tenth to early ninth century) appears to be in Aramaic (]*šʾ z šl*[]) and many would take the handful of ostraca from stratum VIII to be in Phoenician or Aramaic. Likewise, the brief inscription found at Ein-geb, *lšqy,* may be Aramaic or a Northern dialect of Hebrew. The Samaria ivories that have a single letter in the Phoenician script on them may not have originated in Judah-Israel and probably do not date from this period either.

This does not mean that the ninth century was a time of decline in written textuality. To start with, both the stratigraphic and paleographic criteria for dating many inscriptions to the tenth century are uncertain enough that several of the

69. See William F. Albright, "A Prince of Taanach in the Fifteenth Century B.C," *BASOR* 94 (1944): 18 (note 28). For discussion, see Benno Landsberger, "Scribal Concepts of Education," in *The City Invincible*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling and Robert M. Adams (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 105–106 and the analysis of borrowing of this term via Akkadian in Paul V. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loan Words in Biblical Hebrew*, Harvard Semitic Studies (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 33–34.

70. There is some question about the dating of the stratum where these ostraca were found to the tenth century. For one discussion, see Lemaire, "West Semitic Inscriptions."

71. See again Lemaire, "West Semitic Inscriptions."

inscriptions discussed in the previous section may actually date from the ninth century. The el-Hamme, Arad, and es-Samu inscriptions confirm the continuation of textuality into the ninth-century North and South, a continuation that continues with larger inscriptional finds in the eighth century (e.g., the Samaria ostraca) that will be discussed later in this book. Finally, the Deir Alla plaster inscription, though dated by most scholars to the early eighth century, seems to reproduce for display earlier text(s) that had been written in scroll form. The inscription is written in a column format with Egyptian-like red lettering that is typical of scrolls, and it refers at the outset—according to some reconstructions—to "the scroll of Balaam, son of Beor." What is important for our purposes is its testimony to the reproduction and transmission of extended, sophisticated literary texts by the beginning of the eighth century (and probably earlier) in a small crossroads town just a few miles east of the Jordan.

In addition, the Mesha Stele in Moab provides potentially important data regarding the spread and development of writing traditions in the area of Judah and Israel. This inscription shows multiple linkages to later Israelite scribal textuality in its alphabet, phraseology, and language. Though some would understand these similarities as merely reflecting the use of a common inland version of the Phoenician script,[72] the inscription itself may provide clues to the process of distribution of this inland script tradition. Significant portions of the Stele (especially lines 3–7) describe how Moab achieved liberation from Israel. Significantly, the Stele focuses on Moab's former domination by and liberation from Northern Israel, while biblical traditions suggest that Moab—at least at an earlier point—was dominated by David in Judah (2 Sam 8:2, 12). One could interpret the "Hebrew" scribal features of the stele as a witness to the extension of a scribal system originating in the Northern kingdom to Moab, which it once dominated (see 2 Kings 1:1; 3:4–27). Alternatively, one might understand its shared scribal features with Judah and Israel as a reflection of yet earlier domination during the monarchy of David and Solomon. This latter hypothesis would explain not only the presence of the "Hebrew" script tradition in ninth-century Moab, but also the presence of a similar script in later inscriptions from other areas described in biblical narratives as dominated by David: Edom and Philistia.[73] In either case, the Mesha inscription would be an example of Moabite scribes using the standardized script and other aspects of the scribal system once used to link them to Israel to proclaim their liberation from the socio-political system that once dominated them.

Together, we have a fair amount of indirect ninth-century evidence for some sort of prior tenth-century domination of the region by the house of David. I have already mentioned the striking use of "Hebrew" script in the Mesha inscription, the possible mention of the "house of David" in that inscription, and the presence of similar script in other areas dominated by David. In addition, our other larger

72. Seth L. Sanders, "What Was the Alphabet For? The Rise of Written Vernaculars and the Making of Israelite National Literature," *Maarav* 11 (2004): 55–56.

73. Joseph Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet* (Jerusalem and Leiden: Magnes and Brill, 1982), 100–105; Seymour Gitin, Trude Dothan, and Joseph Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 1–16.

epigraph from this period, the Tel Dan inscription, offers another possible reference to the house of David and (as Seth L. Sanders has stressed) another example of royal discourse that has moved beyond mere labeling to self-description. For Sanders, this represents a vernacular, imitative response by local Levantine rulers to Neo-Assyrian royal textuality,[74] but—in contrast to work by Machinist and others on later periods—Sanders does not adduce specific textual parallels to support this hypothesis (and evidence for ninth-century Neo-Assyrian influence on the region is minimal).[75] Rather, I suggest that whatever imitative/inversive reaction is present in these ninth-century inscriptions from Moab and Syria is against the "house of David" and/or Israel actually mentioned in them. To be sure, as Sanders stresses, we do not have comparable inscriptions from Israel itself, especially from the tenth century, yet as he also acknowledges, the gaps in epigraphic evidence could well be accidental.[76] The examples of extended textuality are so rare and the circumstances of their preservation so haphazard that we are on much better ground interpreting presences in this area than absences.[77] Moreover, insofar as the arguments in the next chapter for a tenth- or ninth-century date for some royal psalms are on target, we probably do have *in the Bible* some remnants (or pale reflections) of the sort of tenth-ninth century Israelite royal literature that stood as a rough early counterpart to the sort of textuality evident in the ninth-century Moabite and Syrian inscriptions.

One additional indicator worth discussion is the similarity in script in Northern and Southern inscriptions, even after the supposed division of the kingdoms. As Renz and others have shown, it is virtually impossible to identify major differences between the script series of Judah and Israel.[78] Though the two kingdoms appear as highly distinct and sometimes hostile entities in the biblical narrative, the epigraphic record suggests a shared scribal tradition, perhaps on the analogy of the related versions of the Sumero-Akkadian tradition found at Nippur, other cities in Southern Iraq, and then later Babylonian, Assyrian, and other cities. It is difficult to know the origins of this shared script tradition. It may be a legacy of the

74. Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 113–22.

75. See Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 216, note 42. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 10 of this book, our attestations of treaty genres in Syria do not suggest mere imposition of Neo-Assyrian textual models, but at least some appropriation of older West Semitic models. In this respect, once again, scholars have been inclined to overinterpret the silences in the epigraphic record (vis-à-vis older West Semitic traditions) in assessing the impact of (better-preserved, cuneiform) Neo-Assyrian evidence.

76. Seth L. Sanders, *Invention*, 138. See note 74, p. 219 for a useful list of four monumental inscriptions discovered in Judah-Israel, one of which may feature a royal name (none of which date to the tenth century).

77. Thus, for example, the Mesha stela was found by chance in a field away from a controlled archaeological context. The Deir Alla plaster inscription that provides such invaluable information about early literary prophecy in the Transjordan was preserved thanks to a highly specific way that the wall on which they were inscribed was destroyed by an earthquake. Even the Tel Dan inscription, though discovered in an archaeological excavation, only became available in the past twenty years. Just previously one could say that no datable inscription even mentioned David, thus leading some to interpret such silence as evidence that he (and Solomon) did not exist.

78. Johannes Renz, *Schrift und Schreibertradition: Eine paläographische Studie zum kulturgeschichtlichen Verhältnis von israelitischem Nordreich und Südreich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997).

monarchy of David and Solomon. Or it could have been an imposition of a specifically Northern script and scribal tradition during the time of the Omrides on its less powerful Southern neighbor, Judah. In either case, this shared script tradition, which persists and is better documented in the eighth century, points to commonalities in the scribal traditions of North and South that balance the Bible's picture of the separation of the kingdoms.

■ CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON TEXTUALITY AND THE STATE IN THE TENTH AND NINTH CENTURIES

The range of archaeological, epigraphic, and biblical evidence surveyed in this chapter gives us an initial basis, however fragmentary, for reexamining the Hebrew Bible for possible remnants of tenth- and ninth-century textuality. Though this chapter has not confirmed claims for a vast state under Solomon or David, it has pointed to evidence of increasing political centralization and institutionalization under those two kings, a process that continued further with the founding of the Northern monarchy and particularly with the rise of the Omride dynasty. This state seems to have encompassed both Judah and Israel along with varying levels of domination of certain areas of the Transjordan, such as Moab, Ammon, Edom, and—possibly at times—some Aramean cities. In both the case of David and Solomon and that of the Omrides, the state had close political ties with Phoenicia, specifically with the Phoenician city-states of Tyre and Sidon. A key difference was a shift in capital from Jerusalem—in the time of David and Solomon—to Samaria—in the time of Omri and his successors.

Not all such states cultivated the use of writing for administration and/or education, but we have seen some epigraphic indicators that these states did. Though the stratigraphic basis for the precise dating of early monarchal inscriptions is uncertain, at the very least one can affirm that an increasing range of inscriptions has been found that can be dated to the tenth or ninth century. Whether potentially connected to some kind of school/practice context (e.g., the Gezer Calendar and Tel Zayit Abecedary), or just used to label pottery items used for storage, these inscriptions show a move beyond the kind of luxury labeling function of many pre-tenth-century inscriptions. Moreover, the use of the Phoenician script in these early inscriptions correlates with the above biblical testimony of links to Phoenicia and probably reflects a new level of standardized scribal training, perhaps featuring additional materials from Phoenicia, that was not evident in earlier alphabetic inscriptions.

This epigraphic evidence combines with biblical evidence for written textuality from the time of David and Solomon onward. Above I have discussed the mention of head scribes in David and Solomon's court (2 Sam 8:17//20:25; 1 Kgs 4:3), the inclusion of writing commissioned by the Phoenician Jezebel in the tale about Naboth (1 Kgs 21:8–14), and the reference in 2 Kings 10 to seventy royal sons being watched by אמנים (originally "teachers"?) in Samaria. In addition, there is the inclusion of a number of lists, especially in the Judean narratives about their own kings, David and Solomon, for example, 2 Sam 3:2–5//1 Chr 3:1–4; 2 Sam 5:14–16//1 Chr 14:4–7; 2 Sam 23:8–39//1 Chr 11:10–47; 1 Kgs 4:2–6, 9–19; 9:15, 17–18.

These sorts of lists of administrative officials and districts are not typically transmitted through exclusively oral means, and several of these particular lists include archaic details, such as names of places unknown in later centuries, that confirm their production in the early monarchal period.[79] Unfortunately, since the Hebrew Bible primarily contains history written by Judean scribes, we lack such lists for the Northern kingdom.

There are some indicators that Egypt played a particularly important role in the genesis of state scribalism in early Judah and Israel. This would make sense, given Egypt's Bronze Age domination of the area and links to local rulers via scribes, the Bible's testimony to some kind of marriage treaty between Solomon and the Egyptian king, and evidence in the lists of David's and Solomon's officials of some modeling of their courts on Egyptian prototypes. Yet there is more specific evidence of Egyptian influence on early highland written textuality. I already have mentioned the potential link to the Egyptian word for scribe in the variant names for David's first scribe (Shavsha' [1 Chr 18:16]/Sherayah [2 Sam 8:17]/Shisha [1 Kgs 4:3]/Sheva [2 Sam 20:25]), and the name of one of this scribe's sons, one of Solomon's scribes, is Egyptian as well—Elihoreph (1 Kgs 4:3). In addition, we have widespread documentation for the use of Egyptian hieratic numerals in later highland inscriptions. Since these numerals were not used in Egypt itself during the time of the later monarchy and do not appear to have been used in Phoenicia at all, they probably were adopted directly from Egypt at an early point in the development of the Judean/Israelite monarchies.[80] Finally, the use of the Egyptian system of red lettering in both Phoenician and later inland texts (e.g., Deir Alla) may point to the influence of the Egyptian writing-scribal system on Phoenicia and Judah-Israel (and nearby areas) from an earlier point.[81]

In sum, though it is difficult to know anything for certain about Judah and Israel of the tenth to ninth centuries, it is plausible to suggest that these early kingdoms developed a preliminary literary system. We must read the biblical evidence critically, and older scholarly models for the development of traditions in the time of David and Solomon are not helpful. Nevertheless, a combination of archaeological and biblical evidence, critically read, suggests the emergence of a new kind of textual system in the tenth and ninth centuries, one built on the Phoenician script (and potentially depending on other elements of the Phoenician system), one influenced in some ways by Egyptian educational-literary prototypes, and one shared between the Southern and Northern highlands, along with some areas of the Transjordan that were dominated at times by Israel-Judah (e.g., Moab). The next chapters will explore how possible it is to identify literary remnants of this textual system in the much later collection of the Hebrew Bible.

79. Nadav Na'aman, "Sources and Composition in the History of David," in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States*, ed. Volkmar Fritz and Philip R. Davies, JSOTSup 228 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 170–72.

80. Na'aman, "Sources and Composition," 172.

81. Chantraine, "Du nom des Phéniciens," 12–15; Edwards and Edwards, "Red Letters"; Delevault and Lemaire, "Inscriptions pheniciennes," 9.

13 Royal Psalms

Locating Judah and Israel's Early Pro-Royal Literature

If one was to look in the Hebrew Bible for remnants of texts from the tenth and ninth centuries, the royal psalms are an obvious place to start: for example, Psalms 2, 18 [//2 Sam 22], 20, 21, 45, 72, 110, 132, 144 and 2 Sam 23:1–7. On the surface, these texts are candidates to be among the first written in Judah and Israel's first monarchies. They do, after all, focus on the importance of the monarchy, and some probably served as legitimations of the monarchy amidst an originally clan-oriented society.

A closer examination, however, will reveal that these psalms illustrate both the opportunities and problems of dating any material in the Hebrew Bible that far back. Many of these psalms were either written in a later time or heavily revised over centuries of transmission. Even those psalms that have the best claim to contain quite early traditions also show signs of shaping over centuries of subsequent oral-written transmission. Moreover, we cannot reconstruct precisely where the early material stops and the later reshaping begins. As we saw in Chapters 2 through 4 of this book, it is often impossible to identify the kind of precise changes that later authors often make to earlier documents without copies of those earlier documents themselves.

Therefore, we must proceed with caution in identifying potential early monarchal materials amidst the royal psalms. Mere identification with the monarchy or with David or Solomon is obviously not enough. Other criteria add to the probability that a given text may be located in the time of Israel's early monarchy. For example, there are some potential reflections in some royal psalms of a form of Egyptian royal ideology that died out in Egypt in the first millennium. These may well be very early Judean and Israelite borrowings of elements of royal ideology from Egypt, either directly or indirectly through Canaanite adaptations of such motifs during the immediately preceding centuries when Egypt controlled Canaan. Conversely, there are elements of some royal psalms that may reflect later Neo-Assyrian royal ideology, and these parts of the royal psalms probably date from a later time in the history of the Judean and Israelite monarchies. Finally, there are some potential intertextual links between some royal psalms and other, more datable texts. These links need to be analyzed to assess the extent to which those texts are indeed connected to the royal psalms in question, and whether those texts are dependent on the royal psalms or vice versa.

PSALMS WITH APPARENT CONNECTIONS TO ENTHRONEMENT

The first group of psalms to be analyzed are a set of five psalms that show probable connections to royal enthronement and other specifically royal rituals: Psalms 2, 21, 45, 72 and 110. Such rituals were likely loci for the preservation of ancient

traditions surrounding the monarchy. Ritual is often a locus for the creation of new texts, and the coordination of text with ritual and social process means that such texts are taught and preserved over time.

Throughout the ancient Near East, we see a richness of texts and images linked with the enthronement of the monarch. Enthronement was a major occasion for the reinforcement of the monarchy and legitimation of the new king. For example, Egyptian traditions about the Pharaoh/king depicted him as conceived and made in the divine image by the sun-god Re, sitting on the throne of Horus or Re and/or sitting at the god's right hand to rule the world. The gods equip him with long life, health, and happiness, as well as different implements with which to rule the world, including the shepherd's staff that he is depicted as using to scatter the forces of chaos and destroy Egypt's enemies.[1] A second millennium Assyrian enthronement tradition has the priests proclaim that the gods, Ashur and Ninlil, have given the new king long life and rule, urge the king to expand his land with his scepter, and ask the gods on his behalf for authority, obedience, concord, justice, and peace.[2] Later Assyrian royal traditions surrounding Ashurbanipal have him claim that the gods shaped and guided him for rule over all inhabited lands (SAA 3), and a coronation hymn for him asks Shamash to give the king eloquence, understanding, truth, justice, and long life, blessing the land with fertility.[3] Unfortunately, we do not have specific enthronement and other royal traditions from ancient Canaan. Nevertheless, the ancient Canaanite literature that we do have preserves royal traditions analogous to those seen in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, such as Anat's call in the Ugaritic Aqhat epic for the royal heir, Aqhat, to: "ask life, Aqhat, . . . ask life and I will give you immortality" (VI:26–28). This resembles the central emphasis in both Egyptian and Mesopotamian traditions on ensuring the long life of the king.

Psalm 2 shares features with many of these and other non-biblical royal traditions. Past scholars have noticed a particular link to Bronze Age Egyptian traditions in the king's first-person report of Yhwh's "decree" (חק) in 2:7–9, announcing that the king is Yhwh's son, offering to fulfill the king's every wish for military victory, and predicting that he will "shepherd" them with an iron staff, shattering them like pottery.[4] The above-mentioned Egyptian traditions put a particular emphasis on the king's legitimation to rule by his descent from the sun-god Re, and Egyptian depictions of royal coronations include Thoth presenting the king a written decree containing the five throne names that define his authority, a list concluded with the all-important final designation "son of Re-name." In addition, multiple Egyptian rituals feature the shattering of pottery as a symbol of defeat of

1. Klaus Koch, "Der König als Sohn Gottes in Ägypten und Israel," in "*Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 3–11.

2. The original publication is MAVG 41/1 col. II:30–36. The translation used here by Alasdair Livingstone is from COS I:472.

3. The hymn is published now as SAA 3,11. A separate English translation is in COS I:473.

4. For a discussion of "shepherding" with a scepter, see G. Wilhelmi, "Der Hirt mit dem eisernen Szepter," *VT* 27 (1977): 196–204.

enemies or the forces of chaos.[5] In sum, Ps 2:7–9 features a particular density of resonances with Bronze Age Egyptian royal ideology, suggesting that the "decree" quoted in Ps 2:7–9 may come from an ancient part of the Judean royal ritual formed on the model of parts of the Egyptian enthronement ceremony or a pre-Israelite enthronement ritual influenced by it in turn.

Not all elements of Psalm 2, however, are necessarily early. As summarized in Chapter 10 of this book, Becking and Otto have found Neo-Assyrian motifs in Ps 2:1–3 and 9b. Such common motifs in Neo-Assyrian texts and biblical texts *might* be an indicator of eighth- and seventh-century influence of Neo-Assyrian ideology on biblical texts or it might just be a reflection of the fact that we have more broad attestation of Neo-Assyrian royal ideology than for other cultures, so that such motifs—the pottery breaking in 2:9b and rebellion of peoples in 2:1–3—are not usable as specific dating indicators. Be that as it may, there is a good chance that several parts of Psalm 2 are relatively late, especially since Psalm 2 now stands along with Psalm 1 as part of a late introduction to the Psalter. Though the psalm may contain early materials in verses 7–9 and the divine proclamation in Ps 2:6, there are fewer indicators that would suggest early dating for the rest of the psalm.

Psalm 110 may contain more ancient material. The "oracle" quoted in 110:1 (cf. Num 24:3–4, 15–16 and 2 Sam 23:1) contains potential echoes of ancient Egyptian royal traditions, such as the divine proclamation that the king sit at Yhwh's right hand (110:1) and the possible reflection in the obscure third verse of the Egyptian sun-god's conception of the king by enveloping his mother with aroma/dew: "from the womb of the dawn, I fathered you like dew."[6] In addition, Yhwh's oath of an eternal priesthood by the order of Melkizedeq/melkizedeq (elsewhere a non-Israelite figure) is not the kind of thing that would be created by later Judean authors. This verse (Ps 110:4) probably reflects the early need for legitimation of the Judean king as high priest (see Ps 132:1–10 and 1 Sam 13:9; 2 Sam 6:13–18; 24:17; 1 Kgs 8:14, 56) in a non-state Israelite culture where priestly functions had been performed by others. Klaus Koch has proposed that the author of this psalm understood the expression "melkizedeq" as "king of righteousness," and meant it to reflect the Judean king's priestly responsibility to offer up his people's righteousness daily to Yhwh much as the Egyptian Pharaoh, as supreme priest of his land, offered up his people's *maat*/right actions to Re each day.[7] This Judean placement of "righteousness" in the place of the Egyptian *maat,* as described by Koch, is found throughout the area of Judah and Israel in the centuries just prior to the emergence of the Judean-Israelite monarchy.[8] Overall, this psalm, with its apparent archaic

5. Recent surveys of the data can be found in Koch, "Sohn Gottes," 11–15 and Eckart Otto, "Politische Theologie in den Königspsalmen zwischen Ägypten und Assyrien: Die Herrscherlegitimation in den Psalmen 2 und 18 in ihren altorientalischen Kontexten," in "*Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 34–44.

6. Rudolf Kilian, "Der 'Tau' in Ps 110,3—ein Missverständnis?" *ZAW* 102 (1990): 417–19; Koch, "Sohn Gottes," 16–20.

7. Koch, "Sohn Gottes," 20–23.

8. Klaus Koch, "Sädäq und Ma'at," in *Gerechtigkeit: richten und Retten in der abendländischen Tradition und ihren altorientalischen Ursprüngen*, ed. Jan Assmann, Bernd Janowski, and Michael Wleker (Munich: Fink, 1998), 63–64.

references (see, e.g., the drinking/anointing at the spring in 110:7; cf. 1 Kgs 1:33–34, 38–39), does not look like the kind of composition typical of later periods of Judean history. Even though it, like Psalm 2, probably was introduced as an isolated "Davidic psalm" to the fifth book of the Psalter at a late point and may include Neo-Assyrian and later elements alongside earlier ones, Psalm 110 is one of the better candidates for containing remnants of Judah's most ancient monarchal traditions.[9]

The royal thanksgiving song in Psalm 21 does not have the same volume of specific, potential links to non-biblical royal ideologies, but it does combine some such links with apparent references to the Judean enthronement ritual. The initial praise of Yhwh for equipping the king for rule (Ps 21:2–7 [ET 21:1–6]), starts with a reference, resembling Ps 2:8, to Yhwh's gift of whatever the king wants (21:3 [ET 21:2]). In a recent article, Sheveka has noted that this reference includes an apparent borrowing into Hebrew of an idiom for fulfilling any request that is seen in Akkadian diplomatic correspondence found at (Egyptian) Amarna, including the use of a Hebrew word אֹרֶשׁת for "request," which appears to derive from an Akkadian root for request/desire (*erēšu*; cf. שׁאל in Hebrew).[10] The following section includes several references to the enthronement of the king, referring to his crowning with gold (21:4 [ET 21:3]; see 2 Sam 12:30).[11] Using words reminiscent of Anat's offer of long life to Aqhat, the text moves to thanksgiving to Yhwh for fulfilling the king's request for long life (21:5 [ET 21:4]). It then refers to Yhwh setting on the king "splendor and majesty" (הוד והדר), a possible reference to the placement on the king of royal garments of glory (21:6 [ET 21:5]; cf. Ps 45:3–4 [ET 45:2–3]) so that he would be an earthly reflection of god's glory (Ps 104:1; Job 40:10).[12] Then the psalm refers to the appearance of the installed king before Yhwh (21:7 [ET 21:6]), a central part of many ancient Near Eastern enthronement rituals. With the king thus installed, this psalm, like Psalms 2 (2:8–9) and 110 (110:5–6), concludes with a picture of the king destroying his enemies (Ps 21:9–13 [ET 21:8–12]). To be sure, as it stands now, this second section of Psalm 21 seems to be addressed to Yhwh, looking toward Yhwh's immanent victory over enemies (see especially 21:14 [ET 21:13]). Nevertheless, the promises in Ps 21:9 [ET 21:10] and 21:12 [ET 21:11] that the addressee will prevail over foes seem more fitting as promises to a human king rather than a divine warrior,[13] and the focus on the king

9. For a survey focusing on Assyrian parallels, see John Hilber, "Psalm 110 in the Light of Assyrian Prophecies," *VT* 53 (2003): 353–66. For discussion of the peripheral placement of Psalm 110 amidst the subcollections of the Psalter, see especially Klaus Koch, "Königpsalmen und ihr ritueller Hintergrund: Erwängungen zu Ps. 89, 20–38 und Ps. 20 und ihren Vorstufen," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 14, 16–17.

10. Ari Sheveka, "A Trace of the Tradition of Diplomatic Correspondence in Royal Psalms," *JSS* 50 (2005): 297–305.

11. For discussion of the ancient association of gold with eternal/long life in this psalm, see W. Quintens, "La vie du roi dans le Psaume 21," *Bib* 59 (1978): 528–39.

12. Oswald Loretz, "Pap Amherst 63—Einführung, Text und Übersetzung von 12, 11–19," in *Die Königspsalmen: Die altorientalisch-kanaanäische Königstradition in jüdischer Sicht (Teil 1: Pss 20, 21, 72, 101, und 144)*, Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur 6 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 1988), 95.

13. Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Die Psalmen*, Neue Echter Bibel 29 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993), 140.

throughout the rest of the psalm and the parallel placement of this section in comparison with similar anticipations of royal victory in Psalms 2 and 110 strengthen the case that 21:9–13 [ET 21:8–12] were originally addressed to the king before being redirected toward Yhwh through the addition of the praise of Yhwh in 21:14 [ET 21:13] and possible other changes.[14] Overall, the bulk of the psalm echoes elements of ancient royal ideology seen in various contexts, from the hymn of Thutmoses IV[15] to requests for long life at Ugarit and more recent northwest Semitic royal inscriptions. These echoes, along with parallels to major elements of other potential early royal psalms, make Psalm 21 another probable source of Judah's most ancient royal traditions.

Psalm 45 adds to elements typical of enthronement psalms—such as Psalm 21—an evocation of a royal wedding. Just as Ps 21:6 [ET 21:5] referred to the king being clothed with godlike "splendor and glory," so 45:3 [ET 45:2] speaks of the king's super-human beauty and blessed speech, and calls on him to gird himself with a sword and "splendor and glory."[16] Where Ps 21:13 [ET 21:12] pictured the king aiming his bow at his enemies, Ps 45:5–6 [ET 45:4–5] envisions the king shooting down his enemies from a chariot. Going beyond assertions of divine sonship in Ps 2:7 and possibly Ps 110:3, the praise of the king in Ps 45:7 [ET 45:6] seems to equate him with god: "your throne, oh God, endures forever." The psalm also includes assertions of the king's righteousness and defense of the poor (Ps 45:5 [ET 45:4] and 7b-8a [ET 6b-7a]), prominent themes throughout Near Eastern royal ideology. The psalm goes on to describe Yhwh's reward of his righteous rule with a happy life featuring music from ivory palaces and a large and glorious harem (45:8b-9 [ET 7b-8]), before including the above-mentioned evocation of a royal wedding: a speech comforting his bride to be (45:11–13aα1–2 [ET 45:10–12a]),[17] a description of the wedding procession (45:14aα3–16 [ET 45:13–15]), and concluding promise of princely sons and a great name throughout the earth (45:17–18 [ET 45:16–17]). Some have seen possible indicators of

14. See, for example, Loretz, "Königspsalmen," 91–92; Hermann Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart: Eine Theologie der Psalmen*, FRLANT 148 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 211 and Klaus Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, HAT I/15 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1996), 92, which also see 21:8 [ET 21:7] as an addition and possible changes in 21:10 [ET 21:9] as well.

15. Quintens, "Psaume 21," 521–23.

16. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 218–19.

17. Erich Zenger in Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen I*, 278–79 advances the idea that Ps 45:11–16 [ET 45:10–15] is a later expansion of an earlier royal psalm, meant to evoke daughter Zion as the spouse of the messianic king. The main promptings for this thesis are: (1) a shift in metric structure; (2) a supposed conflict between the evocation of the harem in 45:8b-9 [ET 45:7b-8] and the speech to the apparent bride in 45:11–13aα1–2 [ET 45:10–12a]; (3) a seen conflict between the warlike imagery of Ps 45:4–6 [ET 45:3–5] and the wedding imagery in this section; and (4) the way Ps 45:11–16 [ET 45:10–15] seems to interrupt a focus on the king before and after it. Nevertheless, it is doubtful that ancient poets would have perceived the same conflict between a royal harem and a focus on a bride-to-be, or between warlike imagery for the king in one section and a focus on his glorious wedding in another. Moreover, shifts in meter are a shaky basis on which to posit expansions, as are shifts in focus. Finally, there is no hint in Ps 45:11–16 [ET 45:10–15] of a focus on a collective "daughter of Zion." Therefore, this theory, in my view, seems a far-fetched solution to elements that are not really problems in the psalm.

Northern origins for the psalm, particularly in the reference to "palaces of ivory" (45:9 [ET 45:8]), and this is certainly possible.[18] Nevertheless, ivory is described as a luxury item in Solomon's time as well (1 Kgs 10:18), and an earlier Judean poet could likewise have used the term to evoke the wealth of the enthroned king. Moreover, the reference to the "daughter of Tyre" (Ps 45:13 [ET 45:12]) fits the time of David and Solomon better than the time of Omri and Ahab, whose primary Phoenician relations were with Sidon, not Tyre.[19] Be that as it may, this psalm's initial mention of "the pen of a skilled scribe" (עט סופר מהיר 45:2 [ET 45:1]) uses a term מהיר ("skilled") that links it to an ancient Egyptian instruction (Anastasi I 18:4) along with an early part of Proverbs based on another Egyptian instruction (Prov 22:29 in Prov 22:17–23:11, a loose adaptation of Amenemope).[20] This and the above-discussed parallels to ancient royal psalms suggest that Psalm 45 likewise contains much ancient material as well. It is probably another text from the early monarchal period.

At first glance, Psalm 89 is not a good candidate for preserving material from the early monarchal period. Certain parts of the psalm share specific wording with the Deuteronomistic narrative of Nathan's oracle to David (especially Ps 89:4–5 [ET 89:3–4]//2 Sam 7:13, 16 and 89:29 [ET 89:28]//2 Sam 7:15), and—as argued in Chapter 8 of this book—the final lament over destruction of the kingship in 89:39–53 [ET 89:38–52] links better with the time of exile than the period of David and Solomon or the early Northern monarchy. Nevertheless, scholars repeatedly have identified blocks of potentially early material in the psalm as well. Not only does the first half of the psalm contain a potential early hymn of Northern origin (Ps 89:6–18 [ET 89:5–17]), but a manuscript from Qumran may aid in the reconstruction of an earlier form of the royal oracle quoted in the second half of the Psalm (89:20–38 [ET 89:19–37]). A particularly ancient copy of portions of Psalm 89 found in cave 4, 4QPs^{x} (formerly 4Q236, now 4Q98^{g}), seems to preserve an independent version of this part of the psalm. It features multiple memory variants when compared with the extant versions of the psalm (e.g., מן עם versus MT מעם in 89:20 [ET 89:19]), a shift in placement of the equivalent to 89:23 [ET 89:22]) and no parallels to 89:24–25 [ET 89:23–24], 89:27b [ET 89:26b], and most of 89:29–30 [ET 89:28–29]. Though some, predominantly Skehan, have argued that 4QPs^{x} is a late school exercise with typical student errors, others, such as Glessner, have noted several indicators that this text may preserve one of the sources used to create Psalm 89.[21] To start with, 4QPs^{x} is a separate copy of the

18. See most recently Gary Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms*, SBLMS 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 45–49 citing earlier literature.

19. Cf. Seybold, *Psalmen*, 185, which takes this reference as an indicator of the Northern origins of the psalm.

20. Rendsburg, *Psalms*, 46. The parallels of Prov 22:17–23:13 to the Instruction of Amenemope will be discussed in the next chapter. By itself, מהיר is no decisive argument for antiquity, since it is used in later texts as well. The same term מהיר is also used to refer to the qualities of an ideal king in Isa 16:5 and to Ezra's skills in Ezra 7:6.

21. This was proposed in the initial publication of the text by J. T. Milik ("Fragment d'une source du Psautier [4QPs89] et fragments de Jubilés, du Document de Damas, d'un phylactère dans la Grotte 4 de Qumran," *RB* 73 [1966]: 94–104), whose basic assessment is followed and further justified in Uwe

oracle quoted in Ps 89:20ff. [ET 89:19ff.]. One would not predict that a student copy of a psalm would start in the middle of a psalm. Instead, its beginning better fits a copy of an oracular source of the psalm. Furthermore, the portions of Psalm 89 that 4QPs^{x} preserves tend to be ones that have less in common with the oracle of Nathan in 2 Sam 7:1–16, while the parts of biblical Psalm 89 that 4QPs^{x} lacks build more connections to that oracle. This would fit the phenomenon of scribal coordination/harmonization noted in Chapters 2 and 3 of this book. In this case, 4QPs^{x} seems to represent an independent tradition regarding Yhwh's covenant with David, while the biblical Psalm 89 is a partial harmonization of that oracle with the Deuteronomistic oracle of Nathan in 2 Sam 7:1–16, through the addition of further parallels to that oracle in 89:29–30 [ET 89:28–29] and an additional focus on David through the addition of a third masculine singular suffix in Ps 89:22 [ET 89:21; cf. 4QPs^{x} 4]. If 4QPs^{x} were later, as Skehan and others have held, it would represent a striking *de*harmonization and abbreviation of its biblical parallel, both actions uncommon in documented cases of transmission.

In sum, 4QPs^{x} seems to be an early royal oracle preserved in different and later form in Ps 89:20ff. [ET 89:19ff.]. If so, this oracle stands as another royal text with many features in common with enthronement psalms discussed so far. Like Ps 21:4 [ET 21:3], the oracle in 4QPs^{x} starts with a reference to the crowning and anointing of the king: שת עו[זר על] ג[בור הרימותי ב]חר מן עם...מן שמן קדשי שויתי :על־גבור הרימותי בחור מעם...בשמן קדשי משחתיו//[משחתיו]: "I set a helper on the warrior, I have exalted the chosen one from the people…with my holy oil I have anointed him" (4QPs^{x} 1–4//Ps 89:20–21 [ET 89:19–20]). The oracle then proclaims that *David's* hand will establish and strengthen the audience (4QPs^{x} 4–5), where the biblical version of the psalm assert that *God's hand* will strengthen *the people* (Ps 89:22 [ET 89:21]). The rest of the oracle includes promises of divine preference and military assistance that have been central to the above-discussed enthronement psalms: world domination (4QPs^{x} 5–6//Ps 89:26 [ET 89:25]; see Pss 2:8; 110:5–6), overcoming of enemies (4QPs^{x} 6//Ps 89:23 [ET 89:22]; see Pss 2:9; 110:1–2a, 5–6; 21:9–13 [ET 21:8–12]; 45:4–6 [ET 45:3–5]), and divine parenthood (4QPs^{x} 7–8//Ps 89:27a, 28 [ET 89:26a, 27]; see Pss 2:6; 110:3b). The last portion of the text may contain a text corresponding to the psalm's threat to punish the king's sons if they abandon God's Torah (אם יעזבו 4QPs^{x} 8//Ps 89:31–33 [ET 89:30–32]; cf. 2 Sam 7:14; Ps 132:12), but the biblical threat may be a transformation of a saying in 4QPs^{x}8ff. that originally spoke of what would happen if the "kings of the earth" did something wrong. The main element in the oracle without parallel in the other texts discussed so far is its probable mention—within the body of the oracle—of

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Glessner, "Das Textwachstum von Ps 89," *BN* 65 (1992): 55–73; Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Peter Flint, *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 163–64; and Koch, "Königspsalmen," 19–32. Skehan's arguments can be found in Patrick W. Skehan, "Gleanings from Psalm Texts from Qumrân," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor, AOAT 212 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 439–45, while J. P. M. van der Ploeg sees the text as part of a collection of messianic testimonia ("Le sens et un problème textuel du Ps LXXXIX," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor, AOAT 212 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981], 471–81).

David, the founder of the Judean dynasty (restored at the outset of 4QPs^{x} 3//Ps 89:21 [ET 89:20]). This would distinguish both the oracle preserved in 4QPs^{x} and that in Psalm 89 from the royal texts discussed so far. Notably, this focus on David appears to have been enhanced in the biblical version through mention of Yhwh's "covenant" with him (Ps 89:29 [ET 89:28]; cf. 89:4–5 [ET 89:3–4]—no parallel to either in 4QPs^{x}).

The last text with potential connections to enthronement is Psalm 72, a prayer for Yhwh to give the king god's justice so that he may judge the people righteously and bring fertility to the land. The idea of the king gaining justice from the state god is prominent in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, as is the idea that the king mediates divine fertility.[22] More specifically, the formulation of the request for the king to have long life like the sun and moon (72:5) resembles ancient Mesopotamian formulations.[23] Nevertheless, many would dispute that all or part of the psalm dates from the early monarchal period. Some have argued that parts of the psalm—especially the picture of worldwide dominion in 72:8–11 and parts of 72:15 and 17—are post-exilic additions to the psalm that postdate similar texts in Gen 12:3; 15:18; Isa 49:7, 23; 60:6, 14; Zech 9:9–10.[24] Furthermore, Martin Arneth has argued that even the other parts of the psalm are a late monarchal, Judean adaptation of the prayer at Ashurbanipal's coronation (SAA 3, 11).[25] Both sets of arguments, however, are based on tenuous assertions of genetic intertextuality that do not hold up under scrutiny. The textual connections that feature enough verbal overlap to suggest a genuine relationship of dependence—for example, Ps 72:8 and Zech 9:10b or Ps 72:17 and Gen 12:2–3—are more easily understood as places where royal motifs found in Ps 72:8, 17 were imported into post-monarchic contexts in

22. For typical surveys, see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen II*, 5th ed., BKAT 15/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 657–59 [ET Vol. 2, 77–79]; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005 [original 2000]), 210–13 and Bernd Janowski, "Die Frucht der Gerechtigkeit: Psalm 72 und die judäische Königsideologie," in "*Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 114–20 (cf. *Stellvertretung: Alttestamentliche Studien zu einem theologischen Grundbegriff*, SBS 165 [Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1997], 58–64).

23. Shalom Paul, "Psalm 72:5—A Traditional Blessing for the Long Life of the King," *JNES* 31 (1972): 351–55.

24. One of the most extensive recent arguments for this can be found in Erich Zenger, "'Es sollen sich niederwerfen vor ihm alle Könige' (Ps 72,11): Redaktionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Psalm 72 und zum Programm des messianischen Psalters Ps 2–89," in "*Mein Sohn bist du" (Ps 2,7): Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002), 66–70; summarized in Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 208. Note also Martin Arneth, "*Sonne der Gerechtigkeit": Studien zur Solarisierung der Jahwe-Religion im Lichte von Psalm 72*, BZAR 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 29–39 (summarized in "Psalm 72 in seinen altorientalischen Kontexten," in "*Mein Sohn bist du" [Ps 2,7]: Studien zu den Königspsalmen*, ed. Eckart Otto and Erich Zenger [Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2002], 150–51; note also Janowski, "Frucht der Gerechtigkeit," 105). These more recent treatments build on a host of earlier commentators, who isolated Ps 89:8–11 [ET 89:7–10] in particular as later. For surveys of this earlier scholarship, see Loretz, "Königspsalmen," 108–109 and Arneth, *Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, 27–28.

25. Arneth, *Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, 71–78, summarized and refined in his article, "Psalm 72," 155–64.

Zechariah, Genesis, and later parts of Isaiah, not vice versa.[26] The more specific structural and numerological connections proposed by Arneth for Psalm 72 and Ashurbanipal's coronation hymn seem forced.[27] Rather than standing as a late monarchal Judean adaptation of Ashurbanipal's hymn, Psalm 72 instead seems to be part of a broader stream of Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and other royal traditions that focus on the king as the bringer of justice and fertility. These ancient non-biblical royal traditions likewise feature grandiose claims of dominion, tribute, and fame, integral elements of the psalm (e.g. Ps 72:8–11).[28] What is striking in this instance is the lack of explicit warlike imagery in Psalm 72, something otherwise present in all of the Judean-Israelite royal psalms considered thus far.[29] In this respect, Psalm 72 is parallel to some non-biblical royal coronation texts that are likewise less specific about the king's impending military accomplishments (such as the middle and later Assyrian coronation traditions: e.g., MVAG 41 1 and SAA 3, 11), envisioning the king's future reign as characterized by the voluntary gift of tribute rather than the violent establishment of order over chaos.[30]

In sum, there is good reason to believe that all or part of Psalms 2, 21, 45, 72, 89, and 110 preserve royal traditions from Judah and Israel's earliest monarchal past. Though some psalms seem to have entered the Psalter relatively late (e.g., Pss 2, 110 and the oracle in 89), and certain parts of them (e.g., Ps 2:1–3) may have been molded to fit later royal ideological (Neo-Assyrian) models, the bulk of these texts

26. See already on this point, Arneth, "Psalm 72," 164–65 (note 63) and the more general methodological point made in Koch, "Königspsalmen," 42 (including note 80). Note also some additional linguistic and other arguments for a late dating of Psalm 72 as a whole summarized in Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, FOTL 15 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 67–68. See chapters 4 and 15 of this book for discussion of the use of Aramaisms of the sort that Gerstenberger sees in this psalm for dating texts. The other considerations raised by Gerstenberger are less arguments for a late dating than worthwhile proposals for how the present psalm might have been understood and used in Persian-period Judah.

27. See, for example, Janowski's reservations about Arneth's proposed structure of Psalm 72 (Janowski, "Frucht der Gerechtigkeit," 106–107). Arneth proposes that a similar number of lines in the "concretization" portion of both psalms clinches the argument for genetic dependence ("Psalm 72," 161; cf. Arneth, *Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, 77), but this proposal fails to reckon with the reality that the content of the similarly numbered lines is quite different.

28. One of the ironies of Zenger and Hossfeld's transmission-historical proposal is that they eliminate the crucial international element from the psalm, thus making it less parallel to texts they otherwise compare the psalm to.

29. This lack of warlike imagery may have been one factor that led to the unusual attribution of this psalm to Solomon as opposed to David, since Solomon seems to have been remembered as a less martial king than David. Another factor may have been the focus of the psalm on the well-being (שלום) of the land, since Solomon's name comes from the root of the word שלום. Psalm 127, the only other psalm connected to Solomon, likewise connects to his distinctive profile. In this case, the psalm's focus on building links with Solomon's major achievement in building the temple, while its emphasis on faithfulness and dynastic concerns may also imply that his purported later lack of piety led to the failure of his sons to perpetuate his kingdom.

30. This emphasis on more peaceful strands of royal ideology, in turn, corresponds with the psalm's association with Solomon in the superscription. As others have observed, this could be taken as evidence of a Solomonic dating, but such correspondence also could have been a prompt to associate this less warlike psalm with Solomon, whose name comes from the root for "peace" and was not associated with major military conquests.

correlate with features of pre-Israelite royal ideology and have good claim to be among Judah's earliest written literature, a literature written to envision and script the social transition toward the monarchy in general and from one monarch to another in particular.

■ OTHER PSALMS WITH POTENTIAL CONNECTIONS TO THE EARLY MONARCHY

The balance of this chapter will look at other poems often included in the "royal psalm" category, considering whether parts or all of them may be connected to the early monarchy. These psalms—Pss 18 (//2 Samuel 22), 20, 132, 144 and 2 Sam 23:1–7—well illustrate the complicated methodological problems in reconstructing the earliest literature of Judah and Israel.

The prayer for victory for the king in Psalm 20 is a particularly clear illustration of the issues involved. On the one hand, the psalm contains some elements reminiscent of probable early monarchal psalms discussed above, such as the overall military emphasis and the idea of God fulfilling the king's requests (Ps 20:5 [ET 20:4]; see Pss 2:8; 21:5 [ET 21:4]; also 1 Kgs 3:5). On the other hand, scholars long have recognized ways that its repeated invocation of the "name" of God (20:2, 6, 8 [ET 20:1, 5, 7]) and critique of reliance on military resources (20:8–9 [ET 20:7–8]) resemble motifs seen in later Deuteronomic and prophetic literature.[31]

An added piece of data now is the collective prayer for deliverance in Demotic script found in the Amherst Papyrus 63 12,11–19 (hereafter usually Pap Amherst), which parallels many parts of the psalm, though it is also distinctive in important ways.[32] The two psalms are parallel in an initial request that Yhwh/YH answer in a day of trouble/siege (20:2 [ET 20:1]//12,11), though Ps 20:2 [ET 20:1] asks for such help for an individual, while Pap Amherst 12,11 asks for such help for a group—a difference that is continued throughout the rest of the text. Furthermore, Pap Amherst 12,11 lacks the "name" theology seen in Ps 20:2 [ET 20:1], and 12,12–13 features additional requests that Adonay likewise provide such help (such expansion through duplication is documented elsewhere) and an additional line about the moon whose meaning remains unclear. The next parallel is between requests that Yhwh send help from a location, though Pap Amherst 12,14 asks for help from Zaphon (a Northern mountain with mythical associations) and Resh, while Ps 20:3 [ET 20:2] asks for help from Zion and adds a request that Yhwh remember

31. For a good example, see Erich Zenger in Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen I*, 135.

32. Early publication in S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, "An Aramaic Hymn from the Fourth Century B.C," *BibOr* 39 (1982): 501–509 and F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 261–74. The following discussion is dependent in particular on the following treatments: Klaus Smelik, "The Origin of Psalm 20," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 75–81; Moshe Weinfeld, "The Pagan Version of Psalm 20:2–6: Vicissitudes of a Psalmodic Creation in Israel and Its Neighbors [Hebrew]," *EI* 18 (1985): 130–40; Ziony Zevit, "The Common Origin of the Aramaized Prayer to Horus and of Psalm 20," *JAOT* 110 (1990): 213–28; Martin Rösel, "Israels Psalmen in Ägypten? papyrus Amherst 63 und die Psalmen XX und LXXV," *VT* 50 (2000): 81–99 and Koch, "Königspsalmen," 32–45.

the king's offerings. The next major parallel is between the two requests in Ps 20:5–6 [ET 20:4–5] that Yhwh fulfill the king's every wish—one of the main elements of royal ideology in Psalm 20—and two requests in Pap Amherst 12,14–15 that YH fulfill the group's wishes. In this case, these lines in Pap Amherst 12,14–15, like those in 12,12–13, feature additional requests that YH and Adonay fulfill every wish of the community. Meanwhile, there is no parallel in Pap Amherst to either the anticipation of thanksgiving "in the name of our God" (בשם אלהינו) in 20:6a [ET 20:5a] or the striking first-person recognition in 20:7 [ET 20:6] that the psalmist now knows Yhwh will answer Yhwh's anointed, one of the most explicitly royal aspects of Psalm 20. The text parallels continue with assurances that the group relies on Yhwh, not weapons, even as we see typical oral-written semantic exchange in the types of weapons named: "chariots and horses" in 20:8 [ET 20:7] and "bow and spear" in Pap Amherst 12,16. Moreover, Ps 20:9 [ET 20:8] contains an extra prediction that the community relying on Yhwh will succeed while those who rely on weapons will fail. Finally, where Ps 20:10 [ET 20:9] concludes with a request that Yhwh help the king, Pap Amherst 12,17–18 contains petitions that the deities Bethel and Baal-Shamen bless the community.

Though early treatments tended to assert that Pap Amherst 63 12,11–19 was dependent on Psalm 20 or vice versa, recent discussions have suggested a more complex picture.[33] Both texts appear to contain early elements, as well as later expansions and/or adaptations of material they hold in common. Overall, it is probable that the royal elements of Psalm 20 are early. As Koch has suggested, it is more likely that a royal version more like Psalm 20 was democratized to focus on a group in post-monarchic times than that a group petition more like Pap Amherst 63 12,11–19 was made into a royal psalm in later periods.[34] This would explain not only the overall focus on the group in Pap Amherst, but also the absence of any mention of the king in Pap Amherst's parallel to Ps 20:9 [ET 20:8] and the absence of any parallel at all to the assurance of Yhwh's help for his anointed in Ps 20:7 [ET 20:6]. The only parallel to royal ideology in Psalm 20 is the expansive request in Pap Amherst 12,14–15 that Yhwh and Adonay fulfill the community's wishes (//Ps 20:5, 6b [ET 20:4, 5b]). Thus, Pap Amherst may represent a de-royalized (and Aramaized) form of what was originally a Hebrew royal psalm. Yet not all aspects of Pap Amherst may be later than their counterparts in Psalm 20. Pap Amherst may preserve a form of the psalm before the name theology in Ps 20:2, 6, 8 [ET 20:1, 5, 7] and perhaps the petition about sacrifice (Ps 20:4 [ET 20:3]) were added. Moreover, some would argue that Pap Amherst witnesses to an originally Northern form of the psalm focusing on Northern loci (e.g., Zaphon) and deities (Bethel, Baal Shamen) before it was adapted for use in Judah through a focus on Zion.[35]

33. Though the song in Pap Amherst 63 12,11–19 was thought to be originally Aramaic, it turns out that the Aramaic elements are fairly superficial and its substructure appears to be Hebrew (Zevit, "Common Origin," 224). On the deity addressed by the prayer, see in particular Rösel, "Israels Psalmen in Ägypten?" 90–93.

34. Koch, "Königspsalmen," 36–45.

35. Weinfeld, "Pagan Version of Psalm 20:2–6," 131–33; Zevit, "Common Origin," 224–25; Rösel, "Israels Psalmen in Ägypten?" 97.

On this point, one also could argue that Psalm 20 preserves the originally Judean form of the royal psalm before it was adapted for communal Northern use.

These reflections highlight the difficulties of achieving clarity on the origins of a psalm, even in a case where we have an additional witness to the text, in this case, Pap Amherst 63 12,11–19, that might be used to reconstruct its prehistory. In cases of memory variants, such as the divergence between "bow and spear" in Pap Amherst 12,16 and "chariot and horses" in Ps 20:8 [ET 20:7], it is difficult to be sure which variant was earlier or whether another similar expression lies behind both. At the very least, it would be completely impossible to reconstruct a common precursor to Psalm 20 and Pap Amherst 12,11–19 on the basis of either text alone. Indeed, it is impossible to achieve certainty even with both texts present. At the most, Psalm 20 may be an early Judean or Israelite royal psalm that has experienced quite different adaptations in the process of its oral-written transmission in Southern and Northern contexts.[36]

The other psalms to be considered here, Psalms 18 (//2 Samuel 22), 132, and 144, along with 2 Sam 23:1–7, all share connections to materials in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets or other later materials. As such, they present similar methodological challenges to the treatment of Psalm 89, whose biblical form features some specific parallels to the Deuteronomistic oracle of Nathan in 2 Sam 7:1–16. In these cases, however, we do not have potential earlier, non-Deuteronomistic recensions of the psalms analogous to 4QPs^{x}. Instead, we must work exclusively from the biblical versions of the royal songs to see whether any preserve pre-Deuteronomistic, early monarchal material.

2 Sam 23:1–7 is the best candidate for preserving such early monarchal material, though parts of it have been taken as reflecting Deuteronomistic or post-Deuteronomistic editing. In particular, the poem mentions a concept, a divine "covenant" with David, that is otherwise attested in late or potentially late texts (Pss 89:4, 29, 35, 40 [ET 89:3, 28, 34, 39; not in 4QPs^{x}]; 132:12; Isa 55:3; Jer 33:20–21; 2 Chr 13:5; 21:7). Moreover, the poem's emphasis on the king's righteousness (2 Sam 23:3b) and its generalized attack on the "godless" (2 Sam 23:6–7) have been seen by some as signs of lateness. Others have pointed out, however, the ways in which David's assertion of righteousness in the poem contrasts with his behavior and confessions earlier in 2 Samuel.[37] In addition, the psalm's solar imagery for the king resembles solar motifs seen in ancient pre-biblical royal ideology (e.g. Egypt, Hatti) and early psalms (e.g., Ps 72:5; 110:3).[38] These considerations suggest that the poem in 2 Sam 23:1–7 may be non- and possibly pre-Deuteronomistic. It featured enough elements *compatible* with Deuteronomistic ideology to be included in the appendices at the end of Samuel, but it did not develop these emphases in the same way.

36. Indeed, if Pap Amherst 63 12,11–19, in fact, is an example of the subtraction of royal elements from a psalm like Psalm 20, it may document a process by which non-royal psalms now found in the psalter may once have had royal foci before they, also, were likewise de-royalized, even as it is now impossible to determine which ones underwent such a process.

37. Hans-Joachim Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, KAT 8/2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994), 492.

38. P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel*, AB 8 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 483–84.

It is more difficult to establish pre-Deuteronomistic origins for the other texts often included in the list of "royal psalms": Psalms 18 (//2 Samuel 22), 132, and 144. The memorial to David's move of the ark to Jerusalem and choosing of Zion in Psalm 132 has the best claim to antiquity, but its focus, like that of Psalm 89 in its present form, seems to be on envisioning the future of the Davidic line in light of its past shortcomings (Ps 132:12; cf. Ps 89:31–32 [ET 89:30–31] and 2 Sam 7:14–15), concluding with a vision of Yhwh's restoration of Jerusalem and its kingship (Ps 132:15–18). As such, it shares more in common with later reapplications of royal ideology in Isaiah 40–66 and Zechariah than with the themes of royal ideology in more clearly ancient royal psalms.[39] The royal thanksgiving in Psalm 18//2 Samuel 22 contains assertions of the king's righteousness in Ps 18:21–25 [ET 18:20–24] that are more clearly Deuteronomistic in both vocabulary and ideology than anything seen in 2 Sam 23:1–7.[40] Moreover, as noted in Chapter 10 of this book, even the potentially earlier royal material embedded somewhere around Ps 18:33–44 [ET 18:32–43] is relatively closely paralleled by Neo-Assyrian royal ideological materials, a fact that would suggest a potential late monarchal date.[41] Finally, Psalm 144 appears to be built from and dependent on late materials in Psalms 8 and 18.[42] In sum, it is difficult to establish the presence of potential early monarchal materials in Psalms 18 (//2 Samuel 22), 132, and 144, even if one or more of these psalms actually contains some early fragments.

■ CONCLUDING METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

If nothing else, this discussion has pointed to the impossibility of achieving certainty in the recovery of early monarchal material. The most we can achieve is different levels of plausibility, often based on criteria that themselves are not certain. Even in cases such as Psalms 20 and 89, where we appear to have alternate editions of a biblical psalm or part of one, the relationship of these alternate editions to each other is disputed. Moreover, in both of these cases, the alternate editions appear to point to a process of gradual growth that would have been impossible to reconstruct without them. This confirms what was argued before in Chapters 3 and 4 of this book: Though we might be able to reconstruct originally independent traditions behind later texts without earlier precursors, it often is impossible to reconstruct the subtleties of authorial extension of a given text. Thus, long before Qumran, scholars speculated on the existence of an early royal oracle behind Ps 89:20–38 [ET 89:19–37], and in this case, such an oracle appears to have been found in separate form in 4QPs^{x}. This would be an example of successful, though

39. See the discussion in Gerstenberger, *Psalms 2 and Lamentations*, 366–69.

40. McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 465, 479 and Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, "Der Wandel des Beters in Ps 18," in *Freude an der Weisung des Herrn: FS H. Gross*, ed. E. Haag and Frank-Lothar Hossfeld (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk,1986), 186–87, developed further in Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen I*, 118–21.

41. Otto, "Königspsalmen," 52–55. Note also the suggestion of late elements in Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 1 with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry*, FOTL 14 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 98.

42. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 216 summarizing others.

partial, reconstruction of an independent pre-biblical tradition based (at the time) exclusively on analysis of biblical material itself. Nevertheless, assuming for now that 4QPs^{x} preserves a version of a pre-biblical oracle, it would have been impossible to reconstruct the exact contours of that non-harmonized oracle without the help of 4QPs^{x}. This confirms the difficulty of reconstruction of oral-written authorial revision/expansion more generally.

In most cases, we have only biblical versions of these royal materials. Many of these biblical versions, such as Psalms 132 and 18 (//2 Samuel 22), show signs of dependence on or harmonization with later materials about kings and kingship in Samuel. Some, such as Ps 2:1–3 and 18:33–44 [ET 18:32–43], show strong enough links with Neo-Assyrian royal ideology to consider a possible dating of these portions of the psalms to the late Judean monarchy, when Neo-Assyrian influence is more likely. Indeed, it is probable that centuries of oral-written transmission left their mark on even the earliest of Judah and Israel's royal materials. As scribes copied and recontextualized poems such as 2 Sam 23:1–7, Psalms 2, 72, and others, we should assume they conformed parts of them to the prevailing royal ideology of their time (during the monarchy) and/or adapted them to fit post-monarchic hopes and concerns (after the monarchy).

This generally unreconstructible process of modification should lead to caution, but not despair in the search for potential early monarchal material in the bible. For the presence of strong echoes of elements of early nonbiblical royal ideology in many of these royal poems suggests that they were not all created in the late monarchal and following periods. Indeed, the royal psalms are one of the primary places in the Bible where one can find such echoes of Bronze Age non-biblical traditions. This fits the premise mentioned at the outset of the chapter: that it was *particularly* at the outset of the monarchy that Israel and Judah would have been most dependent on models originating from more ancient monarchal cultures such as Egypt, Mesopotamia, and other city-states in Canaan, lacking indigenous monarchal models on which to build. Despite the late claims in the books of Judges for earlier Israelite monarchies (e.g., Abimelek in Judges 9), it does not seem as if Judah and Israel had early royal traditions to build on when they inaugurated their (proto-)monarchies. As a result, not only did early monarchal Judeans and Israelites adapt the overall institution of monarchy from the outside, but also symbols and textual motifs surrounding it. Perhaps much of this occurred with the take-over of Jebusite Jerusalem, though that town at the turn of the millennium appears to have been of very modest size (and thus less likely to have a very developed monarchic tradition). Cultural adaptations may have come from other sources as well, such as pre-Israelite city-states outside Jerusalem (e.g., Tyre), which in turn preserved Mesopotamian and Egyptian royal traditions present in Canaan from the Bronze Age when those civilizations exercised cultural influence—albeit in quite different ways—on the area.

Furthermore, particularly during the late seventh century and onward, anti-foreign sentiments evident across Judean literature inhibited straightforward adaptation of non-Israelite royal (and other) traditions. From this period forward, it was progressively less likely that authors would include elements making the Judean king look like the kings of other nations (see Deut 17:14–20).

Therefore, the presence of apparent non-Israelite royal traditions in certain psalms—depending on the date of the non-biblical traditions in question—can be an indicator that all or part of the given royal psalms originate during the early monarchal period. This indicator *of similarity to early non-Israelite traditions*, to be applied and tested on a case by case basis, must be used alongside other criteria in identifying potential early monarchal material in the Bible. It will be important in later discussions as well.

Conversely, *lack* of similarity to dominant biblical traditions, such as elements of Deuteronomistic or Priestly literature, can also be taken as a potential indicator of early origins. It is not decisive. Late materials can be distinctive, and not all biblical texts must reflect the emphases typical of the central corpora of the Hebrew Bible. That said, the lack of reflection of central emphases elsewhere in the Bible on the formative stories of the Pentateuch, law, and the sayings of the prophets in a given corpus can be important, especially if a given corpus is fairly large. In this case, I have been treating individual psalms, which are confined in scope. Nevertheless, the ones most likely preserving ancient material—Psalms 2, 21, 45, 72, and 110 along with the oracles in 4QPs^{x} and 2 Sam 23:1–7—do not feature clear connections to major Torah and prophetic traditions in the rest of the Bible. Though they quote possible oracles by court prophets, they do not—like more clearly Deuteronomistic materials—seem to know more generally of a tradition of prophecy critical of monarchs or the people. Though at least one such tradition mentions a "covenant" (2 Sam 23:5) and another (Psalm 72) mentions God's "justice" (משפט) and "righteousness" (צדקה), there is no indication that either is specifically connected to traditions surrounding Yhwh's covenant at Sinai and giving of law there.[43] At some points, such as the apparent harmonizing revision of the oracle in Ps 89:19ff. [ET 89:20ff.] to 2 Sam 7:1–16, authors appear to have harmonized earlier traditions to dominant Deuteronomistic models. Nevertheless, the relative lack of such specific resonances to Deuteronomistic and other broader biblical themes in many of these royal texts suggests that we have at least some ancient royal traditions that survived this overall adaptation process relatively unscathed.

Some of the observations so far can be illustrated using models drawn from the study of linguistic change. The first model comes from cases where a given culture takes over a new language from its surrounding context. That is when the similarities to the originating language are greatest—for example, when we see the importation of English to North America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At that early point, dialects in North America closely resemble their counterparts in the British isles. With time, however, such local variants—for example, North American English—develop their own distinctiveness and resemble their originating context less. In this case, I am proposing that materials such as royal psalms that specifically resemble non-Israelite royal texts reflect an early point of Israelite

43. Erich Zenger ("Redaktionsgeschichte Psalm 72," 75) suggests that Psalm 72 (in its supposed original layer) represents—like the eighth-century prophets—a theologization of the Covenant Code now in the book of Exodus (especially Exod 22:20–26). The Psalm does not, however, share enough specific terminological links with either early prophetic literature or Pentateuchal covenant narratives to support this hypothesis.

appropriation of international models, in contrast to some other parts of Israelite literature that parallel such non-Israelite material generically, but lack such specific connections.

The other model of linguistic change that is relevant pertains to the presence, within a given linguistic system, of archaic elements alongside earlier ones. A living language system is usually dominated by a set of contemporary rules of morphology and grammatical-syntactical connection. Nevertheless, there usually are parts of such a language that follow other language rules. Such seemingly anomalous portions of the linguistic system often are preservations of archaic remnants of earlier language stages. They are preserved either because the given words or features are so commonly used that their unique features are remembered (e.g., the internal past of common verbs—"sent" rather than "sended"), or because those archaic features are specifically related to cultural processes—for example, religious or educational—that value what is old. For example, one main place one can find people speaking something vaguely resembling seventeenth-century English today is in Protestant churches that value the King James Version. I am proposing that these royal psalms, with their frequent lack of otherwise broadly attested elements of Israelite theology (e.g., links to the Pentateuch, semi-Deuteronomistic theology), often represent the latter sort of survival of anomalous, archaic material within a broader system dominated by later elements. Though the broader Israelite corpus is characterized by a mix of Deuteronomic and Priestly ideologies, the bulk of these royal psalms represent archaic holdovers from Israel's early literature, preserved in their distinctiveness because of the valuing—within such educational settings—of accurate preservation of what is old.

We must be cautious in applying this sort of dissimilarity of a given text, say, Psalm 45 or 110, to broader themes in the Bible as an indicator of earliness. First, this criterion is most helpful when it applies to broader swathes of literature. Lack of this or that theme in an individual chapter of the Hebrew Bible is more easily ascribed to chance, while lack of a cluster of themes across whole books of the Hebrew Bible is more worthy of notice. Second, as in the case of the "criterion of dissimilarity" used in historical Jesus research, this criterion does not provide a comprehensive guide to early traditions in the Bible. Within historical Jesus research, the dissimilarity of a given Jesus saying or story to later church traditions marks it as *more identifiable* as a potential early Jesus tradition. Yet it is easily possible that some early Jesus traditions are so similar to the teachings of the church that the criterion of dissimilarity is useless in identifying them as early. Similarly, the dissimilarity of a given psalm to broader themes in the Bible, for example, Deuteronomism, can be a mark of earliness, but the similarity of a psalm to the same themes is not necessarily a mark of lateness.

Ultimately, the best results will come from the combination of multiple criteria in identifying potentially early monarchal material in the Bible. Most of this chapter has focused on the *similarity* of some royal psalms to royal ideology found in cultures that preceded ancient Israel. To a more limited extent, I have suggested that the *dissimilarity* of many royal psalms to broader Deuteronomistic and other elements in the Hebrew Bible, particularly when we have independent editions of some psalms (e.g., Pss 20 and 89:20ff.), is of help as well, though limited as well by

the fact that the psalms are relatively short texts. Finally, other criteria are worthy of note, though certainly not decisive in and of themselves. In the case of Psalm 72 I briefly considered the question of genetic intertextuality and the question of whether Psalm 72 is dependent on other, more datable texts or vice versa. These sorts of questions of intertextuality will play a larger role in the next chapter's discussion of parts of Proverbs. The other minor criterion is the association of many of these texts with David (Psalms 18, 20, 21, 110, and 2 Sam 23:1–7) or Solomon (Psalm 72). Again, the contents of these late superscriptions are hardly a sufficient indicator of early monarchal origins, especially since several of the "Davidic" psalms show signs of late authorship (e.g. Psalm 144). Nevertheless, they can be relevant. Elsewhere in biblical scholarship, the late attribution (via superscription) of oracles to eighth-century and later prophets is considered a possible indicator of the eighth-century origins of the prophetic materials they introduce. The same could be said for the attribution of many of these royal psalms to the Davidic-Solomonic period: a slight indicator to be taken alongside other, more substantial indicators for the tenth-century origins of some of the material they introduce.

Certainty in these matters is desirable, but especially unachievable for unearthing such early material in such a late collection. The best that can be done is to be clear on the sorts of considerations that lead to a given judgment and an assessment of levels of plausibility. In this case, I have argued that, if we were to find early monarchal material in the Bible, one of the best places to find such material would be in several psalms associated with enthronement and promises to the king—Psalms 2 (especially 2:6–8), 21, 45, 72, 89 (especially portions of the latter paralleling 4QPs^{x}), and 110, possibly along with some form of other royal poems such as an early form of Psalm 20 (partially pointed to by elements of Pap Amherst 63 12,11–19) and 2 Sam 23:1–7. Meanwhile, in so far as portions of these royal poems do originate from the early monarchies (whether South or North), they also have undergone centuries of oral-written transmission before being incorporated into the later Hebrew Bible. Indeed, we have seen specific signs of later adaptations in Psalms 2, 20, and 89. This mix of factors means that the level of plausibility achievable in this discussion is modest, and scholars' assessments of such dating will vary, often depending as much on dating inclinations as on consideration of additional relevant factors. That said, the royal psalms are our starting point in the ambitious task of identifying early monarchal material in the Bible. The next chapter takes this endeavor to another promising source for such early monarchal material, the book of Proverbs.

14 Proverbs and Israel's Early Oral-Written Curriculum

Chapter 1 of this book surveyed potential memory variants in Proverbs as an index of the transmission of its written contents—in part—through memory, but the focus in this chapter is on how much material in Proverbs can be dated to the early monarchal period. Ancient readers just assumed that much of Proverbs originated with Solomon, the men of Hezekiah, and others to whom collections in Proverbs are attributed (Prov 25:1; see also Prov 1:1; 10:1; etc.). More recently the trend has been to date Proverbs, or at least Proverbs 1–9, to the Persian or even Hellenistic periods. Others do not locate the bulk of Proverbs in a particular period, but treat the book as a collection of "sapiential" materials produced by Israel's sages over a long period of time.[1]

This chapter takes a different approach. Its starting point is the often observed lack of clear echoes of the Pentateuch and other history-like Bible traditions. Though many have interpreted this as a sign that Proverbs was created by a group of "sages" who were opposed or indifferent to Israel's salvation history, I suggest instead that Proverbs reflects the contours and emphases of Israel's earliest writing-supported education, a stage before the Torah of Moses had assumed its preeminent place as the starting point and foundation of Israelite education. The kind of material collected in Proverbs is the sort likely to have been adapted and used first by ancient Israelites, as they created their local form of writing-supported education. Moreover, older arguments once thought to establish the lateness of Proverbs (or Proverbs 1–9)—for example, language, themes, adaptations of other biblical texts—no longer hold water. In particular, the connections to other biblical texts frequently thought to establish the later date of Proverbs often suggest the reverse. The chapter concludes with an overview of the best cases for links between Proverbs and other biblical texts. This prepares for the following chapters, which look beyond Proverbs for signs in the Hebrew Bible of remains of Israel's early monarchal corpus.

1. In the late 1960s, scholars still were inclined to date the bulk of Proverbs to the early monarchy. See, for example, Christa Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9. Eine form- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung unter Einbeziehung ägyptischen Vergleichsmaterials*, WMANT 22 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1966) and H. J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit*, WMANT 28 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968). A commentary illustrating the trend toward dating of Proverbs over a long period of time (with a late dating of Proverbs 1–9) is Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 6, 48–49. Cf. Katherine Dell, "How Much Wisdom Literature Has Its Roots in the Pre-Exilic Period?" in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 251–71, who makes a foray in the direction of dating significant portions of Proverbs to the pre-exilic period (as does Fox for large sections).

INTERPRETING THE LACK OF REFLECTION OF HISTORICAL THEMES IN PROVERBS

Proverbs is distinguished from later Judean/Israelite wisdom, including the cache of instructional materials from cave 4 at Qumran, by its relative lack of explicit emphasis on themes from the Pentateuch. Where Ben Sira, Qumran wisdom materials, and other writings from the Second Temple period link "wisdom" with the figure of "Torah" and appropriate or cite portions of the Pentateuch (Bar 3:9–4:4; 4Q 417 2 I,14; 4Q184 14–15; 4Q525 2–3 II,1–6; 11QPs^{a} XVIII, 10–13 [//Ps 154:12–15]), Proverbs does not, nor does it clearly reflect any historical narration in the Pentateuch or Deuteronomistic history.

This gap in references to Israel's historical traditions—particularly the Pentateuch—in Proverbs and other wisdom writings is so striking that recent studies have proposed it as a defining characteristic of wisdom literature and/or the sages that produced it. For example, in an extensive and balanced discussion of evidence for a group of sages in ancient Israel, James Crenshaw finds the strongest evidence for such a group in what is *missing* from writings typically identified as "wisdom" writings.

> The existence of a body of literature that reflects specific interests at variance with Yahwistic texts in general seems to argue strongly for a professional class of sages in Israel. Within Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes one looks in vain for the dominant themes of Yahwistic thought: the exodus from Egypt, election of Israel, the Davidic covenant, the Mosaic legislation, the patriarchal narratives, the divine control of history, and movement toward a glorious moment when right will triumph. Instead, the reader encounters in these three books *a different world of thought*, one that stands apart so impressively that some scholars have described that literary corpus as an alien body within the Bible.[2]

Similarly, Roland Murphy in his introduction to wisdom literature defines it as follows:

> [T]he most striking characteristic of this literature is the absence of what one normally considers as typically Israelite and Jewish. There is no mention of the promises to the patriarchs, the Exodus and Moses, the covenant and Sinai, the promise to David (2 Sam 7), and so forth. The exceptions to this statement, Sir 44-50 and Wis 11-19, are very late, and they only prove the rule.[3]

This focus on the absence of themes as characterizing wisdom literature reflects a significant shift in the definition of that stream. In earlier years, one would have heard much more about wisdom genres and/or wisdom concepts as defining wisdom literature. Crenshaw and Murphy, of course, are well aware of these lists of genres and concepts, but they write after a long history of use of such purportedly

2. James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*, expanded ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1998 [1981 original]), 21.

3. Roland Murphy, *The Tree of Life: An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002 [1990 original]), 1.

"wisdom" themes or genres to identify wisdom elements outside the narrower "wisdom" writings such as Proverbs, Job, or Ecclesiastes. Genres such as instructions and concepts such as world order may be densely attested in Proverbs, but they are also characteristic of a broad array of other texts in the Hebrew Bible. So, rather than focus on generic elements that join books like Proverbs with others, they focus instead on a truly distinctive aspect of Proverbs and related writings—the lack of reference to Israel's historical tradition, particularly the Pentateuch.[4]

Since such writings are dated to various periods in Israel's history, scholars then conclude that a group of "sages" must have existed across these periods whose concerns opposed or were indifferent to the kinds of themes and emphases prominent in other biblical literature (e.g., "salvation history"). These are "the wise" to whom one should go (Prov 15:12), whose teaching helps avoid the "snares of death" (Prov 13:14). Two collections in Proverbs are ascribed to "the wise" (Prov 22:17; 24:23), and the end of Qohelet includes a reflection on the purpose of "the words of the wise" (Qoh 12:11; see also Prov 1:5–6; Qoh 9:17). Furthermore, several texts in prophetic literature are often read to support the idea of a separate class of sages, especially Jeremiah's quote of his opponents' assumption that "counsel" will not perish "from the wise one," just as teaching will not perish from the priest, or a word from the prophet (Jer 18:18).

Nevertheless, we must be careful before using such texts to establish the existence of a group of "sages" alongside "prophets" and "priests" across Israelite history. First, as Whybray noted long ago, most of these references to "wise" people or individuals do not refer to a separate group, but instead characterize anyone who has attained wisdom.[5] In clearly instructional texts, the expression "wise" is often used as a contrast with "fool" (Prov 3:35; 9:8; 10:1, 8, 14; 11:29; 12:15, 18; 13:1; 13:20; 14:3, 16; 15:2, 7, 20; 21:11, 20; 26:12; 29:8, 9, 11; Qoh 4:13; 7:4–5, 7; 10:2, 12 [cf. Prov 17:28 and Qoh 2:14, 16, 19; 6:8; 9:15]). Certainly, the "wise" and the "fool" in these instances are not representatives of separate social groups. "Wisdom" is a capacity that is generally available to people of various occupations in ancient Israel, including kings (Prov 20:26 and the Solomonic traditions), warriors (Prov 24:5), and artisans (1 Kgs 7:13–14; 1 Chr 22:15; 2 Chr 2:6, 13 [ET 2:7, 14]; Isa 3:3; Jer 10:9).[6] Those who had attained such wisdom could leave "words of the wise" for others to learn (Prov 1:5–6; 22:17; 24:23; Qoh 9:17; 12:11; see also "teaching of the wise" in Prov 13:14), and one could go to such wise ones (Prov 15:12; Sir 6:34; 9:14; 20:29). But there is little evidence in most of Israelite history of a separate class of sages, standing alongside priests and prophets.

The best evidence of a separate professional class of sages comes from traditions more or less connected to the late pre-exilic period of Israelite history. Perhaps the most striking testimony comes from Jer 18:18, mentioned above, where Jeremiah's

4. A later section of this chapter will discuss and critique several proposals that texts in Proverbs do depend on texts found in the Pentateuch and prophetic writings.

5. Norbert Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament*, BZAW 135 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 2–23.

6. See also additional general references to wise people in Prov 1:5; 16:14, 21, 23; 18:15; 23:24; 30:24; Hos 14:10; Ps 107:43; Job 17:10; 34:34; Qoh 7:19; 8:1, 5, 17; and "righteous and the wise" in Prov 9:9; Qoh 9:1; also 9:11.

opponents are depicted as recognizing "the wise" as a group comparable to "priests" and "prophets":

כי לא־תאבד תורה מכהן	For teaching (*torah*) will not perish from the priest
ועצה מחכם	Nor counsel from the wise one
ודבר מנביא	Nor a word from the prophet

The dating of this text is disputed, as are most other texts in the Jeremiah tradition. Nevertheless, this testimony to a seeming class of sages coincides with other potentially late pre-exilic prophetic comments about wisdom and wise men, such as attacks in Isa 5:21 and Jer 8:8–9; 9:23 on those who claim wisdom for themselves (cf. Prov 3:7; 12:15a//16:2a//21:2a; 26:12). Furthermore, as William Schniedewind has particularly emphasized, we see a remarkable explosion of epigraphic evidence for literacy and scribal activity in late pre-exilic Judah.[7] This evidence may point to such an expansion in textual production and education that some sort of identifiable group of "sages" could emerge in Israel, the sort of group, for example, to which one collection of Solomonic sayings is attributed (Prov 25:1).[8] If there is any point in Israelite history when one might discuss an elite group—however small—of professional sages, the late pre-exilic period would be that time.

However true that *may* be for the late pre-exilic period, such evidence is not found in the periods preceding or following the late pre-exile. For example, by the time we get to the early exilic period, we see in Ezek 7:26 a parallel to the triad mentioned in the Jer 18:18 passage, but now one that links wisdom with "elders" rather than "the wise":[9]

ובקשו חזון מנביא	They shall keep seeking a vision from the prophet
ותורה תאבד מכהן ועצה מזקנים	Torah shall perish from the priest, and counsel *from the elders*

Meanwhile, some texts in the Jeremiah tradition associate "the wise" with officials—apparently often diviners—in *other nations* (Jer 10:7; 50:35; 51:57), and "the wise" as an identifiable social group otherwise appear exclusively as *foreign* wise men, and these foreign sages appear only in clearly exilic and post-exilic texts (e.g., Ezek 27:8-9; 28:3–7; Obad 1:8; Esther 1:13; 6:13).[10] In sum, if we focus on mentions in datable texts of "the wise" as a possible social group, they tend to fall into two

7. William Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 64–117. He builds on evidence collected previously by others, for example, André Lemaire, "Schools and Literacy in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Leo Perdue, trans. Aliou Niang (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 207–17.

8. Though note that the term "the wise" (החכמים) is not used in this context!

9. Johanes Fichtner, "Jesaja unter den Weisen," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 84 (1949): 77.

10. The mention of "wise ones" in Isa 44:25 is more ambiguous. It describes God as one who משיב חכמים ("turns back the wise"), a possible critique of "wise ones" in Israel, but more likely a critique of foreign wise ones, since the same verse also mentions how God undermines the activities of diviners.

categories: critiques of "the wise" in late pre-exilic (or later) prophetic traditions or late mentions of foreign "wise men" (usually diviners) in other nations.

In Chapter 10 of this book, I discussed loci where eighth-century literary prophets, particularly Isaiah, appear to have presented their written prophecy as a divine revelation that was to supersede the "wisdom" of the educated elite of their time, and late periods (discussed in Chapters 5 through 9) saw an increasing focus on a divinely revealed Mosaic Torah/teaching as the foundation of Israelite education. But here, however, I propose a yet earlier stage, one that explains the different "world" observed by Crenshaw and Murphy in their definitions of wisdom. "In the beginning" was the writing-supported teaching of "the wise." Furthermore, building on comparative evidence and prior studies by Whybray and others, I suggest that this "teaching" of the wise was not originally the province of a separate group of professional teachers. Though other cultures such as Mesopotamia and Egypt had "wisdom" literature similar to Proverbs, that literature was not necessarily produced by a distinctive group of sages, and it certainly was not oriented primarily toward use by a particular scribal class. Instead, the "sages" of early pre-exilic Judah and Israel were "priests" and other educated personnel who had interest in training their own and others' sons to be the next generation. They cited, taught, and wrote ancient instructions as they prepared students for various mid- to high-level positions in their society. The Bible contains evidence that this was true in Israel as well. Aside from a couple of isolated references associated with the late pre-exilic period (Prov 25:1; Jer 18:18), the vast majority of biblical mentions of "the wise" (and its synonyms) *within Israel* presuppose that wisdom was something multiple elites could and should attain.

This brings us back to the issue of the striking lack of clear focus in Proverbs on themes from the Pentateuch and broader history. Not only does this distinguish Proverbs from above-mentioned Second Temple wisdom (e.g., Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon, and Qumran wisdom, such as 4QInst^{a}), but it also distinguishes Proverbs from other texts surveyed from the Neo-Assyrian period onward, particularly the Torah-focused Persian-, Hellenistic-, and Hasmonean-period texts.[11] If this gap is not to be explained as an outgrowth of the special interests of a separate group of sages who authored Proverbs, it becomes more attractive to explore other possibilities for explaining this absence. I propose that a plausible option is to explain the lack of Pentateuchal, prophetic, and legal foci in Proverbs as resulting from the fact that the bulk of the book was composed before such foci became prominent. Thus, Proverbs might represent an *early* stage of Israelite literature, a stage where Israelite literary production and education were closest to and most dependent on models taken from preceding non-Israelite educational systems.

11. In this respect, the absence of historical and legal references in Proverbs is more significant in a Judean-Israelite text than it would be for a corresponding Egyptian text. To the best of my knowledge, late Egyptian texts are not characterized by an increasing focus on Torah, law, and prophecy in the way that Judean texts are. This criterion, therefore, is specific to the trajectories in Israel and Judah as reconstructed in this book.

■ INITIAL REASONS FOR SEEING PROVERBS AT THE OUTSET OF ISRAELITE ORAL-WRITTEN EDUCATIONAL LITERATURE

Scholars have long recognized how Proverbs—along with much other "wisdom" material—is distinguished from other parts of the Bible by how much it resembles the sort of teaching literature seen in other cultures. Indeed, Proverbs contains some of the best candidates in Hebrew literature for direct borrowing from other cultures. For example, Prov 22:17–24:34 (especially Prov 22:17–23:11; see also Prov 15:16) appears to be an adaptation of an Egyptian wisdom instruction, Amenemope.[12] Biblical texts themselves attest to the international character of instructional literature. They attribute wisdom to non-Israelite sages (e.g., 1 Kgs 5:10–11 [ET 4:30-31]; Psalms 88 and 89 [both "wisdom songs"—משכיל]; Prov 30:1; 31:1; Job), and narratives about Solomon depict the Phoenician Hiram recognizing his wisdom (1 Kgs 5:21 [ET 5:7]//2 Chr 2:11 [ET 2:12]) and show Solomon in dialogue about wisdom with the Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–9//2 Chr 9:1–8).[13]

Indeed, as indicated in Chapter 12 of this book, there are some indicators that foreign teachers may have played a foundational role in Israel's early, probably small-scale educational system. There are a number of relatively clear examples of Israelite appropriation/adaptation of foreign materials (e.g., Amenemope) in Proverbs. Texts in Proverbs are sometimes attributed to foreign sages (e.g., Prov 30:1; 31:1). And, there is the previously mentioned possible linguistic link between the Egyptian word for "scribe" (*sšꜥ.t*)—a word used in the Amarna correspondence with Syro-Canaanite officials—and varied versions of the name of the scribe listed among David's earliest officials (שוּשָׁא 1 Chr 18:16//שְׂרָיָה 2 Sam 8:17//שִׁישָׁא 1 Kgs 4:3//שׁוָא or שִׁיא 2 Sam 20:25).[14] This link would suggest that an Egyptian scribe, perhaps one who had mastered Amenemope, would have been positioned to help shape the very earliest stages of Israel's oral-written curriculum. Overall, we would expect much such adaptation toward the beginning of Israelite

12. For a discussion of the most recent challenges to this idea and the response to them, see John A. Emerton, "The Teaching of Amenemope and Proverbs XXII 17–XXIV 22: Reflections on a Long-Standing Problem," *VT* 51 (2001): 431–65.

13. Each of these attributions, to be sure, is associated with superscriptions often seen to be late accretions to the texts with which they are associated, and questions will be raised later in this book about the earliness of traditions like 1 Kgs 5:10–11 [ET 4:30–31] that are specific to the book of Kings. Nevertheless, the likelihood of these attributions being early is heightened by the fact that later Israelites were less likely to attribute texts to (potentially) foreign sages, given the general antipathy toward foreigners and foreign ways in later Biblical tradition.

14. A. Cody, "Le titre égyptien et le nom propre du Scribe de David," *RB* 72 (1965): 381–93; R. Williams, "A People Come Out of Egypt," in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh, 1974*. VTSup. 28, ed. G. W. Anderson (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), 236; T. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy*, Coniectanea biblica Old Testament Series (Lund: Gleerup, 1971), 45–51. See Karel van der Toorn, "From the Oral to the Written: The Case of Old Babylonian Prophecy," in *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Michael H. Floyd (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000), 100–101 on the use of the Egyptian term in the Amarna letters. For a critique of this hypothesis, see K. A. Kitchen, "Egypt and Israel during the First Millennium B.C," in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem, 1986*, VTSup 40., ed. J. A. Emerton (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 112–13.

writing-supported education, when its dependence on foreign models—and possibly foreign teachers—was high.

Correspondingly, later periods in Israelite history are less attractive candidates for the sort of borrowing of foreign traditions seen in Proverbs. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, Judean attitudes toward foreign influence became remarkably ambivalent from the Neo-Assyrian period onward, as Judah underwent rule by the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Persian, and various Hellenistic kings, and this is reflected in the ways biblical writings clearly dated to those periods often invert, parody, and otherwise oppose foreign traditions. The early pre-exilic period, however, does not seem to have been so characterized by sustained foreign rule (aside from some raids by Egypt) and thus presents itself as a more likely time for the sort of unambivalent borrowing of foreign traditions seen in Proverbs.

There is another factor suggesting that material such as that in Proverbs would be among the earliest texts used in writing-supported education in Israel: the fact that the kind of material seen in Proverbs tended to be used earliest in ancient educational processes. When we look at better documented systems, such as those in Mesopotamian, Egypt, or (Greek education in) Hellenistic-period Egypt, these systems generally featured an emphasis early in education on the sort of general, morally focused teaching that we see in Proverbs, whether gnomic collections of sayings analogous to two-line Hebrew proverbs found in Proverbs 10–22 (and elsewhere) or more extended instructions analogous to the sort of materials found in Proverbs 1–9 and 22:17–24:34.[15] Furthermore, the example of Bronze Age adaptation by various Near Eastern cultures of originally Mesopotamian cuneiform educational materials shows that such borrowing typically focused most on the materials used in the earliest stages of education (e.g., lists and very few longer literary texts).[16] Although education in the cuneiform tradition outside Mesopotamia often may have constituted relatively advanced education for such non-Akkadian speakers, it focused on relatively elementary materials in the cuneiform tradition. Indeed, these cases of Egyptian, Canaanite, or Syrian writing-supported education in the cuneiform tradition only progressed to a limited extent to more advanced genres that were widely used in Mesopotamian education, and often to a select group of such texts (e.g., Gilgamesh). Whether because of their small scale (e.g., city-states such as Ugarit) or the fact that they were appropriating a foreign cultural system, the early dependence of such derivative systems on their Mesopotamian counterparts is best seen in materials used *early* in education.

Since Proverbs contains the sort of materials used early in education, it stands as a good candidate for reflecting the dependence of Israelite education on foreign models for creation of its emergent curriculum. Proverbs contains exactly the sort of materials with which students could have progressed after mastering the alphabetic sign system. Moreover, since Judean scribes were developing a curriculum for their own purposes, they did not just adapt materials from other cultures such

15. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 22–23, 68–69, 126, 132.

16. For Mesopotamian education (where documentation of patterns of dispersal is fullest by far), see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 47–58.

as the Egyptian Amenemope. Rather, they followed the broader model of other cultures by focusing *first* on the sorts of materials used early in education and developing their corpus of such elementary educational, oral-written materials through a combination of (1) adaptation of the educational writings of other cultures and (2) the written appropriation and occasional generic reformulation of older Israelite oral sayings.

In sum, there are multiple reasons for supposing that the materials collected in Proverbs—along with some probable other candidates discussed in the preceding and next chapters—reflect Israel's early educational curriculum. The materials in Proverbs—as materials typically used early in education—are the sort of materials that would have been developed first in Israelite education. It most clearly reflects Israel's early dependence on outside models (e.g., Amenemope) for the development of that educational system. And the distinctive characteristics of Proverbs vis-à-vis other parts of the Hebrew Bible (surveyed in previous chapters) are best understood as reflections of the fact that Proverbs is an archaic holdover from a stage in Israel's educational process that did not yet revolve around and focus on internalization of the Pentateuch/Torah ("teaching") of Moses.

■ ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS IN DATING PROVERBS

Another type of criteria to be considered—alongside others—is implicit and explicit historical references within the texts themselves. The Bible itself attributes the development of wisdom traditions to the Solomonic period of state formation. Above-mentioned traditions about Solomon describe his international renown for "wisdom" (1 Kgs 5:21 [ET 5:7]//2 Chr 2:11 [ET 2:12]; 1 Kgs 10:1–10/2 Chr 9:1–9). A historical tradition peculiar to 1 Kings attributes the writing of thousands of "Proverbs" (משל) along with "songs" (שיר) to him, along with "speaking" about various parts of the natural world (1 Kgs 5:12–13 [ET 4:32-33]). Headings in Proverbs itself attribute major collections to Solomon (Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1). Prima facie, perhaps we should start with the assumption that substantial portions of Proverbs date to the early pre-exilic period.

Though some sectors of past and present biblical scholarship have too readily accepted such testimony at face value, a significant number of biblical scholars have too readily dismissed such testimony as completely irrelevant. It is notable how many contemporary scholars take attributions of prophetic books to certain prophetic figures (e.g., Hosea, Amos, Isaiah) as reflecting the probable origins of at least a core of those writings, while completely dismissing the possible informational value of similar attributions to David or Solomon.[17] To be sure, we have seen examples particularly in the Hellenistic period of the pseudepigraphic attribution

17. A prominent recent exception is a trend in some scholarship to locate virtually all of such prophetic books in later periods. For an overview of the trend, see Erhard Blum, "Israels Prophetie im altorientalischen Kontext. Anmerkungen zu neueren religionsgeschichtlichen Thesen," in "*From Ebla to Stellenbosch*"—*Syro-Palestinian Religions and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Isak Cornelius and Louis Jonker, Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 82–84 (with a response on pp. 84–108).

of writings to early historical figures, including Solomon in at least the case of the Wisdom of Solomon and possibly Qohelet. In the case of Proverbs, however, a dating of the book to at least the pre-exilic period corresponds well with the fact that significant portions of the book affirm the worth of the monarchy and focus on how to flourish under it (e.g., Prov 14:28, 35; 16:10–15; 19:12). These sorts of affirmative reflections on life in the royal court are less relevant after the destruction of the monarchy, and when they occur in late texts, they have a different and more ambivalent stance toward the monarch than is found in Proverbs.[18]

Of course, even if portions of Proverbs did go back to Solomon or his court, a variety of indicators—including versional evidence for Proverbs—suggests that such material was expanded over time. Still, it is striking that the "collection of Proverbs of Solomon collected by the men of Hezekiah" does not appear in Proverbs until Proverbs 25, that is, after two earlier collections of purportedly Solomonic material (1:1–9:18; 10:1–22:16) and two collections of words attributed to "wise men" (22:17–24:22; 24:23–34). Since it was generally easier to append such a larger collection (Proverbs 25–29) at the end of a given scroll rather than adding it earlier, this may be an indication that the material in Proverbs 1–24 was already formed before the "men of Hezekiah" added the further collection in Proverbs 25–29 in the eighth century, a collection of materials likewise associated with Solomon. The materials in 30–31 likely were added yet later (with the versional evidence for 30–31 being the most divergent as well).[19]

In the past, some have used historical references of this sort to argue for a late date for Proverbs, at least for Proverbs 1–9. For example, a number of scholars have argued that the figure of the "strange woman" adulteress in Proverbs 7 reflects the dynamics of divorce and exogamy in the post-exilic period.[20] Yet as Fox points out, the woman of Proverbs 7 is not foreign, and exogamous marriage and/or divorce are not under discussion there. Where clearly post-exilic texts wrestle with the issue of Judean men taking foreign wives (e.g., the Ezra narrative), Proverbs warns its audience of the dangers of sex with a woman married to someone else. Moreover, its exhortation toward enjoyment of one's wife in Prov 5:15–19 occurs in the context of prevention of adulterous sex, that is, sex with a woman married to another man (Prov 5:2–14, 20–23; cf. similar warnings about dangerous women in Prov 2:16–19; 6:24–35).[21]

18. On this, see the useful comparison of Proverbs with Ben Sira and Qohelet on this topic in Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 500–502.

19. Note similar comments in S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian, 1967 [1896 original]), 406.

20. See, for example, Helmer Ringgren, *Sprüche*, ATD 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 8; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Social Context of the Outsider Woman," *Biblica* 72 (1991): 457–72; Arndt Meinhold, *Die Sprüche: Teil 1—Sprüche Kapitel 1–15*, ZB 16.1 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991), 45; Harold Washington, "The Strange Woman of Proverbs 1–9 and Post-Exilic Judean Society," in *Second Temple Studies 2*, ed. T. C. Eskenazi and K. H. Richards (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 217–42; Christl Maier, *Die "fremde Frau" in Proverbien 1–9: Eine exegetische und sozialgeschichtliche Studie*, OBO (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 21–23, 265.

21. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 48, 134–41.

Still others have dated Proverbs 1–9 to a late period because of the developed form of these chapters and their focus on the individual. For example, Richter argued that Proverbs 1–9 should be dated late because they contain more developed forms (e.g., vetitives) of sayings and speeches than those seen elsewhere.[22] Nevertheless, others have pointed out that this is a misuse of form-criticism for dating purposes and fails to note the presence of likewise developed forms in much older Egyptian instructions. Similarly, those same older Egyptian (and Mesopotamian) instructions feature a similar focus on the individual.[23]

Some have argued that Proverbs 1–9, particularly in its introduction of and focus on the figure of wisdom (Prov 3:13–18; 4:5–13; 7:4; 8:1–36; 9:1–6, 11), was formed as an introduction to the following book, forming an inclusio with its concluding praise of the good wife in Prov 31:10–31.[24] Even if true, this argument would only establish a relative dating vis-à-vis the earliest materials in Proverbs 10–31. Yet on closer examination, this argument also is weak. Though Proverbs 1–9 functions well now as an introduction to Proverbs 10–31, the chapters show a remarkable lack of specific connections to the material they are supposed to have been composed from the outset to introduce. The main exception is Prov 6:1–19, which is an apparently secondary insertion, formed in large part out of a mix of materials from elsewhere in the book and marked off by theme and form from its context.[25] Aside from 6:1–19, Proverbs 1–9 lacks many parallels to formulations in other parts of Proverbs.[26] Even the calls to wisdom scattered throughout the chapters (e.g., Prov 1:1–9; 2:1–11; 3:1–4; etc.) are focused, within their micro-contexts, on introducing teachings that immediately follow them (e.g., 1:10–16; 2:12–20; 3:5–12). Whatever introductory function they now play vis-à-vis the collection as a whole comes simply as a result of their placement toward the start of Proverbs. Furthermore, the wisdom figure appearing in Proverbs 1–9 functions as part of the broader focus of these particular chapters on sexual discipline, including the contrast between the "strange woman" to be avoided and "lady wisdom" to be sought.[27] It is only with the present position of Proverbs 1–9 at the outset of a broader collection that these features are so easily read in relation to the instructional discourse of Proverbs 10–31.

22. Wolfgang Richter, *Recht und Ethos*, SANT XV (München: Kösel, 1966), 46–47. For arguments regarding the individual focus, see Bernhard Lang, *Die weisheitliche Lehrrede*, SBT (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972), 52.

23. William McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 4–5.

24. This is the primary initial argument for the late dating of Proverbs 1–9 named in Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 48.

25. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 225–27, 326.

26. The main exceptions are the following: the probable application of a saying about a wife in Prov 18:22 to the figure of lady wisdom in Prov 8:35; and the single-line parallels about the importance of "fearing Yhwh and turning from evil" (3:7b//16:6b), the need to avoid envying bad people (3:31a//24:1a), and "wisdom building a house" (Prov 9:1a//14:1a; cf. 24:3a).

27. On this, see particularly the classic study by Carol Newsom, "Women and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy L. Day (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 142–60.

Yet another issue to be considered in dating Proverbs is that of language. Despite occasional claims to the contrary, even the supposedly late portions of Proverbs (e.g., Proverbs 1–9) lack the features of late language characteristic of Persian- and Hellenistic-period texts. The supposed "Aramaisms" in Proverbs are extremely few, often problematic, and generally focus on Aramaic words attested before the Persian period. In addition, there is nothing that specifically connects Proverbs linguistically with the corpus of demonstrably late texts (e.g., Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther).[28] Fox himself, who dates Proverbs 1–9 to the late Persian or Hellenistic period, has to work to explain the lack of late linguistic features in this section. He suggests that it lacks such features because it has been modeled on other parts of Proverbs.[29] Nevertheless, the above-discussed relative lack of connections of Proverbs 1–9 to the rest of Proverbs makes this explanation implausible. Of course, the lack of much late language in Proverbs is not a major argument for an *early* dating, but conversely, language is an especially weak basis for dating Proverbs late.

■ INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

There is one more criterion to be used in dating Proverbs, and that is relationships with other relatively datable texts in the Hebrew Bible or elsewhere. For example, many have argued that Proverbs 1–9, particularly with its image of personified wisdom, is best understood as a late Israelite response to Hellenistic wisdom. Fox proposes that the construct of חכמה in Proverbs 8 finds its closest counterpart in Plato's theory of universals and shows an awareness of Greek thought unlikely prior to the Macedonian conquest.[30] Nevertheless, there is no specific connection to Plato's thought on universals in Proverbs 1–9, and certainly there is no reflection of Plato's broader ideas about the character of such universals in relation to all concepts. So also, the parallels that Plöger adduces between the three-part

28. Compare the discussion of linguistic dating in Christine Roy Yoder, *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance: A Socio-Economic Reading of Proverbs 1–9 and 31:10–31*, BZAW 104 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 20–38. She lists (pp. 20–21) a number of terms that occur in Prov 1–9 and 31:10–31 that occur more often or exclusively in late texts, but we lack early Biblical Hebrew counterparts to the vast bulk of them, so they are not useful for dating. In other cases, such as the piel of הלך, there is an early biblical counterpart (the qal). The problem is that the piel of הלך is attested in texts that are ostensively part of the early biblical Hebrew corpus (Hab 3:11 and 1 Kgs 21:27). Therefore, the presence of the piel of הלך in Proverbs is not useful for dating. In other cases, such as the third feminine plural suffix on feminine plural nouns, Yoder bases her argument on ratios of features to each other. As others have pointed out, however, shifts in frequency tell us little, aside from the fact that linguistic isoglosses co-existed at a given point (on this point, see particularly the methodoligical reflections in Martin Ehrensvärd, "Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young [New York: T&T Clark, 2003], 199–200). As long as both features are linguistically possible, the relative usage says nothing. What is diachronically significant is a complete shift from one feature to another. In general, the approach advanced by Yoder demonstrates many of the methodological pitfalls of linguistic dating discussed in Chapter 4 of this book (see also reservations about her approach expressed in Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 899–900).

29. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 48–49.

30. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 355–56.

structure of speeches in Proverbs 1–9 and Greek speeches are too general to be a basis for dating.[31] The balance of the chapter will be focused on possible relationships between Proverbs and texts within the Hebrew Bible. This survey will not only provide data relevant to dating Proverbs, but it will also be an occasion to argue for and illustrate criteria for assessing the existence and direction of intertextual dependence.

Past treatments of the relationship of Proverbs to other texts have been plagued by multiple problems: lack of criteria for establishing a clear connection between texts, lack of methodology for determining direction of dependence, and a general trend toward (1) assuming that Proverbs 1–9 is later than possible intertexts and then (2) taking the hypothesized dependent relationship of Proverbs on other texts to be proof of its lateness. All three trends are evident in an often cited study by A. Robert, which argued that Proverbs 1–9 was an anthological compilation that midrashically echoes texts from other parts of the Bible, particularly Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Second Isaiah. Fishbane and others who have analyzed Robert's work point out that his evidence for the intertextual relationships is highly variable in quality, often involving mere overlap in various aspects of Hebrew vocabulary.[32] Generally, Robert's work moved through various texts in Proverbs word by word or phrase by phrase, positing relationships between texts on the basis of isolated lexemes.[33] Throughout this first portion of his article he fails to develop a methodology for determining that Proverbs 1–9 is later than the supposed intertexts rather than vice versa. This is just assumed. This makes all the more surprising the end of Robert's article, where he claims that his previous treatment of textual links between Proverbs 1–9 and other texts establishes that the date of Proverbs 1–9 is later than texts such as Jeremiah and Second Isaiah.[34]

In the discussion that follows, I will pursue the following approach to seek firmer ground in the identification and use of intertextual relationships for dating Proverbs: (1) begin with the most probable examples of intertextual relationships and move to the less clear; (2) focus on intertextual relationships with texts such as Deuteronomy and prophetic texts whose date is relatively more secure; and (3) develop and use criteria for establishing the direction of dependence for the different sorts of intertextual relationships identified. I contend that this approach will show that relationships of intertextuality between Proverbs 1–9 and other texts suggest a dating of Proverbs 1–9 prior to, rather than after, its most probable and most datable intertexts.

31. Cf. Otto Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)*, BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1984), 23–24 and Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 45. Fox (p. 46) notes the presence of similar elements in Prov 22:17–24:22 and 31:1–9 as well.

32. Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 287–88.

33. André Robert, "Les Attaches Littéraires Bibliques de Prov. I–IX," *RB* 43–44 (1934–35): 42–68, 172–204, 374–84.

34. Robert, "Les Attaches," 502–25. The same approach is widespread in Scott L. Harris, *Proverbs 1–9: A Study of Inner-Biblical Interpretation*, SBLDS (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), which (despite early qualifications) tends to assume the lateness of Proverbs 1–9 and interpret the potential intertextual relationships accordingly.

Isaiah 59:7 and Prov 1:16: An Initial Test Case

If we exclude for now possible intertextual relationships between Proverbs 1–9 and similarly difficult-to-date wisdom (e.g., Job) and other (e.g., Song of Songs) books, one of the most clear intertextual relationships is between the description of the bad gang to be avoided in Prov 1:16 and the description of wrong behavior in Isa 59:7. The texts use the same words to describe a group whose "feet run to do evil" (כי רגליהם לרע ירוצו) and "hurry to shed blood" (וימהרו לשפך־דם). Some, including Robert, Maier, and others, have taken the description of a bad gang in Prov 1:16 text to be based on the Persian-period prophetic accusation in Isa 59:7. Nevertheless, there is a significant indicator that the direction of dependence is reversed: that the prophetic accusation is dependent instead on the wisdom description of Prov 1:16. As discussed in Chapter 3 of this book, most such cases of word-for-word appropriation develop in the direction of expansion. In this case, Isa 59:7a has an expanded version of the second line and adds subsequent descriptors of the accused (Isa 59:7b-8) that are not present in the Prov 1:16 parallel (cf. Prov 1:17). The following indicates pluses in both texts with **boldface** type:

Prov 1:16	**כי** רגליהם לרע ירוצו	**for** their feet run to evil
	וימהרו לשפך־דם	and they hurry to spill blood
Isa 59:7	רגליהם לרע ירצו	their feet run to do evil
	וימהרו לשפך־דם **נקי**	and they hurry to spill **innocent** blood
	מחשבותיהם מחשבות און	**their thoughts are thoughts of evil**
	שד ושבר במסלותם	**violence and destruction are in their highways.**

Of course, such an isolated case is no basis for the dating of Proverbs 1–9 as a whole prior to the (probable post-exilic) prophecy in Isa 59:7, but it is a clear intertextual relationship with reason for supposing the dependence of a text outside Proverbs on one in Proverbs.

Cases of Possible Intertexts from Deuteronomy

Many of the other probable intertextual relationships between portions of Proverbs and relatively datable texts involve the book of Deuteronomy. Moshe Weinfeld's arguments for the priority of materials from Proverbs in these relationships have had a powerful influence on the debate, but his approach has not won general acceptance. Rather, scholars such as Fishbane and Maier have focused on links between texts in Deuteronomy and Proverbs as potential examples of post-exilic exegesis of Deuteronomy.

This latter approach, however, is difficult to sustain, both for Proverbs 10–31 and for Proverbs 1–9. A particularly good example of the difficulty can be found in the following verbally parallel prohibitions in Prov 22:28 and Deut 19:14 about moving boundary markers (pluses of Deuteronomy are indicated by italics in the translation):

Prov 22:28	אל־תסג גבול עולם	Do not move a boundary marker ever
	אשר עשו אבותיך	Which your fathers made
Deut 19:14	לא תסיג גבול רעך	Do not move the boundary marker of your neighbor
	אשר גבלו ראשנים	Which earlier generations set
	בנחלתך אשר תנחל	*In your inheritance which you have inherited*
	בארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך	*in the land which Yhwh your God*
	נתן לך לרשתה	*is giving you to inherit*.

The verbal correspondence between the sayings makes likely a close relationship, probably as part of a writing-supported cognitive process of transmission, as seen in the typical sort of memory variation between the words for making a border in Prov 22:28 (עשה) and Deut 19:14 (גבל).[35] In addition, at least two factors suggest that Deut 19:14 is the later of the two versions. First, Deut 19:14b represents an elaboration of the saying compared to its briefer counterpart, indeed an elaboration featuring typically Deuteronomic language for "inheriting" the land that "Yhwh gave to take possession of it." Second, it happens that Prov 22:28 is part of a section of Proverbs that is particularly closely related to the ancient Egyptian Instruction of Amenemope, and this saying in Prov 22:28 parallels a saying in Amenemope about moving borders (7:12–8:19). Therefore, it is much more likely that the briefer formulation in Prov 22:28, an adaptation of its parallel in Amenemope, is the earlier version, while Deut 19:14 is a later adaptation and elaboration.[36]

A similar, though looser, [relationship is found between Prov 21:21 and Deut 16:20. The former text is a saying about "pursuing" (רדף) "justice" (צדקה) and gaining "life" (חים) that is loosely paralleled by Amenemope 21:17–18 about gaining "life" by restoring property. The link to Amenemope suggests that the Prov 21:21 version is prior to Deut 16:20, the latter of which likewise speaks of the need to "pursue" (רדף) "justice" (צדקה) "so that you may live" (למען תחיה) before going on to add a typical D promise of inheritance of the land.[37]

There probably is a relationship between an exhortation in Deut 25:13–16 that condemns the use of dishonest measures—whether "stone" (אבן) or "corn measure" (איפה)—as an "abomination" (תועבת יהוה), and similar sayings about the use of honest measures in Proverbs, especially Prov 20:10, which has all three elements (cf. Prov 11:1; 20:23). The Proverbs texts are briefer than the Deut 25:13–16 text and—as in the case of Prov 22:28//Deut 19:14—the Proverbs exemplars are paralleled by sayings in ancient teaching literatures, particularly a saying in the Instruction of Amenemope, which likewise includes a condemnation of false measures as an "abomination" (18:21–19:1). None of the biblical formulations—whether in Proverbs or Deuteronomy—agree in their formulation beyond the

35. The shift between vetitive (Prov 22:28) and prohibitive (Deut 19:14) involves more of a semantic shift, but may also have been produced by variation in cognitive reconstruction.

36. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 265–67.

37. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 273.

occurrence of the common phrase תועבת יהוה and some similar words.[38] As a result, the relationship between the sayings is less clear than in the above-discussed instances. Nevertheless, the breadth of parallel terminology between Prov 11:1; 20:10, 23 and Deut 23:13–16 (cf. Lev 19:35–36) suggests a probable relationship of dependence, and that relationship most likely is one of dependence of Deut 23:13–16 on its parallel(s) in Proverbs.[39]

We see a similar case, though the links between texts are not quite as clear, in the parallel between Proverbs' reflection of an ancient scribal injunction not to "add" to a given writing in Prov 30:6 and the intensification and expansion of this injunction in Deut 13:1 to forbid both "adding" and "subtracting" (Deut 13:1). In this case, the sayings may not be specifically related to each other—overlapping as they do only in a vetitive/prohibitive condemnation of "adding" (הוסיף) to words. It is possible that they are parallel Israelite developments of an ancient formula well attested in other Near Eastern cultures.[40] Nevertheless, if there is a specific relationship of dependence between these sayings, Prov 30:6 is likely the earlier one. Not only is such a formulation at home in the sort of teaching literature represented by Prov 30:6 (e.g., the Egyptian Instruction of Ptah-Hotep), but the formulation in Deut 13:1 is expanded in comparison with its Proverbs parallel.

As we move to additional examples of parallels between Proverbs and Deuteronomy, the cases for direction of dependence are progressively less clear and depend on different criteria than those useful for verbally parallel formulations. For example, there may well be a relationship between two similarly formulated sayings regarding the treatment of slaves in Prov 30:10 and Deut 23:16: "do not slander (Prov 30:10)/turn over (Deut 23:16) a slave to his master" [ET 23:15; לא תלשׁן/תסגיר עבד אל אדניו]. Moreover, there is evidence that the saying about slandering a slave in Prov 30:10a is rooted in an older pedagogical tradition—and not an adaptation of Deut 23:16—because of its resemblance to a comment in the colophon of the Egyptian Instruction of Merikare (144–50), where the scribe asserts that he is "the one who did not slander the servant to his master."[41] Nevertheless, the focus of the two sayings is different enough—slandering in Proverbs, turning over a slave in Deuteronomy—that an exact relationship is difficult to establish. So also, we see similar explanatory clauses in Prov 3:12 and Deut 8:5 that share a comparison of Yhwh with a father/teacher who disciplines his beloved son/student:

38. Interestingly, Deut 25:13–14 agrees with Prov 20:10 (with which it is otherwise most similar) in having the phrase אבן ואבן and איפה ואיפה, but the syntactic function of these phrases is completely different in the two sayings.

39. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 265–68.

40. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 261–64; Michael Fishbane, "Varia Deuteronomica," *ZAW* 84 (1972): 350–52. The Deuteronomy formulation actually is closest to a Mesopotamian colophon on the Erra epic (see Weinfeld, 262).

41. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 272–73. Weinfeld also notes a possible relationship to a saying in Amenemope 11:6–7, but the meaning of this saying, and thus the character of its parallel to Prov 30:10, are unclear.

Prov 3:12	כי את אשר יאהב יהוה יוכיח וכאב את־בן ירצה	For Yhwh reproves the one he loves as a father, the son in whom he delights
Deut 8:5	כי כאשר ייסר איש את־בנו יהוה אלהיך מיסרך	For like a man disciplines his son Yhwh your God is your discipliner

Here again, the sayings vary enough in formulation that a direction of dependence is again difficult to establish.

There is, however, one example of a looser relationship between texts in Proverbs and Deuteronomy where good arguments can be made for direction of dependence, and these arguments favor Proverbs as the prior text. The case relates, notably enough, to sayings in both books that focus on the need for the audience to memorize the teacher's words or commandments: Prov 3:1–4; 6:20–22; 7:1–3 and Deut 6:6–9; 11:18–21. As Maier has shown most comprehensively, these texts are linked not only by subject matter, but also by a network of parallel terminology: מצות ("commandments"), לב/לבב ("heart"), קשר ("bind"), כתב ("write"), הלך ("walk, go"), and שכב ("lie down").[42] Moreover, the texts sometimes parallel each other in the sequence in which they use common terminology, particularly in the often cited example of Prov 6:20–22 and Deut 6:7–8. As indicated in table 14.1 (on the next page), both texts begin with an evocation of parental instruction and move on to a similar sequence of walking (התהלך Prov 6:22//הלך Deut 6:6), lying down (בשכבך in both), and waking up (הקיצות Prov 6:22//בקומך Deut 6:7; probable cognitive variant).[43]

Such similar sequence, subject matter, and terminology suggest some kind of literary relationship between these texts, perhaps mediated—as suggested by cognitive variants (e.g., בקומך/הקיצות)—by the very process of memorization on which these texts focus.

That said, the direction of dependence between the Proverbs and Deuteronomy passages is disputed. Whereas Weinfeld argued that Deuteronomy is dependent on materials now found in Proverbs, scholars such as Fishbane and Maier have maintained the reverse. Yet, as Maier herself notes, it is "surprising" that a text such as Prov 6:20–35 is so selective in its appropriation of parallels in Deuteronomy that it fails to mention even once the God, Yhwh, who is so central in the latter passages.[44] Maier proposes that Prov 6:20–35 and similar passages are an elaboration of the parental teaching instructed in Deut 6:6–9 and 11:18–21, but if this were the case, it is striking that the Proverbs passages lack any explicit reference (positive or negative) to the Torah of Moses so central to the Deuteronomy passages. Instead, the sayings in Proverbs speak exclusively of the "torah" of the parents and *their* commandments, despite extensive overlap in vocabulary with Deuteronomy at various points. Compared to this, the Deuteronomic passages have a conceptual plus that is not yet present in Proverbs: the setting of the sort of

42. The parallels are laid out nicely by Maier, *Fremde Frau*, 153–54.

43. The parallel follows Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 299. Note also Michael Fishbane, "Torah and Tradition," in *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*, ed. Douglas A. Knight (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 284 and Maier, *Fremde Frau*, 156–57.

44. Maier, *Fremde Frau*, 164.

TABLE 14.1 *Parallels Between Proverbs 6:20–22 and Deut 6:6–8*

Proverbs 6:20–22	Deut 6:6–8
נצר בני **מצות** אביך ואל־תטש תורת אמך **קשרם על־לבך** תמיד ענדם על־גרגרתך **בהתהלכך** תנחה אתך **בשכבך** תשמר עליך **והקיצות** היא תשיחך	והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכי **מצוך** היום **על־לבבך** ושננתם לבניך ודברת בם בשבתך בביתך **ובלכתך** בדרך **בשכבך** **ובקומך** **וקשרתם** לאות על־ידך והיו לטטפת בין עיניך
Observe, my son, the commandment of your father And do not leave unheeded the commandment of your mother. **Bind them on your heart** always. Tie them around your neck. In your **walking around** they will lead you. In **your lying down** they will guard you. When you **awake**, they will talk with you.	May these words which I command you today be **on your heart.** Recite them to your sons and speak them in your lying down in your house, in **your walking** in the way, in **your lying down** and in **your getting up**. **Bind them** as a sign on your hand. Make them a frontlet between your eyes.

parental instruction envisioned in Prov 6:20–24 and other Proverbs passages in the context of a prior instruction of the people by Moses in Yhwh's torah/commandments.

I suggest that it is easier to see how one might move from the general parental teaching seen in Proverbs to heightened claims for a more ancient divine wisdom in Deuteronomy than it is to explain why someone would move from the divinely-revealed wisdom of Deuteronomy to the parental wisdom of Proverbs. Given the lack of reflection of specifics of Deuteronomy in Proverbs and the presence of this plus in Deuteronomy, the following is the most likely scenario for the production of the above-discussed relationships between these texts: The authors of the passages in Deuteronomy, authors who were schooled in and had memorized passages such as 3:1–4; 6:20–22; 7:1–3, reappropriated their language to make heightened claims for the Deuteronomic "Torah," a teaching now claimed to be yet older (Mosaic) and more divine than the "teaching" of the father and mother celebrated in traditional wisdom literature such as Prov 6:20–22 and parallels (e.g., 3:1–4; 7:1–3).[45]

45. Though Maier argues that Prov 6:20–35 joins and synthesizes the themes of repetition and the use of reminders seen separately in Deuteronomy 6:6–9 and 11:18–21 (*Fremde Frau*, 157), it is more likely that the latter Deuteronomic texts represent later elaborations of their Proverbial pretexts, elaborations standing as part of Deuteronomy's broader program of what Assmann has termed "mnemotecknik."

One other potential link of Proverbs and Deuteronomy is that between the speech against adultery in Prov 6:20–35 and the Decalogue in Deut 5:6–21 (//Exod 20:2–17). Both texts call on their audience to heed parents (Deut 5:16//6:20), and both include prohibitions of stealing (גנב; Prov 6:30–31; Deut 5:19), adultery (נאף; Prov 6:32 [and topic passim]; Deut 5:19), and desiring (חמד) a neighbor's wife (Deut 5:21). The key difference is that the Decalogue starts with an evocation of jealous *God* (Deut 5:9; אל קנא), whereas the Proverbs text focuses on what will happen to an adulterer when a jealous *husband* exacts revenge (קנא; Prov 6:34–35).[46] With regard to this last characteristic, "jealousy" of man and god, the description of human jealousy in Proverbs has a greater claim to be prior. Teachings from various ages have emphasized the dangers to the adulterer of a jealous husband, while the depiction of a "jealous" God in Deut 5:9 is a theological adaptation of this idea.[47]

The above covers the closest parallels that have been proposed between Proverbs and texts from Deuteronomy. There are others, but the formulations are so different that it is difficult to establish the direction of dependence. For example, the description of Moses's charge to judges in Deut 1:17 is one of the few instances outside two sayings in Proverbs (24:23b//28:21a, a single-line parallel) to use the term הכיר פנים ("be partial") to condemn preferential treatment in justice. Weinfeld may be right in arguing for a relationship between these texts, but we have little data supporting one or the other direction of dependence.[48] Other proposed links—for example, Prov 18:7; 20:25 and Deut 23:22–24 (on vows); Prov 2:17 and Deut 4:23, 31 ("forgetting" of "covenant"); or Prov 8:2–3 and Deut 30:11–14—are possible, but lack enough overlap in vocabulary and other indicators to establish a probable relationship, let alone argue for a direction of dependence.[49]

All this does not necessarily establish a particular date for Proverbs, and this for two reasons. First, any such survey of intertextual relationships pertains particularly to the texts of a given book where such relationships occur. Even if the above treatment is persuasive at various points, it is particularly pertinent to dating a handful of texts in Proverbs. Second, the dating of levels of Deuteronomy is itself controverted, with scholarly datings of various layers ranging from the pre-exilic monarchic to the late Persian period.

Nevertheless, I maintain that the clearest cases of intertextuality between Proverbs and Deuteronomy are consistent with a relatively early dating of the Proverbs texts. Furthermore, this holds even for cases, such as the relationship between the internalization sayings in Prov 3:1–4; 6:20–24; 7:1–5 and Deut 6:6–9; 11:18–21, where texts from Proverbs 1–9 appear to be earlier than counterparts in Deuteronomy that are dated by many scholars to some of Deuteronomy's earliest, pre-exilic layers. In some cases, the relationship of direction of dependence is

46. See the overview in Fishbane, "Torah and Tradition," 284 and discussion in Maier, *Fremde Frau*, 158–62.

47. Maier (*Fremde Frau*, 160–61) makes the odd proposal that the Proverbs text on adultery derived its focus on "jealousy" from the description of God in Deut 5:9.

48. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 244–45, 273.

49. For yet more proposals, see Robert, "Les Attaches" and George Wesley Buchanan, "Midrashim pré-Tannaites: à propos de Prov. I–IX," *RB* 72 (1965): 227–39.

difficult to establish because the traditions are too different. Nevertheless, none of the cases of relatively close intertextuality involve cases of clear dependence of a Proverbs text on its Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic counterpart.

Potential Links of Prov 1:20–33 with Jeremiah 7 and Other Prophetic Texts

Many scholars have proposed that wisdom's speech in Prov 1:20–33 is modeled on prophetic speeches. Though Robert's initial treatment of individual words in the speech has been criticized as methodologically uncontrolled,[50] more recent studies by Gemser, Harris, and Fox have affirmed the dependence of the Proverbs text on prophetic texts, especially texts from Jeremiah.[51] Since these proposals mostly relate to a single text in Proverbs (1:20–33), I devote this section to a comparison of these proposals with each other, rather than treating the intertexts separately.

In many cases, proposed links between Prov 1:20–33 and prophetic texts depend on single words or short phrases that are spread throughout the prophetic corpus and do not establish a specific link between Prov 1:20–33 and any of them. For example, several scholars have proposed that the use of עד־מתי ("until when") in Prov 1:22 links wisdom's speech with texts from Jeremiah or elsewhere, but this is merely a general term used in chastisement and does not constitute a specific intertextual relationship.[52] In a recent study, Harris lists eighteen words and phrases linking Prov 1:20–33 with Jeremiah 7. Nevertheless, a closer examination shows that most of the expressions occur in quite different contexts and/or are so widespread in distribution that their occurrence in both texts is meaningless.[53] So also, Harris suggests a special connection between wisdom's threat to "laugh at" (שחק) and "mock" (לעג) those who ignored her (Prov 1:26) and Jeremiah's description of becoming a laughing stock (הייתי לשחוק) and "mocked" (לעג) by all (20:7). Nevertheless, the combination of "laughing at" and "mocking" seen in Prov 1:26 is a more broadly attested word pair seen in the same form (and not the form in

50. Kayatz, *Proverbien 1–9*, 128–29 (note 3).

51. Ferdinand Gemser, *Sprüche Salomos*, HAT (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1963), 23; Harris, *Proverbs 1–9*, 87–109 and Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 104–105.

52. Gemser, *Sprüche*, 23 On the expression, see Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 98.

53. Harris, *Proverbs 1–9*, 93–94. For example, Harris includes in his list of parallels the phrases בחצות ירשלים ("in the streets" [of Jerusalem) and בעיר יהודה ("in the city" [of Judah]) in Prov 1:20–21; Jer 7:17, 34, even though they are used in Jer 7:17 to refer to where wrongdoing is occurring, in Jer 7:34 to describe where God will end the sound of mirth, but in Prov 1:20–21 just בחצות ("in the streets") and בעיר ("in the city") are used to characterize where wisdom speaks. Similarly, Harris notes the use of the word "call" (רנה) in both texts: in Prov 1:20 wisdom "calls" (תרנה) in the streets, but in Jer 7:16 the word is used to describe the people's futile cries for help. The word "gates" (שערים) serves a similar function in both texts—specifying where wisdom and Jeremiah both call (Prov 1:21; Jer 7:2), but this need not be a literary parallel since the gates were a primary place in an ancient city where such an address could be made. Similar points could be made about the other items in Harris's list. The words are isolated and used in disparate ways in both contexts, so that they are worthless for establishing a specific relationship of textual dependence. Amassing such essential links does not produce a good argument for a density of associations, but instead just contributes to a larger pile of data that is not helpful in establishing a particular relationship between Proverbs and other texts.

Jeremiah) in Pss 2:4; 59:9 [ET 59:10]; and 2 Chr 30:10.[54] In addition, it is hard to imagine the circumstances under which a writer of Prov 1:26 would use the image of Jeremiah's experience of mockery as a model for the mockery that wisdom would promise to those who had ignored her.

Already in his 1934 article, Robert focused on the parallels that would prove the most compelling to many subsequent interpreters: links between wisdom's description of calling and not receiving an answer in Prov 1:24–25 and somewhat similar descriptions of God (Jer 7:24, 26; Isa 65:12; 66:4) or Jeremiah doing the same (Jer 7:27).[55] Since then, scholars have noted additional prophetic texts with similar descriptions of God calling and/or not being heard (e.g. Jer 7:13; 35:17; also Jer 9:12; 17:23), but as the parallels have multiplied, the likelihood of establishing a dependence of Prov 1:24–25 on one of them has diminished.[56] Moreover, broader links in vocabulary are lacking. Unlike all of its parallels, Prov 1:24 has wisdom "call" (קרא) and be rejected (מאן) by her audience, and the language of Prov 1:25 has no parallel at all in the often cited prophetic texts. To be sure, the wording of wisdom's subsequent threat in Prov 1:28, אז יקראנני ולא אענה ("then they will call me and I will not answer"), is closer to the parallels in Jer 7:13, 27; 35:17 and Isa 65:12; 66:4, but this is simply a reversal of a common liturgical word pair קרא...ענה ("call," "answer") found throughout the Psalter (e.g., Pss 3:5 [ET 3:4]; 4:2 [ET 4:1]; 17:6; 27:7), occurring in reversed form also in Psalter ("my God, I call out [קרא] every day and you do not answer [ענה]," Ps 22:3a), and is not a specific link between Prov 1:28 and any prophetic text.[57] Similarly, those who have emphasized a link between wisdom's stretching forth her hand in Prov 1:24b (נטיתי ידי) and God spreading out God's hands in Isa 65:2 (פרשתי ידי) have failed to note that the former expression (in Proverbs) is a threatening one of attack, while the latter (Isaiah) is a quite different gesture of entreaty.[58]

In sum, there is no demonstrable intertextual link between Prov 1:24–25 and any of the prophetic texts. Instead, they use different terminology to speak of a similar situation—a (semi-) divine figure calling out and being rejected//not being heard. Past authors have assumed that the picture of wisdom in Prov 1:20–33 is modeled on that of God in the prophetic texts. But if there is any direct relationship at all between these traditions, an impossible thing to establish, I suggest it is more likely the reverse. From the eighth to sixth century, Israelite prophets

54. Cf. Harris, *Proverbs 1–9*, 99. Even more tenuous is Harris's proposal on the same page that wisdom's address to "the simple" (פתים; Prov 1:22) is based somehow on Jeremiah's use of a verb with the same root to describe being "persuaded" by God (פתיתני; 20:7) and surrounded by friends who hope he will be deceived (יפתה). The use of the word פתים in Prov 1:22, however, has nothing to do with the use of the verb פתה. Rather, "the simple" addressed in Prov 1:22 are seen elsewhere in Proverbs as those who are vulnerable and teachable, but not yet educated (Prov 1:4, 32; 7:7; 8:5; 9:4, 6, 16; 14:15, 18; 19:25; 21:11; 27:12).

55. Robert, "Les Attaches," (43) 177.

56. Blenkinsopp, "Outsider Woman," 461; Harris, *Proverbs 1–9*, 90–93.

57. For a survey of some additional prophetic texts that describe the people finding or failing to find God, see Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 102.

58. See Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 100 that cites Mayer Gruber, *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 24–33.

appropriated the image of a brutal, but loving teacher/parent as a metaphor for God.[59] This image of God the teaching disciplinarian became ever more important as a means of making sense of Israel's difficult experiences under the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. In so far as one or more of the authors of the prophetic tradition had internalized teachings such as Prov 1:20–33, this text's image of a reproving and threatening pedagogue could serve as a general model that several prophetic authors articulated in their own ways.

Additional Proposed Links Between Proverbs and Other Texts

The above discussion covers the most plausible cases of intertextual connections of Proverbs to other texts, but there are a handful of additional proposals that are worth mention. For example, scholars have connected the description of the "strange woman" (אישה זרה) in Prov 2:17 with a number of other biblical texts. The verse describes her as one who has "abandoned the companion of her youth" (העזבת אלוף נעורים) and "forgotten the covenant of her God" (ואת־ברית אלהיה שכחה). Perhaps the closest formulation to Prov 2:17 is Jer 3:1–5: a passage where Yhwh proclaims that he is permanently divorcing Jerusalem (cf. Jer 2:2) for being unfaithful to him. Like Prov 2:17, Jer 3:1–3 depicts a "wife" who has been unfaithful to her husband, and in Jer 3:4 this wife is told not to call Yhwh her אלוף נעורים ("companion of youth"//Prov 2:17a). The other formulations, however, are so different that it is difficult to establish a relationship between these texts. It could well be that אלוף נעורים was a widespread endearing expression for one's (male) spouse, and depictions of unfaithful women are fairly common in the Bible overall. Certainly, no direction of dependence can be established on the basis of this example.

Since Saadia, many have connected this description of the strange woman in Prov 2:17 with the condemnation of divorce in Mal 2:11–15.[60] The Malachi passage, however, is quite different in formulation from Prov 2:17, focusing as it does on *men* who abandon the "wife of [their] youth" (אשת נעורים), the "wife of your covenant" (אשת בריתך). Despite the different formulation, the Malachi passage shares with Prov 2:17 the focus on human marriage, the language of "covenant" (Prov 2:17b), and is often taken to be describing the post-exilic situation of widespread divorce to which Prov 2:17 is a response. The shift in gender, however, is important in passages like this focusing on married partners. Mal 2:11–15 is not discussing a general problem with divorce. There is no hint in the Malachi critique of *men* divorcing their wives of an additional problem with such wives divorcing or being unfaithful to their Israelite husbands in a way similar to Prov 2:17. Rather, Prov 2:17 builds a metaphoric picture of an unfaithful, promiscuous wife as part of its teaching of students to avoid adultery with

59. See the survey in James A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the Old Testament and Post-Biblical Judaism*, Colgate-Rochester Bulletin 28 (Rochester, NY: Colgate Rochester Divinity School, 1955), 7–21. In doing so, they appropriated a widespread ancient image (and reality) of the disciplinarian teacher (see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 32, 76, 129, 149–50).

60. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 102. See also Blenkinsopp, "Outsider Woman," 461.

women such as her. The rhetorical situation, formulation, and—especially important given the character of ancient marriage—gender of Prov 2:17 and Mal 2:11–15 are quite different. Any connection between these texts, if there is one, is impossible to establish.

Though the connections between Prov 2:17 and the texts discussed above are tenuous, they are clearer than the potential connection of Prov 2:17 to the handful of other references to "companion" in other prophetic books (e.g., Jer 13:21; Mic 7:5; cf. Prov 16:28; 17:9), the mention of God reclaiming Zion as an "abandoned wife" (אישה עזובה) and a "wife of youth" (אישת נעורים) in Isa 54:6, and a couple of descriptions of the "forgetting" or not "forgetting" of the "covenant" in Deut 4:23, 31. Overall, there is no evidence that Prov 2:17 is dependent on other texts for its formulation.

There are a few examples of the possible connection of passages from Proverbs with other biblical traditions about the king, though again the Proverbs examples have a better claim to potential priority. For example, the promise in Isa 32:1 of righteous rulers shares both focus and terminology with wisdom's claim in Prov 8:15–16 to be the means by which rulers rule righteously. Both passages focus on a combination of "king(s)" (מלכים) and "officials" (שרים), and both prominently feature a focus on the "righteousness" (זדק) of their "ruling" (מלך verb).[61] The passages are not close enough in formulation for expansions of either passage on the other to be helpful in establishing a direction of dependence. Nevertheless, their terminology is similar enough to suggest either that they depend on a common fund of royal ideology or that Prov 8:15–16 was some of the educational material internalized and drawn on by the author of Isa 32:1. The same could be said for the looser connection between the Prov 3:16 claim that wisdom gives long life, riches, and honor and a description, such as 1 Kgs 3:11–14, of God giving a king (Solomon) the same three things.[62] The connection is rooted in common royal ideology, an ideology that may have been mediated, in part, by educational texts such as Prov 3:16.

Another passage from Isaiah, Isa 5:21, has a good claim to being related to sayings in Proverbs that discourage one from "being wise in one's own eyes" (חכם בעיניך; Prov 3:7) and proclaim doom on the one who is "wise in his own eyes" (חכם בעיניו; Prov 26:12; cf. 12:15a; 16:2a; 21:2a). Isa 5:21 uses similar wording in proclaiming a woe oracle on those "wise in their own eyes" (חכמים בעיניהם). Though McKane suggests that Prov 3:7 is dependent on Isa 5:21,[63] the idea seen in Isaiah is more broadly attested in Proverbs and much older wisdom literature.[64] If there is a relationship of dependence, it is of Isa 5:21 on the tradition seen in Prov 3:7; 26:12. It is unclear if either of these traditions specifically stands behind the quite differently formulated critiques of those who boast of wisdom in the book of Jeremiah (e.g., Jer 8:8; 9:23).

61. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 275.

62. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, 257; David M. Carr, *From D to Q: A Study of Early Jewish Interpretations of Solomon's Dream at Gibeon*, SBLMS (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), 41.

63. McKane, *Proverbs*, 292–93.

64. For a discussion, see Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 150–51.

Prov 3:18 shares the image of a "tree of life" with several other texts both within Proverbs (11:30; 13:12; 15:4) and outside it (e.g., Gen 2:9; 3:22, 24). Nevertheless, the motif is so broadly attested inside and outside Israel that it establishes no specific link between texts. One might argue that the garden of Eden story in Genesis links to the contiguous mentions in Proverbs of the tree of life (Prov 13:12; cf. Gen 2:9; 3:22, 24) and the catastrophic consequences of disobeying a command (Prov 13:13; cf. Gen 3:6). Nevertheless, the sayings in Proverbs 13:12–13 are not connected to each other and cannot be taken as appropriations of different motifs from the Eden story. The direction of dependence in this instance—if there is any—is likely that of Genesis 2–3* on Proverbs.[65]

Other potential connections between Proverbs and other biblical texts are too tenuous to be of any use. There might be a connection between the concluding proclamation of disastrous "paths" (ארחות) of those who seek profit (בצע) in Prov 1:19 and the critique in Isa 56:11 of leaders who have turned to their "own ways" (לדרכם) and sought "profit" (בצע). Nevertheless, as Fox points out, the pursuit of profit by bad leaders is not something limited to just one time and place, and these are common terms used to describe this phenomenon.[66] Finally, some scholars have linked the description in Prov 9:1–6 to Isa 55:1–2 and/or Isa 65:11. Prov 9:1–6 features wisdom's invitation (9:5) to those without learning to "come" (לכו), "eat" (לחמו), and "drink" (שתו), while Isa 55:1–2 includes Yhwh's call (55:1) to those without money to "come" (לכו), "buy" (שכרו), and "eat" (אכלו) food, wine, and honey. Isa 65:11 is more distant from the picture in Proverbs, proclaiming doom on those who engage in improper cultic practices, who "set a table for fortune and fill cups of wine for destiny."[67] Closer inspection of these possible parallels reveals that these texts diverge both in their overall focus and their formulation. There is nothing specific to connect them.[68]

Summary on Methodology for Establishing Existence of Intertextual Relationships and Direction of Intertextual Dependence

In the above, I have used several criteria for establishing the direction of dependence that will prove relevant for further discussions. Though none can be taken as a rigid law, I maintain that each is a useful guide in assessing larger groups of potential intertextual relationships.

Before proceeding to criteria for establishing the direction of intertextual dependence, a word should be said about criteria for establishing intertextual relationships in general. Overall, I have started by attempting to assess the extent of identifiable overlap between passages. Ideally, this takes the form of multiple overlaps of words and phrases. Nevertheless, given the reflections given so far on the dynamics of oral-written tradition, we must reckon with some semantic and other

65. For a discussion of the "tree of life" in relation to Proverbs and citation of the Genesis passages, see Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 157–59.

66. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 48.

67. Blenkinsopp, "Outsider Woman," 461–62.

68. Maier, *Fremde Frau*, 227–28.

interchange, interchange that would result in passages of the same tradition using different words or phrases to designate the same or a similar thing. This means that the process of identifying intertextual relationships cannot be an exact science, at least for those traditions transmitted partially through memory. Nevertheless, though one can never establish a precisely quantitative boundary for what is or is not a clear relationship, one can make meaningful distinctions between more and less plausible connections. Sometimes these involve extensive overlap in actual vocabulary (e.g., Isa 59:7//Prov 1:16), while others involve other factors, such as extensive parallels in topic and lexical synonyms (e.g., Deut 6:6–8//Prov 6:20–22).

As I have analyzed the more plausible cases of intertextual dependence, I have used several sorts of criteria so far. The first criterion relates to the earlier discussion of the "trend toward expansion." In the discussion of empirical examples of transmission history, I argued that those later tradents who closely follow their precursor text—essentially reproducing key parts of its wording, plot sequence, etc.—rarely leave parts of that precursor text out. This rule, I argue, is more true the more precisely the later text follows its purported precursor text—for example, language, wording, etc. Thus, for example, I argue that the pluses in Isa 59:7 in comparison with its otherwise close parallel in Prov 1:16 are evidence for the relative lateness of Isa 59:7. The criterion was also used in relation to relatively close parallels seen between the sayings about boundary markers in Prov 22:28 and Deut 19:14, and the sayings about measures in Deut 25:13–16 and texts such as Prov 20:10. Nevertheless, it is not applicable in cases where the case of intertextual dependence involves less precise parallels, for example, Prov 6:20–22 and Deut 6:6–9 or Prov 8:15–16 and Isa 32:1.

Another criterion that proved useful was attestation of a given topic or motif in Proverbs-like pre-Israelite instructional literature. If a given motif was widely attested in pre-Israelite instructional literature, this is one indicator that its appearance in similar generic material in Proverbs is original, while the parallel to the Proverbs text—if specifically related to that Proverbs text—is probably later. This is especially true in cases such as the saying about boundary markers in Prov 22:28, where the Proverbs version occurs in a context—Prov 22:17–23:11—that betrays other signs of dependence on pre-Israelite literature. Given the broader pattern of dependence of Prov 22:17–23:11 on Amenemope, it is especially likely that the saying about boundary markers in Prov 22:28 is prior, and the parallel in Deut 19:14—if it is genetically related to the similar saying in Proverbs—is relatively later. In this case, this reasoning is confirmed by the above-discussed indicator (trend toward expansion), since the Deut 19:14 version is also expanded vis-à-vis its Proverbs parallel.

This latter case provides an example of another criterion that will have wider relevance: relative lateness being indicated by the occurrence in one version of distinctive language of a given tradition stream, while that language is not seen in the other. In this case, the pluses seen in Deut 19:14b contain language of "inheritance" and a discussion of Yhwh's gift of the land that are characteristic of the Deuteronomi(sti)c tradition in general. If Prov 22:28 was dependent on Deut 19:14, one might expect it to reflect at least some of the distinctively Deuteronomic

formulations seen there.[69] Of course, it is always possible that a given tradent in some cases would surgically remove any trace of Deuteronomistic language in the process of appropriating a given tradition for a new context. Nevertheless, I maintain that such careful removal of distinctive language would be the exception rather than the rule. If a tradent had memorized an oral-written textual tradition and thought it important enough to appropriate in some way, in most cases that person would have no reason to eliminate distinctive aspects of that tradition's literary formulation.

Another indicator of relative earliness is widespread attestation of a given motif within Proverbs, but not the context of its parallel (or vice versa). For example, I argued that the critique of false weights and measures in Prov 20:10 is more likely to be the source of a similar critique in Deut 25:13-16 than the reverse, because false measures are critiqued—using other words—in other parts of Proverbs as well (cf. Prov 11:1; 20:23). The different wordings of the Proverbs passages indicate that they probably are different attestations of a common theme in instructional literature, not multiple derivations from Deut 25:13-16. Yet the specificity of the parallel in wording between Prov 20:10 and Deut 25:13-16 adds to the plausibility that Deut 25:13-16 may be dependent on the Prov 20:10 version of this more widely attested, early instructional motif seen in Proverbs.

In my discussion of the potential relationship between Prov 6:20–35 and Deut 5:9 (//Exod 20:5), I argued for the relative lateness of the latter on the basis of its apparent metaphoric-theological reappropriation of the motif of sexual jealousy from the human realm (e.g., Prov 6:34–35) to the divine realm (Deut 5:9//Exod 20:5). The implicit criterion is that—in a case of apparent intertextual dependence—it is more likely that the earlier version is one involving a less metaphoric discussion of a given issue, while the later version would be the one where there is a metaphoric-theological extrapolation from it. For example, if there is a specific relationship of intertextual dependence between Prov 6:20–35 and Deut 5:9 (//Exod 20:5), it is more likely that a scholar had internalized the warning about human jealousy in Prov 6:20–35 and used the structure and language of that in formulating the declaration about divine jealousy in Deut 5:9, than that the author of Prov 6:20–35 was dependent on the assertions about Yhwh's jealousy in 5:9 when warning a student about a husband's jealousy in Prov 6:34–35. This supposition would seem to be confirmed by the above-discussed principle of widespread attestation, since the theme of the dangers of human adultery and jealousy is widespread in Proverbs 1–9, but relatively isolated in the Ten Commandments. If there is a specific relationship of intertextual dependence here, it would seem to be of the declaration of divine jealousy in Deut 5:9 on the Proverbs discussion of human jealousy in Prov 6:20–35 (especially 6:34–35), a discussion that is part of broader discourse in Proverbs 1-9 about human adultery and jealousy.

69. The possibility that both Prov 22:28 and Deut 19:14 are unrelated to each other and separately dependent on the saying about boundary markers in Amenemope 7:12, 15 is highly unlikely given the above-discussed extended verbatim parallels between Prov 22:28 and Deut 19:14a. Rather, the one biblical text is almost certainly dependent on the other, with Prov 22:28 probably constituting the original link to the Amenemope tradition.

In some specific cases, the character of one and/or the other parallel makes it an unlikely source for the other. An example of this is the above-discussed case of proposed dependence of (1) Wisdom's announcement that she will "laugh at" (אשחק) and "mock" (אלעג) those who refused her instruction (Prov 1:26) on (2) Jeremiah's lament that he has become a "laughingstock" (הייתי לשחוק) and all "mock" (לעג) him (Jer 20:7). As discussed above, the parallel word pair here is so general that a specific intertextual relationship is difficult to establish. Nevertheless, even if one could establish a relationship of dependence, I contend that it is unlikely that an author of Prov 1:26 would have taken the suffering Jeremiah as a model of the dire fate for those who refuse wisdom's instruction. If there is any relationship of dependence here, it would be that of Jeremiah complaining that he is suffering the fate normally reserved for those who refuse wisdom, but is suffering unfairly since he prophesies what God told him.

One final criterion, again applied in a case of unclear textual dependence, relates to the distribution of the parallel sayings. When a text in one context is potentially related to two unrelated texts in another context, that former text is likely a later synthesis of the latter two texts. For example, some have maintained that the garden of Eden story in Gen 2:4b-3:24 may be related to both the saying about the tree of life in Prov 13:12 and the subsequent, but apparently unconnected, saying about the consequences of disobeying a command in Prov 13:13. All things being equal, I suggest it is more probable that an author of Gen 2:4b-3:24 built on Prov 13:12 and 13 (along with many other materials) in weaving a narrative featuring a tree of life and command, than that an author in Proverbs would create two apparently unrelated Proverbs in Prov 13:12 and 13:13 out of isolated motifs in Gen 2:4b-3:24.

Once again, none of these criteria are hard and fast rules, and they work best in combination with each other. Nevertheless, the above provides an initial basis for arguing for direction of dependence in one way or the other. Furthermore, they converge in establishing a similar priority of Proverbs, including Proverbs 1–9, to relatively datable material elsewhere in the Bible. In the next chapter, I will have occasion to apply some of these criteria to other cases and develop some more that are specific to cases to be discussed there. But I conclude by turning back to the issue of the nature and significance of the apparent intertextual connections between Proverbs and other biblical texts.

■ CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The bulk of this chapter has focused on establishing a relatively early date for material in Proverbs, including most of the material in Proverbs 1–9. Nevertheless, the above survey of potential intertextual connections and relationships of dependence begins to indicate the implications of this approach if it is correct. It does *not* establish a specifically "sapiential" influence on texts such as Deuteronomy, Isaiah, or Jeremiah. For I have been arguing that books such as Proverbs were used more generally in education, and we have little, if any, access to a broader sapiential tradition aside from books like Proverbs. As I have suggested, there may have been some sort of identifiable group of particularly educated people—probably of

varied professions—who played a role in early Israelite textuality and education through and especially during the late pre-exilic period. Nevertheless, both comparative evidence and evidence within the Bible suggest that wisdom was something that could be the possession of kings and others, and books such as Proverbs were produced and used by various members of the elite in education/enculturation.

If this approach is on target, then the best of the above-surveyed intertextual links may be signs of the kind of influence books like Proverbs exerted on those—of varied background—who had undergone such early education. Isaiah, who appears to have had various connections to the elite, appears to appropriate older wisdom critiques of boasting in wisdom (Prov 3:7; 26:12) to criticize leaders of his day (Isa 5:21; see also Jer 8:8-9; 9:23). Isaiah (or a later tradent) may likewise echo older teachings about wisdom's enabling just rule in proclaiming the future righteous rule of kings and princes (Isa 32:1; cf. Prov 8:15–16),[70] and another set of claims for wisdom (Prov 3:16) may lie behind the tale in 1 Kgs 3:11–14 of Solomon's acquisition of wisdom, riches, honor, and long life. Jeremiah—perhaps educated as a "priest of Anathoth" (Jer 1:1)—may draw on the Proverbs attack on the "strange woman" who forsakes the husband she calls "the companion of my youth" (Prov 2:17) to caricature Jerusalem as an unfaithful and permanently divorced spouse (Jer 3:1–5).[71] And a post-exilic author working in the Isaiah tradition apparently appropriated and expanded the description of the bad gang in Prov 1:16 to critique his contemporaries (Isa 59:7). These potential links are not evidence for the membership of Isaiah, Jeremiah, etc. in a specific group of "the wise," nor of an influence of such a group on the transmission of traditions surrounding them. Rather, the books surrounding prophets such as Isaiah or Jeremiah were produced by figures—the prophets and/or others transmitting sayings attributed to them—who had undergone some sort of writing-supported education. Proverbs probably collects some of the materials those figures would have had to master.

The same holds for Deuteronomy, a text some have wanted to link with "wisdom" circles. Several parts of the legal instruction in Deuteronomy 12–26 appear to draw on older teachings in Proverbs 20–23, such as sayings about using honest measures (Prov 20:10; also 20:23; 11:1; cf. Deut 25:13–16); pursuing justice and gaining life (Prov 21:21; cf. Deut 16:20); and moving boundary markers (Prov 22:28; cf. Deut 19:14). In addition, I have argued that other materials from Deuteronomy adapt parts of Proverbs 1–9, indeed using such materials at a similar position to the present one of Proverbs 1–9: as part of the initial exhortation to hear and pay attention to the teaching that follows. For example, the authors of Deut 6:6–9 and 11:18–21 transform and expand an earlier call in Prov 3:1–4; 6:20–22; 7:1–3; etc. for students to memorize and internalize the teaching of their parents, now using similar words in a similar sequence to enjoin memorization and

70. Isa 32:1 occurs in a portion of Isaiah (32:1–8) often assigned to a seventh-century or later author. The precise assignment is not crucial to this argument.

71. As with all texts from Jeremiah, there is a question of whether 3:1–5 is a product of later transmission or originates in some way from the prophet himself. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 10 of this book, Jer 3:1–5 is among the texts with a relatively good chance of originating from the prophet.

recitation of the divine Torah of Moses. And the tradents of the Ten Commandments included in Deut 5:6–21 (//Exod 20:2–17) theologically reapply the intense emphasis in Proverbs on a jealous husband (Prov 6:34–35) to introduce Yhwh as a jealous God (Deut 5:9//Exod 20:5).

Overall, the above intertextual connections are of a looser sort than most of the previously surveyed parallels (in Chapter 1 of this book) between couplets or lines in Proverbs itself. Sometimes—as in the case of sayings about boundary markers (Prov 22:28//Deut 19:14), internalization of teaching (especially Prov 6:20–22// Deut 6:6–8), and the saying about bad men hurrying to do evil (Prov 1:16//Isa 59:7)—we see relatively close parallels between materials in Proverbs and other texts, indeed parallels that feature the sort of cognitive variants seen in Proverbs itself. In other cases, we can establish a fairly high probability of a relationship between a text in Proverbs and another passage, even a probable direction of dependence, but the passages are different enough that parallels and cognitive variants in them are more difficult to establish.

The more it becomes plausible to consider Proverbs as a collection of some of Israel's earliest teaching material, the more it becomes significant as potential background to other discourses in ancient Israel. For example, as early educational material, Proverbs 1–9, with its intense focus on issues of sexual self-mastery and its intense employment of both positive and negative images of women, would have played a role in the engenderization, as well as the education, of the educated men who produced other parts of the Bible. In particular, both at the outset (Prov 2:16–19) and throughout the conclusion (especially Prov 5:2–14, 20; 7:5–27), the text features a sexually pro-active, adulterous "strange woman" who serves as an image of the power of temptation that youths must resist. This image has its own background and ambiguities, including some potential links to the Song of Songs that I will discuss in the next chapter. For now, however, the significant point is that this image—whatever its original function—may have been an important background to textual depictions in prophetic books of the people as a sexually pro-active, adulterous woman. Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned that some have proposed a specific relationship between the depiction of the "strange woman" forsaking the husband of her youth in Prov 2:17 and the depiction of the people as a wayward woman in Jer 3:1-5. In contrast, here I am suggesting that the sort of intense focus on the image of an adulterous woman in Proverbs 1–9 may form part of the background to other early depictions of the adulterous community, such as Hos 2:4–22 [ET 2:2–20]. To be sure, other depictions, such as exilic and post-exilic uses of the image in Ezekiel (16, 23) and Isaiah (54:6–8; 62:4–5), may well build on precursors within the prophetic tradition itself. Nevertheless, if Proverbs 1–9 was a prominent part of education of early Israelite authors, I suggest that the powerful employment of the image of an adulterous woman in Proverbs 1–9 may have played a role in the quite different use of this image in books such as Hosea and Jeremiah. Having internalized this image of the "strange woman" as part of their education, these prophetic authors did not need to use the same words to characterize the people as adulterous (though cf. Jer 3:1–5), but they could reappropriate the image for new symbolic ends.

The particular focus of Proverbs 1–9 on infidelity and the risks of male "jealousy" may also form part of the more general background of the rhetoric of infidelity and jealousy in Deuteronomy. In this case, the connections are more implicit, since Deuteronomy does not feature explicit identification of the people as God's female spouse. Nevertheless, Deuteronomy, like similar Near Eastern treaty texts, exhorts Israel as God's vassal to have a wife-like love and faithfulness toward Yhwh who has "passion" for her (Deut 7:7; חשק): "loving" and "cleaving to" him, not "following after" other gods. Moreover, as Tikva Frymer-Kensky has pointed out, Deuteronomy is distinguished from those treaty texts in its use of the motif of "jealousy" to characterize God as Israel's vassal lord, a motif quite prominent in the depictions in Proverbs 1–9 of the revengeful husband.[72] Here again, the potential connections are more difficult to establish, since they lie on the level of general ideology rather than specific wording. Nevertheless, there are other signs—for example, the links of Prov 3:1–4; 6:20–22; 7:1–3 and Deut 6:6–9; 11:18–21—that the authors of Deuteronomy built on and modified teachings found in Proverbs 1–9. In so far as these authors had been shaped by the focus on sexual mastery and depiction of female infidelity (and its consequences) in Proverbs 1–9, that internalized teaching may have played a role in the Deuteronomic reorganization of Israelite praxis around the theme of "fidelity"/"infidelity"—where now the people risk being the "strange woman" and Yhwh is the jealous husband.

Both of these proposals require more argumentation and review. Nevertheless, I suggest that the approach to placing Proverbs advocated in this chapter has significant potential for informing our understanding of other biblical texts. For now, however, I propose turning to look at other texts, besides Proverbs and the royal psalms discussed in the previous chapter, that may have been part of Israel's earliest literature.

72. Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *In the Wake of the Goddesses: Women, Culture, and the Biblical Transformation of Pagan Myth* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 146.

15 Other Supposedly Solomonic Books

Song of Songs and Qohelet

Many past scholars have dated some royal psalms and some parts of Proverbs to the early monarchal period, but very few would be inclined to do the same with the two other books explicitly associated with Solomon: Song of Songs and Qohelet. Instead, most would place these books toward the very end of the formation of the Hebrew Bible, as products of the Hellenistic or Persian period at the earliest. Though many factors are adduced, the main reason for this late dating generally is the language of both books. As seen previously in Chapter 4 of this book, however, language can be an unreliable criterion for such dating, especially for books such as Song of Songs and Qohelet that appear to have been more fluidly transmitted by the late Second Temple period than books of the Pentateuch or former prophets, for example. Therefore, the following discussion begins with a consideration of other factors used in the previous two chapters that might be used to date Song of Songs and Qohelet: the criterion of non-polemical adaptation of non-biblical material ("similarity"), intertextual dependence, the criterion of dissimilarity of these works to major emphases in the later Hebrew corpus, and historical references in the contents of each book. Once these data are reviewed, in each case I will turn to reconsider questions surrounding language that are specific to each book.

THE SONG OF SONGS

The Song of Songs presents particular challenges for dating. First of all, it contains texts of a popular genre, love poetry, that could be textualized in more colloquial forms than other forms of ancient literature. Thus, for example, the Egyptian love poems with which Song of Songs shares other characteristics (see below) are written in a form of more colloquial, non-classical Egyptian than contemporary instructional and display texts.[1] This raises the possibility that the poetry of the Song of Songs may feature a different, more colloquial profile than other works with which its language might be compared. Another challenge is the way in which Song of Songs seems to have undergone an unusually fluid transmission history, indeed one extending well into the Second Temple period. Mention was already made in Chapter 4 of the 4QCant^{b} manuscript, which features a number of Aramaic forms with no parallel in the MT. Indeed, both

1. Antonio Loprieno, "Searching for a Common Background: Egyptian Love Poetry and the Song of Songs," in *Perspectives on the Song of Songs/Perspectiven der Hoheliedauslegung*, ed. Anselme Hagedorn, BZAW 346 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 111–12.

4QCant[a] and 4QCant[b] feature significant (non-orthographic) variants about one out of every six or seven words.[2] This demonstrates that manuscripts of the Song of Songs were subject, in at least some circles, to a largely seamless process of Aramaic and other linguistic updating, thus adding another level of difficulty to the process of dating its contents by linguistic profile.[3] Finally, both 4QCant[a] and 4QCant[b] are missing significant sections that are found in the MT and other editions of the Song; 4:8–6:10 is missing in 4QCant[a] and 3:6–8; 4:4–7 and possibly 5:1–8:14 are missing from 4QCant[b]. It is certainly possible that Tov is right that these are "abbreviated" manuscripts, but as Flint has argued, it is also possible that these Qumran manuscripts represent different and perhaps earlier literary editions of the book.[4] At the very least, these manuscripts document continuing fluidity in the textual tradition for the Song of Songs among some circles into the first century CE. At the most, they raise questions about using features of 3:6–8; 4:4–6:10; and 5:1–8:14 to date the first edition of the Song of Songs, for it is possible that these portions of the Song were among those that were added at a relatively late stage of its process of transmission. In sum, from the very outset, the Song of Songs now found in the early editions of the MT and other recensions is both an unstable and unusual text, difficult to get a fix on.

The Criterion of Similarity (to Earlier Educational Literatures)

The starting point for this discussion is the broader genre of which Song of Songs is a part: love poetry. Though ancient Near Eastern love songs appear to have been used in both cultic and entertainment settings, they were secondarily used in both Mesopotamia and Egyptian education as well. We have a dated student copy of an Egyptian love poem at Deir el-Medina,[5] and an Ugaritic student copy of a Sumero-Akkadian love song, Ludingira's erotic praise of his mother. Particularly interesting is a Mesopotamian school text, ST 366, relating to sacred marriage, that includes a detailed description of the king's litter that is similar to Song 3:9–10.[6]

Given that such love poems were in circulation in other ancient educational systems, including an example of "peripheral" cuneiform education (Ugarit), it should come as no surprise that ancient Israel included love poems in its educational corpus, likely as not from an early point. Moreover, as decades of

2. Ian Young, "Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Massoretic Text: A Statistical Approach," in *Feasts and Fasts: Festschrift for Alan David Crown*, ed. Marianne Dacy, Jennifer Dowling, and Suzanne Faigan, Mandelbaum Studies in Judaica 11 (Sydney: Mandelbaum Publishing, 2005), 101–102.

3. In particular, this fluidity works against the attempt by Dobbs-Allsopp to revive arguments for dating of the Song of Songs based on its orthography ("Late Linguistic Features in the Song of Songs," in *Perspectives on the Song of Songs/Perspectiven der Hoheliedauslegung*, ed. Anselme Hagedorn, BZAW 346 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005], 28–30).

4. See, in particular, Peter Flint, "The Book of Canticles (Song of Songs) in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Perspectives on the Song of Songs/Perspectiven der Hoheliedauslegung*, ed. Anselme Hagedorn, BZAW 346 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 99–102.

5. Andrea McDowell, "Teachers and Students at Deir el-Medina," in *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, ed. R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2000), 232.

6. K. Deller, "ST 366: Deutungversuch 1982," *Assur* 3, no. 4 (1982): 141.

scholars have noted, the love poems in the Song of Songs resemble counterparts in other cultures in numerous respects. For example, the Song of Songs, like Egyptian and Mesopotamian love poetry, features lovers who address each other as "brother" and "sister," describe their beloved as the "love" of their "heart," praise their lover's body as if it were a statue, and focus on gardens as the scenes of their lovemaking. In addition, the Song of Songs shares specific motifs with other love literature, such as the idea of lovemaking being sweet as honey. The dialogue form of the Song of Songs is better attested in Mesopotamian sacred marriage literature, though it is found to a limited extent in Egypt as well. Overall, however, the Song of Songs is closer in its non-cultic focus and motifs to Egyptian love poetry, a corpus that is attested—both in educational and noneducational uses—solely in the New Kingdom period when contact between Egypt and Canaan was most intense.[7]

One problem faced by scholars such as myself, who dated the Song of Songs to the Hellenistic period, was that the Song was so far removed chronologically from the love poems, particularly the Egyptian poems, which it otherwise most closely resembled.[8] It is not impossible that such traditions might persist in a hidden way across almost a thousand years, but not particularly likely. If the linguistic grounds for dating the Song of Songs prove weaker, however, than I and others supposed, then these links to older love literature become more significant. Other things being equal, this "criterion of similarity" suggests that early Israel was dependent on foreign precedents, particularly Egyptian ones, in textualizing its love literature for educational purposes, much as it appears to have been dependent on Egyptian precedents such as Amenemope in the formation of portions of its instructional literature or royal texts for the formation of psalms surrounding enthronement and other aspects of the monarchy. Insofar as this is true, the composition of particularly similar materials such as Song of Songs would tend to lie toward the early end of the curriculum development process.

Intertextual Dependence

The next criterion to be considered is that of genetic intertextuality, ways in which the Song of Songs is dependent on other biblical texts or vice versa.

I start with a text, the book of Hosea, that appears to contain at least a substratum of early Northern prophetic tradition. Scholars have long noted connections between the Song of Songs and Hosea, especially those sections of Hosea that use love language to describe God's relationship with the land of Israel/people of Israel. Both texts focus extensively on "love," indeed a love between man and woman that goes beyond mere lordship of a husband over his wife (Hos 2:18 [ET

7. This survey of characteristics is particularly indebted to Michael V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), especially pp. 267–331. For Mesopotamian analogies, see particularly Martti Nissinen, "Akkadian Rituals and Poetry of Divine Love," in *Mythology and Mythologies: Melamu Symposia II*, ed. R. M. Whiting (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text-Corpus Project, 2001), 95–125.

8. This is raised as an objection to direct dependence in the essay on Egyptian and Israelite love poetry by Antonio Loprieno ("Song of Songs," 107–108); see also Fox, *Song and Egypt*, 191–93.

2:16]; Song 2:16; 6:3; 7:11 [ET 7:10]. Though Hosea focuses much on the picture of God's divine jealousy (Hos 2:4–15 [ET 2:2–13]), the link of jealousy and love is programatically stated in the Song of Songs as well (Song 8:6).

Most striking are links between the Song of Songs as a whole and poems toward the outset (Hos 2:4–22 [ET 2:2–20]; especially 2:4–9 [ET 2:2–7]) and conclusion (Hos 14:5–9 [ET 14:4–8]) of the book of Hosea. Hos 2:7 [ET 2:5] starts with an image of a mother "conceiving" that is unique to it and Song 3:4 (cf. Song 8:5), continues with a description of the mother seeking lovers who give her three pairs of love gifts (Hos 2:7b [ET 2:5b]; cf. Song 5:1), before moving to God's promise to block the way of her lovers so that she will "seek" and not "find" her lovers (Hos 2:9 [ET 2:7]), a description reminiscent of the woman's seeking (and not finding) in Song 3:1–3.[9] Toward the end of the book, God's final promise to "love" Israel in Hos 14:5–9 [ET 14:4–8] has particularly strong links with the poems in Song 2:1–13. God's promise that Israel will again "sit in his shade" (Hos 14:8 [ET 14:7]) resembles the woman's statement that she enjoys sitting in her lover's shade in Song 2:3, and there are several other terminological links, including: ריח ("scent" [like Lebanon]; Hos 14:7 [ET 14:6]; Song 2:13; also 1:3, 12; 4:10); שושנה ("lily"; Hos 14:6 [ET 14:5]; Song 2:1, 2, 16; 4:5; 5:13; 6:2–3; 7:3 [ET 7:2]); גפן ("vine"; Hos 14:8 [ET 14:7]; Song 2:13; 6:11; 7:9, 13 [ET 7:8, 12]); יין ("wine"; Hos 14:8 [ET 14:7]; Song 2:4; also 1:4; 4:10; 5:1; 7:10 [ET 7:9]; 8:2); פרי ("fruit"; Hos 14:9 [ET 14:8]; Song 2:3; 4:13, 16; 8:11) along with the general theme of "love" (Hos 14:5 [ET 14:4]; Song 2:5, 7 and passim). In addition, Hos 14:5–9 [ET 14:4–8] is linked to other parts of the Song of Songs by the expression "scent like Lebanon" (14:7 [ET 14:6]; cf. לבנון ריח in Song 4:11) and the words טל ("dew"; Hos 14:6 [ET 14:5]; Song 5:2) and פרח ("blossom"; Hos 14:6, 8 [ET 14:5, 7]; Song 6:11; 7:13 [ET 7:12]).[10] Each of the words occurs elsewhere in the Bible as well, but the dense clustering of like words, especially combined with similar phrases, suggests some sort of special relationship between the Song of Songs and Hosea.

Recent treatments of potential linkages between these books have tended to assume that Song of Songs was dependent on Hosea. Older and newer semi-allegorical approaches to the Song, such as those by Cohen, Robert, and Davis, have read resonances between Song of Songs and Hosea as implicit citations by the Song of texts from Hosea.[11] Some feminist approaches have read the Song as a defiant

9. For these parallels, see A. van Selms, "Hosea and Canticles," in *Studies on the Books of Hosea and Amos*, A. H. van Zyl (Potchefstroom: Pro Rege-Perse Beoerk, 1966), 85–89.

10. Fokkelien van Dijk-Hemmes, "The Imagination of Power and the Power of Imagination," in *A Feminist Companion to the Song of Songs*, ed. Athalya Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993 [original 1989]), 156–70; I. Pardes, *Countertraditions in the Bible: A Feminist Approach* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), especially pp. 127–28 and 133–37; Yair Zakowitch, *Das Hohelied*, HTKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 55. Ellen F. Davis, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 250 also sees a link between the mention of the "cypress" ברוש in Hos 14:9 [ET 14:8] and the (differently spelled) mention of "cypress" in Song 1:17 (ברותים).

11. André Robert and Raymond Tournay, *Le Cantique des Cantiques: traduction et commentaire* (Paris: Libraire Le coffre, 1963), 75, 83–84, 96–98, 104, 281; Gershon Cohen, "The Song of Songs and the Jewish Religious Mentality," in *The Samuel Friedland Lectures*, ed. L. Finkelstein (New York: Jewish

contradiction of the picture of broken love in the book of Hosea.[12] Generally, such approaches have begun with the premise that the Song of Songs was later and then read the potential linkages between the Song and Hosea accordingly.

Yet there are significant problems with assuming the dependence of the Song on Hosea and advantages to seeing the direction of dependence as the reverse (Hosea on Song of Songs). Those who assume dependence of the Song on Hosea must suppose that the author of the Song of Songs appropriated love language from limited sections of Hosea (e.g., Hos 2:4–9 [ET 2:2–7]; 14:5–9 [ET 14:4–8]) and distributed that language and phraseology across the Song of Songs more broadly. Yet, if one were not beginning with the presupposition that the Song was later, it would be more natural to see the love poetry in the Song of Songs as the origination point for imagery surrounding love now also found in the limited portions of Hosea that develop this imagery. This would explain the broad distribution of such motifs in the Song and the concentration of such motifs in those particular parts of Hosea that develop love imagery. Moreover, it corresponds to the fact that love imagery more likely had its original generic home in love poetry such as the Song of Songs rather than the theological reappropriation of such imagery in Hosea.

In any case, it is clear that the author of passages such as Hos 2:4–9 [ET 2:2–7] or 14:5–9 [ET 14:4–8] was not trying to "cite" or midrashically interpret the Song of Songs. We can see this already from this author's (or authors') apparent use of widely disparate images from the Song. Rather, I suggest that he had internalized such love poetry during his education, much like his Mesopotamian, Ugaritic, or Egyptian counterparts. As a result, these images and phrases were part of the fund of literary-Scriptural tropes in his mind, a fund that he could appropriate and reapply to render the divine-human relationship. There was no compulsion to reproduce such elements precisely in Hosea. He could recombine or apply them as fit his subject, as we can see in his depiction of agricultural products as lovers' gifts in Hos 2:7b [ET 2:5b] rather than the more appropriate lovers' gifts mentioned in Song 5:1. In sum, contra older and more recent semi-allegorical approaches to the Song, there is no attempt yet at sustained, semi-Scriptural "interpretation" of Song of Songs in Hosea. Rather, both the distribution pattern of linkages (Hos 2:4–9 [ET 2:2–7]; 14:5–9 [ET 14:4–8] and the Song) and the likelihood that such love motifs were originally connected to the Song suggest that the Song of Songs—as an educational text—was a more general source of imagery in Hosea. This picture, I maintain, is much more plausible than the one that takes love poetry across the Song of Songs as an occasional and piecemeal reapplication of love language and phraseology originating in limited portions of Hosea.

Similar considerations come into play in assessing a potential linkage between the Song of Songs and Deuteronomy, another text that, like Hosea, is often thought

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Theological Seminary, 1966), 1–21; Davis, *Proverbs, etc.*, 231–302. Note also my earlier, similar proposal of the Song as a "reverse allegory" of Hosea and other texts in *The Erotic Word: Sexuality, Spirituality, and the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 134–6.

12. Van Dijk-Hemmes, "Power and Imagination"; Pardes, *Countertraditions*, 118–43.

to have an early Northern substratum. Unlike Hosea, Deuteronomy actually uses the word קנאה ("jealousy") to characterize the divine love (Deut 29:19; see also קנא 6:15; 5:9; 4:24), thus echoing the Song of Songs' powerful linkage of jealousy with love in Song 8:6. More important, however, are potential links between Deut 6:4–9 and the Song of Songs. Scholars have noted two sorts of connections here. The weaker of the two is a possible link between the woman's call in Song 8:5 for her male lover to "set me as a seal on your heart" and Yhwh's call in Deut 6:6–9 for Israel to keep the words of the Mosaic Torah "in your heart," reciting them constantly, binding them on the hand, affixing them to the forehead, and writing them on the doorposts of the house. In the last chapter, I already argued that Deut 6:6–9 is dependent here on similar calls to internalize teaching in Prov 3:1–4; 6:20–22; and 7:1–3. In contrast, Song 8:5 is quite different in terminology from both Deut 6:6–9 and the Proverbs texts.

The second potential link of the Song to Deuteronomy, however, is more compelling: the verbal and functional similarity between the call to love Yhwh with "all your heart, life strength and power" (בכל־לבבך ובכל־נפשך ובכל מאדך) in Deut 6:5 and the woman's repeated description of her lover as the one "her life strength loves" in Song of Songs (1:7; 3:1–4). Davis, along with others, takes these epithets in Song of Songs to be allusions to Deuteronomy.[13] Yet unlike actual echoes of Deut 6:5 in 2 Kings (e.g. 2 Kgs 23:25), the Song of Songs lacks any reflection of the emphasis in Deut 6:5 on loving "with all your heart" and "all your strength." Moreover, there is no hint at all in the Song's references to "the one my life strength loves" to the Torah obedience so central to Deut 6:5–9 and its echoes toward the end of Kings. If the author of the Song knew anything about the Mosaic Torah, it is not evident here. Rather than seeing this depiction of passionate love in Song 1:7; 3:1–4 as an incomplete reflection of elements in Deut 6:5, I propose the reverse: that the descriptions of human love in Song 1:7; 3:1–4 were the probable source of the expanded formulation in Deut 6:5. As in the case of Hosea, the author of Deut 6:5–9 freely reappropriated language from the Song (or similar love poetry) that he had memorized as part of his education. In this case, he expanded on fragments of language from the Song to depict the wifelike devotion that Yhwh commands from his people.[14]

Finally, Yair Zakowitch has called attention to at least a couple of instances where texts associated with Judean prophets appear to appropriate motifs from portions of the Song of Songs. Perhaps the best candidate for such use is Isaiah's vineyard song for his "beloved" (Isa 5:1–7), which parallels the teasing poem relating to Solomon in Song 8:11–12 in using the phrase כרם היה ל ("[my beloved/Solomon] had a vineyard") and referring to the male lover as ידיד (similar to דוד of Song 1:13-14, 16; 2:3, 8, etc., and close to Solomon's given name, ידידיה [2 Sam 12:25]). In addition, Isa 5:1–7 uses the image of the vineyard for the female as in

13. Davis, *Proverbs, etc.*, 255.

14. This case was compelling enough to me that I maintained the dependence of Deut 6:5–9 on the Song (*Erotic Word,* 190 [note 25]) despite the fact that it contradicted my overall assumption that the Song was a reverse allegory of Deuteronomy and other texts (*Erotic Word*, 134–36).

Song 8:11–12 (see also 1:6; 2:15; 7:13) and presents itself as a "Song" (5:1//Song 1:1).[15] Another case that Zakowitch mentions is appropriation in the song about "daughter Jerusalem" in Jer 6:2–5 of motifs from the song to the "daughters of Jerusalem" in Song 1:5–6 and other parts of the Song of Songs. Both the "daughter of Jerusalem" in Jer 6:2 and the female lover in Song 1:5 are "beautiful" (נוה/נאוה). But where the female lover of the Song seeks out the place where her shepherd rests his flocks at midday (1:7) and is told to follow the tracks of the flock to the shepherds' tents (1:8), Jeremiah announces that shepherds are encamping with their flocks and tents around daughter Jerusalem (Jer 6:3), and proclaims war at "midday" (Jer 6:4a) before the day turns and shadows lengthen (Jer 6:4b; cf. Song 2:17a; 4:6a). Thus, the shepherds that the female lover feared in Song 1:7 become the attackers of daughter Jerusalem in Jer 6:2–5. As Zakowitch points out, this particularly intensive use in Jer 6:2–5 of successive poems in the Song (1:5–6, 7–8) suggests that the author of this text knows not only an individual text in the Song, but also the broader collection in some form.[16]

There is one more text, albeit of less certain date, with which the Song of Songs has a number of potential linkages: Proverbs 1–9, particularly its depiction of the "strange woman." As Grossberg observes in a comprehensive study of such linkages, both books feature a picture of a female lover seeking her lover at night in the streets, laying hold of him, and kissing him (Prov 7:9–15; Song 3:1–4; 8:1). In both cases, this female lover is an outsider—a "strange" woman in Proverbs, a "dark and beautiful" woman in Song of Songs. Both texts assert that the woman's "lips" drip with honey (Prov 5:3a; Song 4:11a), and her words outnumber those of her (potential) male lover.[17] More specifically, the strange woman's casll in Proverbs to "let us drink our fill of love until morning" (Prov 7:18) resembles the chorus's call "become drunk on love" in Song 5:1b. The strange woman's promise that she has sprinkled her bed with myrrh, aloe, and spices (Prov 7:17) resembles mentions of similar spices in Song 1:13–14 and 4:13–14. And other, more limited connections could be added, such as the gazing through "window(s)" (חלון) and "lattices" (אשנב Prov 7:6; חרך Song 2:9; a typical memory variant).[18] Both Proverbs 1–9 and Song of Songs share the idea that love run awry can lead to financial ruin and being despised by others (e.g., Prov 6:31; Song 8:7).[19] Yet they use similar terminology at points to describe the positive side of love. Michael Fox has noted similarity to the Song of Songs in the Prov 5:19 call to love one's wife, a wife described as a "doe" (אילת; cf. Song 2:7; 3:5) and "female mountain goat" (יעלת; cf. צבאת ["gazelle"] in Song 2:7; 3:5; 4:5; 7:4 [ET 7:3]). Much as the Song as a whole celebrates the mutual

15. Zakowitch, *Hohelied*, 54.

16. Zakowitch, *Hohelied*, 55. He also proposes that Isa 52:7 is linked to Song 2:8 and 7:2 [ET 7:1].

17. See Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 192, which also notes affinities between the description of her "sweet" palate in Prov 5:3b and the mention of the man's sweet palate in Song 5:16a and the woman's delicious palate in Song 7:10 [ET 7:9].

18. Daniel Grossberg, "Two Kinds of Sexual Relationships in the Hebrew Bible," *Hebrew Studies* 35 (1994): 7–25. See also the discussion throughout Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 241–47.

19. See Christl Maier, *Die "fremde Frau" in Proverbien 1–9: Eine exegetische und sozialgeschichtliche Studie*, OBO (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 160.

love of the partners depicted in it, so also Prov 5:19 calls on the student to "lose [himself] in love," slaking his thirst on his wife's breasts (cf. Song 8:2).[20]

Grossberg and most others take the Song of Songs to be dependent on Proverbs in these loci, but the relation of dependence is more likely the reverse. According to the typically held view, the author of the Song of Songs would have drawn on Proverbs' depiction of the strange woman to develop his depiction of the female lover. Yet the Song's depiction of the female lover is resolutely positive. It would be odd for an author to undermine this positive cast by appropriating terminology from Proverbs 7 to depict female passion. The more likely relationship, if there is one, is that of dependence of Proverbs 1–9, especially Proverbs 7, on the Song of Songs.[21] In this case, an author wanting to picture a powerfully seductive "strange woman" drew on motifs and terminology from the Song to depict her honeyed speech. As in the cases above, this would be a case of free adaptation and reapplication, not semi-midrashic "interpretation." The Song of Songs provided a "language" of scenes and terms on which later authors could draw with quite different purposes.

If the above arguments are on target, the Song of Songs (indeed particularly early chapters preserved in all Qumran manuscripts and the MT) played a limited, but significant role in the development of Israelite literature. Texts with a probable early Northern substratum, Hosea and Deuteronomy, provide some of the best examples of potential textual dependence. This could suggest a Northern origin for the Song of Songs, or (more likely for such a Solomonic text) just its use in early Northern education-enculturation.[22] In so far as Proverbs 1–9 is a likely Judean educational text, its probable dependence on the Song would suggest some use of the Song in early Judean education. There are not as many signs of such use, however, in later Judean literature, aside possibly from Isaiah (5:1–7). In contrast to Hosea, the love language of books like Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and later layers of Isaiah is formed of a distinctively different set of vocabulary and motifs.

The Criterion of Dissimilarity

The above discussion provides the necessary background for a briefer consideration of how the above-discussed "criterion of dissimilarity" would apply to the Song of Songs. Much depends here, of course, on whether one sees the Song of Songs as linked to themes and/or terminology from the Pentateuch, historical books, and

20. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 202–203.

21. As is seen by Fox in a discussion of the case of the link between Prov 5:3 and Song 4:11 (*Proverbs 1–9*, 192).

22. It is difficult to imagine the circumstances in which Northern authors would *originate* a book of Solomonic love songs. Rendsburg and Noegel propose, on the basis of much later Arabic analogies, satirical intention for such a Northern Song of Songs (Scott B. Noegel and Gary A. Rendsburg, *Solomon's Vineyard: Literary and Linguistic Studies in the Song of Songs*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 1 [Atlanta: SBL, 2009], 137–69), but—aside from the issue of the dating and applicability of the Arabic analogies on which they focus—this is a stretch for accounting for the whole of the Song. Perhaps this idea of polemical love poetry could partially account, however, for its use and reuse in the North well after the separation of the kingdoms.

prophets. Above, I argued that the Song was the source of some language seen in Hosea and Deuteronomy. Here, I briefly consider further arguments some have raised for the dependence of the Song on other parts of the Torah.

Overall, these arguments pale in comparison with the above-discussed cases of the most likely textual dependence. Of course, the more the Song of Songs was reinterpreted in a Torah-centered way, as part of a Torah-centered Scriptural corpus, the more possible it was for both ancients and moderns to see oblique references to the land in descriptions of the woman as a beautiful landscape, or references to the temple or tabernacle in the description of Solomon's litter. Moreover, there has always been a certain magic to treating the Song of Songs as an encoded message about something distinctly different—Israel's salvation history—from its ostensive meaning—a dialogue between lovers.[23] Nevertheless, as I and others have argued in other contexts, the Song of Songs shows no signs of being originally intended as a description of the divine-human relationship, nor was it originally an encoded poetic rendering of the Torah story. Only now that it is part of a broader Torah-Prophets-Writings corpus can its sporadic references to "wilderness," aspects of the land (e.g. Song 4:1–9), "seeking and not finding," etc. be *re*read as links to Israel's Torah story.[24]

Potential Historical References in the Song of Songs

The contents of the Song of Songs do not provide much basis for dating, but the material that they do provide generally contradicts the late dating often given the book on the basis of its language. This is not just a matter of the book's overall attribution to Solomon, though that attribution need not be completely disregarded. It is also a matter of several specific references in the poetry of the book, particularly to place-names current in Israel's earlier history.

One of the most interesting indicators in this regard is Song 6:4, which places Tirzah, the early capital of the Northern kingdom, parallel to Jerusalem:

> You are beautiful, my love like Tirzah
> lovely as Jerusalem

As Gordis pointed out, the most obvious time to place these two cities in parallel to each other would be in the brief period before 870 BCE when the capital of the

23. David M. Carr, "For the Love of Christ: Generic and Unique Elements in Christian Theological Readings of the Song of Songs," in *The Multivalence of Biblical Texts and Theological Meanings*, ed. Christine Helmer (Atlanta: Scholars, 2006), 28–29.

24. As Keel points out, the Song's own references to the female lover in "the wilderness" recall the identification of Near Eastern goddesses (e.g., Ishtar and Astarte) as "lady of the wilderness"—thus linking these goddesses with the wildness and inaccessibility of the desert (*The Song of Songs*, trans. Frederick J. Gaiser [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994 [1986 original]], 126). More specific "milk and honey" references are discussed above in the section on intertextuality and the Song of Songs. Otherwise, the topographical descriptions of the woman (e.g., 4:1–9) show almost no connection to stereotyped descriptions of the promised land in the Pentateuch and historical books. "Seeking and not finding" is too general a motif to posit a specific relationship. In light of all this, my earlier proposal to take these aspects as "reverse allegory" (*Erotic Word*, 134–36) should be recast as a way of *re*reading potential resonances with the Pentateuch.

Northern kingdom was Tirzah and the capital of the South was Jerusalem.[25] Though Fox and others are correct that the memory of Tirzah continued into later periods, it would have been more natural from the Omride period onward to place Samaria in parallel with Jerusalem, as is done elsewhere in the Bible (e.g. 2 Kgs 21:13; Isa 10:10–11; Ezek 23:4; Mic 1:1, 5).[26]

Other indicators point in a similar direction. Song 7:1 [ET 6:13] includes a call to the "Shulamite." Though this term is obscure, the most probable explanations generally center on tenth-century candidates: a reference to the beautiful "Shunamite," Abishag, who shared David's bed in his old age (1 Kgs 1:3–4); or a form referring to "one belonging to Solomon," possibly even an oblique reference to Solomon's mother, Bathsheba.[27] So also, the poem in Song 3:6–11 contains several elements that are most straightforwardly read as references to//commemorations of Solomon's wedding by contemporaries, including a description of his litter (3:9–10) and a call for the daughters of Jerusalem to "come out and look on" the king on the day of his marriage (3:11). Once again, it is possible to read this as a later literary creation, evoking ancient times. Nevertheless, such a reading is only demanded if other factors require a later dating.[28] Finally, the Song contains a possibly archaic reference to an otherwise unknown tower of David (Song 4:4), an item unlikely to have been invented by a later author, and the spread of placenames across the area of the (reputed) Davidic-Solomonic kingdom could be taken as an indicator of that period as the most likely time for the creation of this sort of poetic world (e.g., Damascus, Sharon, Carmel, Heshbon, Hermon, Gilead, Mahanaim, Jerusalem, Ein Gedi). Again, later authors could create a similar poetic world for a fictional Solomon, if one had other reasons for dating the book to a later period.

Such reasons, however, are not easy to find in terms of the contents of the Song. Keel has argued that the reference to Ein Gedi in Song 1:14 makes it impossible to date the Song prior to the end of the seventh century, because "the oasis at Ein Gedi was not settled and cultivated until then."[29] Though the excavated structures at Ein Gedi date from 625 BCE at the earliest, the site could have been cultivated prior to that point and the area figures prominently in the narrative about Saul and David in 1 Sam 24:1–23 [ET 1 Sam 23:29–24:22]. Finally, even *if* this reference to

25. Robert Gordis, *The Song of Songs and Lamentations: A Study, Modern Translation and Commentary*, rev. ed. (New York: KTAV, 1974 [1953 original]), 23; see also the revival of this argument in Ian M. Young, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*, in *Forschungen zum Alten Testament,* FAT 5 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1993), 160.

26. Fox, *Song and Egypt*, 187.

27. For discussion, see Keel, *Song of Songs*, 228–29; Roland Murphy, *The Song of Songs* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 181; Serge Frolov, "No Return for the Shulammite: Reflections on Cant 7,1," *ZAW* 110 (1998): 256–58; Tremper Longman III, *The Song of Songs*, New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 192.

28. Cf. Fox, *Song and Egypt*, 187, which notes other ways of understanding this verse. Nevertheless, I maintain he overstates when he asserts that the verse provides "no evidence" regarding dating. It only provides evidence that might be counterbalanced by more compelling evidence in another direction, which Fox aims to give in the following pages.

29. Keel, *Song of Songs*, 5.

Ein Gedi in a two-couplet poem (1:13–14) is late, it is not necessarily enough to date the entire book to the late pre-exilic period or later.

To be sure, some of the above arguments should be qualified by the possibility that the verses involved (e.g., the tower of David in 4:4; Tirzah in 6:4; Shulamite in 7:1 [ET 6:13]) do not appear in 4QCant[a] or 4QCant[b]. Nevertheless, some of the other contents of the Song also would indicate, on the surface, a dating of some of its parts in or close to the tenth century. The frequent references to Jerusalem and links to Solomon suggest the existence of early Southern elements in the book. The Northern elements, particularly the reference to Tirzah, may indicate that the Song was further used and revised in the context of the early Northern monarchy. Such a hypothesis of early Northern use of a "Song of Solomon," it must be admitted, would seem unlikely given the animosity toward Solomon and the South that one would expect in the North on the basis of the biblical narratives (e.g. 1 Kgs 12:1–13:24; 15:16–22). Yet if we allow for the use of some originally Southern materials in early Northern education-enculturation, this scenario would fit the above picture of apparent use of the Song of Songs in texts with an apparent Northern substratum: Hosea and Deuteronomy.[30]

The Language of the Song of Songs

As mentioned before, many early historical-critics have dated the language of the Song of Songs late. Its vast range of vocabulary showed many affinities with Aramaic.[31] Some words, such as פרדס (4:13), appeared to be Persian loan words. And the Song had some features, such as its consistent use of the conjunction שׁ, that appeared to connect it firmly with Mishnaic Hebrew in contrast to biblical Hebrew.

Though many, if not most, scholars continue to find this approach to the language of the Song persuasive, many studies over the last century have called it into question. Already Driver, in his famous introduction written toward the end of the nineteenth century, argued moderately for an early date for the Song of Songs, taking its use of שׁ and other features as reflections of its geographic dialect, Northern Hebrew, rather than as signs of a late date. Furthermore, he suggested that Persian loans, such as פרדס and names of spices, could have entered the Hebrew language via earlier trade contacts.[32] Following a somewhat different model, Abba Bendavid argued at length in his study of biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew for the colloquial character of the Song of Songs, even though he ended up concluding that it had enough Mishnaic and non-classical elements to be dated to the Second Temple period.[33] Meanwhile, Avi Hurvitz included the Song of Songs among the books

30. This might account for the most plausible of "Israelian" features proposed by Noegel and Rendsburg in *Solomon's Vineyard*, 11–55.

31. For a thorough overview of the proposals, see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 49–65.

32. S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian, 1967 [1896 original]), 450. Note also similar observations in Chaim Rabin, "The Song of Songs and Tamil Poetry," *SR* 3 (1973–74): 215–16.

33. Abba Bendavid, *The Language of the Bible and the Language of the Sages [Hebrew]* (Tel Aviv: Devir, 1967–71), 74–76, 79–80.

that should not be dated late on the basis of supposed Aramaisms, mainly because of its poetic and wisdom-like character.[34] These questions about dating the Song of Songs have been synthesized in Ian Young's discussion, which interprets the distinctive linguistic features of the Song of Songs as signs of its geographical and colloquial dialect, rather than as signs of a late date.[35]

One key criterion often used to date the Song of Songs has been the occurrence in it of possible Persian and even Greek loan words. Certainly, the occurrence of פרדס ("garden, park") in Song 4:13 is often seen as a Persian loan, as are occurrences of this word in Qoh 2:5 and Neh 2:8 (the latter in the sense of "forest"). Within the Song of Songs, this word may be used to add variety and an exotic touch to a description of the lover that begins by using the more common Hebrew גן to describe her as a locked "garden" (4:12). The same exotic emphasis could also be behind the use of other potential Persian (certainly foreign) words for spices in the poem such as נרד ("nard"; 4:13–14 [also 1:12]) and כרכם ("saffron"; 4:14).[36] Even aside from the fact that this section is missing from one (possibly abbreviated) copy of Song of Songs (4QCant[a]), all these words represent exactly the sort of "traveling words" that could have entered the Hebrew language at a number of points from various known and unknown Indo-European languages.[37] They do not form a decisive basis for dating the Song as a whole.

Another word often used to date Song of Songs is the single occurrence of אפריון (3:9), a word sometimes interpreted as "litter" in relation to the Greek *φορεῖον* ("litter, sedan chair"). The resemblance to the Greek, however, is approximate, and scholars have proposed other etymologies for it in Iranian and Akkadian.[38] Even if it is a Greek loan, such an isolated borrowing from Greek could have happened across a range of periods from the Bronze Age onward. The word—of whatever origin—again appears to be a touch of exotic coloring, chosen precisely because of its foreignness to elaborate the earlier mention of the (Standard Hebrew) מטה ("litter"; 3:7). The Hebrew of the Song of Songs certainly does not show the sort of widespread influence from Greek that is seen in the book of Daniel, for example,

34. Avi Hurvitz, "The Chronological Significance of Aramaisms in Biblical Hebrew," *IEJ* 18 (1968): 236. He reaffirmed this position in subsequent treatments, for example, Avi Hurvitz, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Biblical Period: The Problem of 'Aramaisms' in Linguistic Research on the Hebrew Bible," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 24–37.

35. Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 157–65. Note also reflections in this direction in Gary Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*, American Oriental Series (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990), 151–73, though he adheres in this treatment to the late dating of the book (p. 164).

36. These are the best cases presented by Athalya Brenner in her "Aromatics and Perfumes in the Song of Songs," *JSOT* 25 (1983): 75–81. This article effectively responds to Rabin's arguments ("Song of Songs") in suggesting that the mention of these spices does not require a late dating. Nevertheless, it does not succeed in establishing a late dating for these terms because of the lack of contrast terms in Hebrew in earlier periods. We do not know of an earlier form of Hebrew that had used indigenous words for these items. The words show every sign of vocabulary imported for items that were likewise imported.

37. See Ian M. Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (London: Equinox, 2008), 289–310 and idem., *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (London: Equinox, 2008), 61.

38. See Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 162 for citations and discussion.

or the clearly late Mishnaic Hebrew of rabbis working in the environment of Hellenistic culture.[39]

Since isolated occurrences of loan words are not an adequate basis for dating of the book as a whole (e.g., פרדס), the main issue for language turns on how one evaluates the affinities of the Song of Songs—particularly its grammar—with Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew.[40] If one has only one continuum leading from unitary classical Hebrew to Mishnaic, Aramaizing Hebrew, then a late dating for the Song of Songs is clear.[41] But such a monolinear continuum, though persuasive to earlier scholars, no longer makes sense. Mishnaic Hebrew, though late, appears to preserve some isoglosses of colloquial dialects that are much older, and (as suggested at the outset of this discussion of dating) it is precisely in a book of love poetry like the Song of Songs that we would expect to see ancient colloquial features otherwise not reflected in standard classical Hebrew.[42] If one works with the probability that the Song of Songs probably reflects a mix of colloquial, generic, and even Northern dialectal features, further supplemented with elements of late language added in the process of oral-written transmission, the picture becomes more murky.

Instead, the Song's linguistic profile conforms with other parts of the picture developed above on the basis of other criteria. Just as the book appears to have been used to an unusual extent by works with a Northern substratum, so its language—for example, the use of שׁ—has connections to potential Northern dialects.[43] In addition, the Song as love poetry may reflect features of colloquial

39. See the discussion in Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 67–71, which argues that a Greek loan would be usable for dating, but that this particular instance (אפריון in Song 3:9) is not compelling as an example of such a loan.

40. Martin Ehrensvärd, "Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young (New York: T&T Clark, 2003), 166–71.

41. This would hold for many of the grammatical features discussed in Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 38–46 that connect aspects of the Hebrew of Song of Songs with various forms of Second Temple and Mishnaic Hebrew. Many features discussed by Dobbs-Allsopp are options in earlier Hebrew and likely present in non-literary dialects of the language. For example, as Isserlin noted (B. S. Isserlin, "Epigraphically Attested Judean Hebrew and the Question of 'Upper Class' [Official] and 'Popular' Speech Variants in Judea During the 8th-6th Centuries," *AJBA* 2 [1972]: 201–202), pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions show a S-V word order otherwise more typical of late Hebrew but also found in the Song of Songs, thus suggesting that word order was a clear option already in the pre-exilic period (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, p. 45); note similar early attestation of the pronominal copula and possibly the proleptic suffix (Dobbs-Allsopp, p. 39). Similarly, the relative absence of the infinitive absolute in the Song of Songs (though see בז יבזו in 8:7) might "fit nicely within a post-classical milieu" (Dobbs-Allsopp, p. 45), but also would be compatible with a variety of other datings. Lack of other features, for example, absence of the paragogic nun or rarety of pual forms, in a short book such as Song of Songs likewise tells us little decisive about its linguistic profile (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, pp. 36–38). Overall, Dobbs-Allsopp is so thorough in gathering all possible linguistic indicators of date in the Song of Songs that he encompasses a number of criteria that, on close analysis, only would be significant to those already convinced of the book's late date.

42. For more discussion of this issue, see Chapter 4 of this book, pp. 125–32.

43. James Davila, "Qoheleth and Northern Hebrew," *Maarav* 5–6 (1990): 82–83; Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 163; Takamitsu Muraoka, "Review of A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words*," *Abr-Nahrain* 31 (1993): 131; David M. Clemens, "Review of A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words*," *JNES* 56 (1997): 153. Note also Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 113–17, which argues for a colloquial element as well. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 30–31 demands empirical evidence to

language, such as the virtually exclusive use of the simplified verbal system without the vav-conversive,[44] the exclusive use of אני in the Song of Songs rather than אנכי,[45] and/or use of an independent pronoun such as של.[46] Problems attend other indicators sometimes used to establish a late date for the grammar of the Song of Songs, such as the occurrence in it of a plural *nomen rectum* in 1:17 (קרת בתינו),[47] the use of the plural for the dual in 4:3, 11; 5:13 (שפחות),[48] and the Aramaic-like use of the passive participle in an active sense in 3:8 (אחזי חרב).[49]

The other major type of indicator for dating that is often used for Song of Songs is the occurrence of possible Aramaisms in its vocabulary.[50] The problems with

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show the Northern and/or colloquial origins of the expression, though he admits that it appears to be an early, albeit rarely used part of the Hebrew repertoire (see also p. 46 on the syntax of ש). On pp. 59–60, he notes several expressions in Song of Songs formed with ש that otherwise only have Aramaic parallels in our existing evidence. Throughout, this portion of his argument is dependent on gaps and presences in our existing literary evidence.

44. See Bendavid, *Language*, 75 which sees this as a sign of a simplified colloquial system and Isserlin, "'Upper Class' and 'Popular' Speech Variants," 200–201 on the rarity of vav-conversive in inscriptions in the study of diglossia. Dobbs-Allsopp, p. 40 (see also p. 33), acknowledges that the relative absence of the form in Song of Songs may be due partially to its "lyric medium," but nevertheless considers it significant for dating purposes.

45. On the potential colloquial preference for the pronoun, see Daniel C. Fredericks, *Qoheleth's Language: Re-Evaluating Its Nature and Date*, Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 3 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1988), 39 and Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 141–44. Rezekto shows that the distribution of these pronouns does not pattern chronologically ("Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young [New York: T&T Clark, 2003], 225–26).

46. Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 119–23. Cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 38, 59, which acknowledges the inner-Hebrew origins of this particle, but prefers to include possible Aramaic derivation of this expression as well.

Other aspects of the Song of Songs that Ben David (*Language*, 75–76) suggests are colloquialisms include כתל in 2:9; שוק in 3:2; קוצות in 5:2, 11; and מזג in 7:3, all of which have been treated as late Aramaisms by others.

47. Rezetko, "Dating Biblical Hebrew," 231–33 (cf. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 33).

48. Antoon Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth*, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 41 (vol. 1; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 71–72 and Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 33 but note that one of the key texts that Schoors and Dobbs-Allsopp list for this usage, Ps 45:3, was discussed in Chapter 13 of this book as containing probable early royal material.

49. On this expression, see now the reference to earlier analogous expressions in Akkadian and Ugaritic in Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 53–54.

50. For a survey of other features not specifically linked to Aramaic, see Dobbs-Allsopp, pp. 30–49. There is not space here to review each of these proposals in detail, and indeed, given the fluidity of the transmission history of all biblical books (and particularly those like Song of Songs), it is quite possible that our present form(s) of Song of Songs would show certain aspects of late language even if major portions of it originated earlier. Nevertheless, it should be noted that many of the lexical items proposed by Dobbs-Allsopp are problematic as dating indicators, such as the hapax דבב (7:10; no late biblical attestation and as easily evidence of the range of the vocabulary of Song of Songs as its date), the order זהב וכסף (1:11; but note the reverse order in Song 3:10 and the fact that this is not really a linguistic isogloss), חך (Song 2:3; 5:16; 7:10; but also Hos 8:1, which provides some indication that it may have been part of the early Hebrew repertoire), כתם פז (Song 5:11; Dobbs-Allsopp notes a lot of contexts as "late," which are not necessarily so, for example, כתם in Ps 45:10; Prov 25:12 and פז in Prov 8:19; Ps 21:4), מסב (Song 1:12; uncertain parallels), צמה (Song 4:1, 3; 6:7; only attested once elsewhere in the Bible, Isa 47:2), etc. As Dobbs-Allsopp acknowledges, the Song features an

this criterion were discussed already in Chapter 4, but they are particularly acute in a case like the Song of Songs. Not only does the 4QCant[b] tradition show the extent to which Song of Songs was prone to Aramaization in the process of transmission, but Song of Songs itself is the sort of poetic book that Driver recognized was a poor candidate for the use of Aramaisms in dating. As Driver observed, a poet of a variety of periods could draw on Aramaic—or rare Hebrew words otherwise only known in later Aramaic—to fill out imagery and poetic lines. Indeed, the Song of Songs appears to be a particularly good illustration of this phenomenon, containing more terms (per chapter) found nowhere else in biblical Hebrew than any other book in the Bible. Given that, it should come as no surprise that the Song contains an unusual density of Aramaisms, including some potentially early ones such as an isolated occurrence of an Aramaic sound change *ṯ*>*t* in ברתים ("juniper"; 1:17//ברושים) also seen in the Song of Deborah (תנה "recount"; Judg 5:11//שנה). Otherwise, though there are some good candidates for Aramaisms in Song of Songs, such as שזף ("turn brown"; 1:6//שדף), which appears (with a slightly different meaning) twice in the poetry of Job (20:9; 28:7),[51] many other proposed Aramaisms in the Song of Songs fail the basic criteria of Hurvitz and others for the use of Aramaisms in dating, either lacking a parallel lexeme in biblical Hebrew (thus not contrasting with earlier usage)[52] and/or not being characteristic of demonstrably late Hebrew books of the Bible (often they are hapax legomena).[53]

In sum, the linguistic profile of the Song of Songs does not provide clear grounds for dating, either early or late. Though many have interpreted its

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unusually broad range of vocabulary, thus rendering insignificant instances where we lack attestation of a given word in the limited Hebrew Bible corpus, but have it in the broader corpus of Second Temple and Rabbinic Hebrew.

51. For a survey and discussion of several other candidates, see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 55–61. Much more tenuous is his argument (p. 51) that the Ketib reading of לכי in 2:13 is a chronologically significant Aramaism (cf. לך qore and in 4QCant[b]), especially since, as he acknowledges, this reading (also in the LXX) may be a scribal error assimilating this form to לכי in the following line. Also, though he notes that nonassimilation of the nun of the preposition מן before indefinite nouns is more common in late texts (p. 52), it is also attested in probable early texts and thus its single occurrence in Song 4:15 is meaningless for dating.

52. An example of this would be the word שחרות ("black") in Song 1:5, 6; 5:11 along with several other Biblical texts. In a discussion of Qohelet, Schoors lists this among the Aramaisms that are indicators of a late dating (Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 469), but see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 62, with note 215.

53. This is true of many of the Aramaisms that are also hapax legomena and mentioned by Michael Fox in his discussion of dating of the Song (*Song and Egypt*, 186–88): קפץ ("jump"; 2:8; see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 62, note 211), כתל ("wall"; 2:9), חרכים ("lattice"; 2:9; see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 61, note 206), קוצות ("locks of hair"; 5:2, 11; //מחלפה only seen in Judg 16:13, 19; see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 48), טנף ("to get dirty"; 5:3; cf. Akkadian *ṭanāpu*), אמן ("master craftsman" in 7:2; cf. Akkadian *ummānu*; see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 61, note 203), מזג ("mixed or spiced wine"; 7:3), סוג II ("fence"; 7:3; // שכך, סכך), סנסנה ("date panacle"; 7:9; Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Akkadian cognates; see Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 62, note 209). Note also that גנה ("garden"; 6:11) also occurs in Amos 4:9, a portion of Amos that appears to have been a source for Isaiah (see Chapter 10, pp. 327–8). Dobbs-Allsopp, "Linguistic Features," 56–61 allows a few of these (טנף, כתל, מזג, סוג) as potentially significant Aramaisms, despite the fact that they do not occur elsewhere in biblical Hebrew, including late biblical Hebrew.

divergence from classical Hebrew and attestation of forms otherwise known in Mishnaic Hebrew as a sign of lateness, it is increasingly clear that many such features also can be seen as signs of its dialectal and/or colloquial character. The isolated use of probable foreign words, such as אפריון ("litter"; 3:9) and פרדס ("garden"; 4:13), is not a chronologically significant indicator, particularly given the lexicographic range of the Song and its unusually fluid transmission history. And the past use of Aramaisms to date the Song has not taken sufficient account of Hurvitz's and others' strictures regarding the limitations of use of Aramaisms for dating biblical books, particularly poetic books like the Song of Songs.

Interim Summary on Dating the Song of Songs

Though dating love poetry like the Song of Songs is not an exact science, the indicators surveyed above are either neutral (language) or point toward an early preexilic dating at least of major portions of the Song. The type of material in the book, love poetry, was (re)used in ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Ugaritic education. Moreover, the material in the book particularly resembles Egyptian love poetry from the New Kingdom period, just before the emergence of the Davidic-Solomonic kingdom. The clearest intertextual connections between the Song of Songs and other biblical texts point to the probable dependence of Hosea, Deuteronomy and Proverbs 1-9 on portions of the Song of Songs (rather than the reverse). The bulk of historically located references in the Song likewise point to an early dating, with some pointing toward the Solomonic period itself and others indicating an early Northern kingdom context. Finally, in so far as the language of a fluidly transmitted book like the Song can be used for dating at all, it is generally compatible with *either* an early or a late dating of the book. Certainly, the Song of Songs as we have it now is a Hellenistic product, no earlier than our oldest manuscripts of the Bible, and some parts of it may originate from its latest phases of transmission. Nevertheless, building on the criteria of (non-polemical) similarity to non-biblical literature, potential historical referents, apparent dependence of relatively early biblical texts on it, and lack of reflection in the Song of major themes from the Hebrew corpus—it appears that we may discern in this otherwise Aramaized, updated book of love poetry the possible faint outlines of early preexilic material.

Such an early dating, of at least a significant portion of the Song, conforms to the attribution of the Song to Solomon, who is reputed to have authored hundreds of songs (1 Kgs 5:12 [ET 4:32]). In addition, the Song's inclusion of widely dispersed esoterica fits Solomon's reputation for encyclopedic knowledge (1 Kgs 5:13–14 [ET 4:33–34]), and Rabin noted years ago ways in which the range of spices attested in the Song potentially link with the reported gift of an unprecedented quantity of spices to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–10).[54] To be sure, all of the above-cited traditions from Kings come from later periods, and it is possible that a Hellenistic poet, working within the emergent tradition of pseudepigraphy, also attested for the Wisdom of Solomon and Enoch, could have

54. Rabin, "Song of Songs," 215.

created a "Solomonic" song and shaped that song so it resonated with the traditions surrounding that king. Moreover, scholars often point out that a superscription of the sort seen on the Song of Songs could easily be added later.[55] Yet I suggest that the above-reviewed factors could favor another approach that takes the association with the Solomonic period more seriously. Comparative evidence suggests that such love poetry generally circulated anonymously, but the material in this book may have gained an instruction-like attribution to Solomon when it was authored and/or reshaped for educational use, much like the attributions put on instructional material throughout the book of Proverbs.

■ QOHELET/ECCLESIASTES

If the case for early pre-exilic material embedded in Song of Songs is somewhat difficult, the case for such in Qohelet is yet more so. Indeed, Qohelet serves as a bit of a contrastive example to Song of Songs and Proverbs, since the criteria in each instance are weaker than those that suggest the presence of early material across much of Proverbs and some of Song of Songs. Thus, Qohelet becomes an example of how such criteria do not just work to support the case for early material in a biblical book, but can also qualify such a case.

The Criterion of Similarity

I start again with the criterion of similarity, ways in which Qohelet might be taken to build in non-inversive ways on non-biblical traditions. In this respect, it is a good initial fit. Qohelet, like Proverbs 1–9, closely corresponds to a genre, second-person instruction, which is attested in Aramaic, Mesopotamian, and especially Egyptian forms. In Egypt, such instructions are attributed to kings and high officials, and they sometimes include a royal testament of similar form to that seen in Qoh 1:12–2:23. As early Israel developed its first curriculum, it would not be unusual for it to adopt this form for its emergent corpus. At the same time, we also have attestation of Jewish appropriation of this form well into the Hellenistic period, with Ben Sira and Wisdom of Solomon. So the appropriation of this genre, attested across multiple contexts and periods in Judah and the broader Near East, is not decisive.

Perhaps more importantly, the refrains scattered across Qohelet advise that the student enjoy eating, drinking, good clothes, and romantic love in the face of the fate of death (2:24–26; 5:18–19 [ET 5:19–20]; 8:15; 9:7–10; 11:7–10; cf. 4:6), a combination of motifs most closely paralleled by a speech of the alewife Siduri exclusively attested in the *Old Babylonian* form of the Gilgamesh epic.[56] This link is

55. The use of the relative אשר exclusively in the superscription (1:1) would be another indicator of this.

56. Oswald Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient: Untersuchungen zu Stil und theologischer Thematik des Buches Qohelet* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), 117–20, 132–34; James L. Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1997), 51. Others have noted the link, but Loretz and Crenshaw are among those who have most stressed its significance.

particularly significant because early recensions of the Gilgamesh epic are unusually well attested outside Mesopotamia in second millennium Hatti, Emar, Megiddo, and (in altered form) Ugarit. Though peripheral versions of cuneiform education used literary texts sparingly, the Gilgamesh epic appears to have been one of the most commonly used such texts outside Mesopotamia. In the following chapter, I will discuss additional evidence in Genesis 6–8 that ancient Israel knew and used the Gilgamesh epic. The contents of Qohelet converge with that evidence.

The question is how to evaluate its significance. On the one hand, a Hellenistic-period dating does not conform well with this evidence, since the Old Babylonian form of Gilgamesh had not been in circulation for hundreds of years by this time. On the other hand, taken by itself, this similarity could testify to the ongoing preservation of an ancient motif (moderate enjoyment in the face of death) into the Hellenistic period, rather than to the composition of the entire Qohelet composition in a much earlier period in Judah when an early version of Gilgamesh (or an unattested Canaanite derivation from it) was in circulation. Furthermore, as Hengel and others have pointed out, Qohelet's refrain also resembles similar critiques of traditional values and endorsements of *carpe diem* across the Eastern Mediterranean Hellenistic world. In particular, Hengel has maintained that Qohelet's concepts of human portion (חלק) and fate (מקרה) represent the emergence of an impersonal system within Hebrew thought analogous to that represented by the Greek terms τύχη ("fortune") and μοῖρα ("portion").[57]

Therefore, the criterion of similarity is not particularly clear in the case of Qohelet. The instruction form is attested in both early Hebrew (e.g., Proverbs) and later (e.g. Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon) contexts. And the similarity of Qohelet's refrain to Siduri's speech in OB Gilgamesh, striking though it is, may not be a strong enough link to establish the writing of the entire composition of Qohelet in the early pre-exilic period. We must turn to other indicators.

Intertextual Relationships

Qohelet has fewer potential intertextual relationships than the Song of Songs. For example, some scholars have asserted that the description of Solomon's exploration of pleasure in Qoh 2:3–10 is dependent on the historical narrative about Solomon in 1 Kings 3–11. Nevertheless, though the texts cover similar ground, they do so in such different ways that a genetic relationship in either direction is impossible to establish.[58] Some other cases of possible intertextual relationships concern vaguely parallel brief sayings that are similar in content, but significantly different in formulation. Qoh 3:14 is a version of the "canon formula" seen in Prov

57. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 115–28. My appropriation of Hengel is in David M. Carr, *From D to Q: A Study of Early Jewish Interpretations of Solomon's Dream at Gibeon*, SBLMS (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), 143–44. Others who have expanded on and nuanced Hengel's approach include Rainer Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie*, BZAW (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973) and Norbert Lohfink, *Kohelet*, Neue Echter Bibel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980).

58. Cf. Antoon Schoors, "(Mis)Use of Intertextuality in Qoheleth Exegesis," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. André Lemaire and Magne Saebo Leiden Brill, 2000), 46.

30:6; Deut 4:2 and 13:1, along with various other Near Eastern texts. Its dependence on a particular other biblical example is not evident. So also, there are similar commands to fear God in Deut 10:20 (etc.) and Qoh 5:3 [ET 5:4]; sayings about "hearing" (שמע) being better than sacrifice (זבח) in 1 Sam 15:22 and Qoh 4:17 [ET 5:1]; differently worded sayings about there not being (אין) a person (אדם) who does not sin (לא חטא) in 1 Kgs 8:46 and Qoh 7:20 and vague parallels between warnings about the potential deadly consequences of being entrapped by a married woman in Proverbs 1–9 (e.g. Prov 5:4–5); and a saying in Qohelet about women in general being "more bitter than death" and the importance of escaping being trapped by her (Qoh 7:26). The overlap in content between these pairs makes their differences in formulation all the more striking. Specific dependence can not be established.[59] Somewhat closer is the formulation of two sayings in Qoh 3:20 and Gen 3:19 about humans coming from "dust" (עפר) and "returning" (שוב) to the dust. Nevertheless, their formulations are still different enough that establishment of the direction of dependence is impossible.

The best candidate for a genetic relationship between Qohelet and a relatively datable text is that between two sayings about making rash vows, Qoh 5:3–5 [ET 5:4–6] and Deut 23:22–24 [ET 23:21–23]. Both begin with almost identical exhortations to avoid postponing the fulfillment of vows made to God and continue with similar themes, albeit with the initial ambiguous conditional כי preserved in Deut 23:22 [ET 23:21] possibly updated in Qoh 5:3 [ET 5:4] to fit later Second Temple usage of this conjunction.[60] Despite differences in formulation, there is enough similarity in content, sequence and vocabulary to posit some kind of genetic relationship between the two. They are far closer to each other than either is to a saying about rash oaths in Lev 5:4.

This does not decide, however, the direction of dependence. Though the כי in Deut 23:22 [ET 23:21] may be the more archaic formulation compared to Qoh 5:3 [ET 5:4], there are other indicators that point toward possible dependence of Deuteronomy on Qohelet. For example, the statement about vows in Qohelet is part of a broader, typical wisdom instruction about taking care with speech (e.g. Prov 20:25; 18:7; cf. 12:13), with the exhortation toward care with vows (5:3–4 [ET 5:4–5]) sandwiched between statements at the beginning and end about avoiding getting in trouble through the mouth (5:1, 5 [ET 5:2, 6]) and dreams (5:2, 6 [ET 5:3, 7]). As Weinfeld has pointed out, this sort of saying about guarding one's mouth is widespread in wisdom literature of the sort found in Qohelet (e.g., Prov 20:25; 18:7; cf. 12:13) and not typical of the kinds of regulations found in

59. Even more questionable is the often asserted supposed link between the conclusion to the Priestly creation narrative in Gen 1:31 (sixth day, "very good") and the proclamation in Qoh 3:1 that "there is a time and date for every joy under heaven." The two share little in content or formulation. See Schoors, "Intertextuality in Qohelet," 57–59.

60. On this change and the Temple Scroll's broader adaptation of Deuteronomy at this point, Bernhard Levinson and Molly Zahn, "Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כי and אם in the Temple Scroll," *DSD* 9 (2002): 302 and 325–27. Though open to their approach, I am not fully in accord with their argument (especially pp. 326–27) that other indicators point toward the dependence of the saying in Qohelet on its counterpart in Deuteronomy. Nevertheless, since I am not arguing strongly here for dependence in the reverse direction, I will not engage in a more detailed response.

Pentateuchal law.[61] Furthermore, the language of this saying on vows in Deuteronomy diverges from other parts of the book in focusing on the " mouth" and "lips" and what these organs do, again using terminology typical throughout Qohelet and other wisdom literature.[62] For this reason, even some, such as von Rad, who have presupposed that Qohelet was later than Deuteronomy, have entertained the possibility that Deuteronomy might be dependent on a pre-Qohelet version of this saying.[63] And the same could be said for possible appropriation and expansion in Deut 4:39 of a saying in Qoh 5:1b [ET 5:2b] of a more broadly attested ANE motif of God being in heaven and humans on earth.[64] Even if it could be established that the form of the sayings found in Qoh 5:1b [ET 5:2b] and Qoh 5:3–5 [ET 5:4–6] was earlier than the form found in Deut 4:39 and 23:22–24 [ET 23:21–23], it is not clear whether this attests to the dependence of Deuteronomy more broadly on a form of Qohelet, the dependence of Deuteronomy on pre-Qohelet forms of such sayings, or perhaps even the extremely late (post-[Hellenistic?] Qohelet) origins of these particular parts of Deuteronomy.

Overall, it is striking how little Qohelet is intertextually related to other parts of the Bible. The clearest cases appear to be probable dependence of different parts of Deuteronomy—Deut 4:39 and 23:22–25 [ET 23:21–24]—on a series of wisdom sayings about rash words and vows in Qoh 5:1(b), 2–5 [ET 5:2b, 3–6]. Otherwise, Qohelet does not appear to have influenced the vast swathe of Pentateuchal, historical, and prophetic literature, nor does it appear influenced by these other books. And this takes us to the next topic.

The Criterion of Dissimilarity

In general, aside from the above-discussed case of parallels with parts of Deuteronomy, Qohelet shows a remarkable lack of explicit awareness of Hebrew biblical texts. Some have wanted to see an allusion to prophetic critiques of oppression in Qohelet's contemplation of "oppression" (עשק) in Qoh 4:1, or to prophetic and other critiques of the cult in Qohelet's recommendation of "listening" over "sacrifice" (Qoh 4:17 [ET 5:1]; see above on 1 Sam 15:22), but Qohelet's comments are revealing as much for how they fail to link specifically with textual precursors as for their vague similarity in content to them. When one looks at other texts more securely datable to the fourth or third centuries—for example, the present redaction of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith, etc.—Qohelet stands out

61. Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 270–72.

62. The mention of "your mouth" in Deut 23:24 [ET 23:23] is the only occurrence of this expression in the book, aside from the comment in Deut 30:14 about the Torah being near to the mouth, but it occurs twice in Qohelet (5:1, 5 [ET 5:2, 6]) and five times in Proverbs (Prov 6:2 [twice]; 27:2; 31:8–9). "Your lips" occurs only this once in Deuteronomy, but there are five expressions relating to it in Proverbs (5:2; 22:18; 23:16; 24:28; 27:2).

63. Gerhard von Rad, *Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium*, ATD 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964 [ET 1966]), 106 [ET 148].

64. On this, I am informed by an unpublished presentation on this motif by Nili Samet, "Processes of Literary Adaptation in the Bible and the Ancient Near East: An Ancient Proverb as a Test Case."

in its lack of specific reflections of Hebrew Scriptural writings or similarity to other writings likely datable to the same time. Certainly it starkly contrasts with Ben Sira, a book dated only a few decades later than many would date Qohelet. In sum, in this respect, it does not match the profile of early Hellenistic-period works. This could be a pointer to the earlier origins of Qohelet. Or it could be a pointer to the limits of that profile. After all, if Qohelet is well datable on other grounds to the Hellenistic period, then it could be taken as an attestation of a somewhat idiosyncratic Judean Hebrew adaptation of Hellenistic themes as a balance to the Torah focus found elsewhere in contemporaneous literature.

Potential Historical References in Qohelet

Finally, Qohelet does not provide much to work with in terms of historical references. Like much of Proverbs, the book is presented as authored by Solomon, Israel's preeminent sage. Yet, this *could* be taken as evidence of a link with early pre-exilic literature *or* as an example of Hellenistic-period pseudepigraphy.[65] Another criterion advocated for an early pre-exilic dating of Qohelet is its repeated focus on instructing students about behavior vis-à-vis a king (Qoh 8:2–4; 10:20).[66] Yet as pointed out by Michael Fox, the sort of focus on behavior vis-à-vis kings in Qohelet has a consistent view of kings as dangerous that is similar to (Hellenistic-period) Ben Sira and different from the more positive perspective on kingship found in Proverbs.[67] Overall, perhaps partly because of Qohelet's character as a wisdom text, there is little in it that would require either an early or a very late date.

Dating Qohelet's Language

As summarized above, most scholars take Qohelet's language to be a primary indicator of its late date. Already in the late nineteenth century, scholars such as Delitzsch and Siegfried could assemble compilations of grammatical and lexicographic indicators that pointed toward a late date for the book, and this process of compilation reached its climax in Anton Schoors's comprehensive overview of the grammar and language of Qohelet.[68] As in the case of the Song of Songs, many of these were links between the language of Qohelet and the language of the Mishnah, including and particularly the presence of a large number of possible Aramaisms. Furthermore, Qohelet has at least two potential Persian loan words, פרדס ("park"; Qoh 2:5; also seen in Song 4:13) and פתגם ("decree"; Qoh 8:11; also Est 1:20).

As argued in Chapter 4, in and of itself, however, such language is a relatively unstable criterion on which to date an entire composition. In addition to the

65. The attribution to Solomon does *not* conform well with a Persian-period dating, such as that proposed by Seow ("Linguistic Evidence and the Dating of Qohelet," *JBL* 115 [1996]: 643–66), since true pseudepigraphy (creation of new pseudepigraphic compositions, as opposed to appending of later material onto earlier collections) is not well attested that early.

66. Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 146–48.

67. Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 500–502.

68. Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words*, Vols. 1 and 2.

cautions raised in Chapter 4 about the use of Aramaisms for dating, a number of specific studies have cast into doubt the status of several features of Qohelet as late Aramaisms, for example, כבר as "already";[69] אלו as "if";[70] widespread use of composite conjunctions with relative particle, for example, כאחד/בש/באשר;[71] ("together");[72] etc. Many other indicators of late date that are collected by Schoors actually occur in materials that I am arguing are probably early, for example, Proverbs[73] and Song of Songs.[74] Several grammatical-syntactic indicators, still mentioned in surveys such as Schoors, have been shown by other studies to be problematic indicators of date—for example, the use of medial *matres lectionis*,[75] merging of III-א and III-ה roots,[76] the exclusive use of אני as the first personal pronoun,[77] etc. Finally, given the fluidity of oral-written transmission, particularly for non-Torah books like Qohelet, we must be careful about depending on isolated words, such as פרדס or פתגם, to date the original composition of a work.[78]

In sum, language, particularly in a case such as Qohelet, is not as stable a criterion for dating as it might first appear. On the one hand, even with the above qualifications, it is safe to say that the present form of Qohelet manifests a profile that conforms in large part with the sort of Aramaized (and Persianized) Hebrew that became more prominent in the fourth to second centuries. On the other hand, it is possible to explain this profile partly as a result of Qohelet's use of colloquial and/

69. Fredericks, *Qohelet's Language*, 184, 228, 260. This is one of the few words that Fredericks deems a possible Aramaism, but he argues against this as the only/most likely possibility.

70. Fredericks, *Qohelet's Language*, 217; Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 153.

71. Cf. Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 144–49. Schoors acknowledges that this use occurs in early texts as well, but bases his use of the indicator on its prevalence in Qohelet. As pointed out by Naudé, prevalence of use is not a helpful indicator for dating ("The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young [New York: T&T Clark, 2003], 196–201). This very problem is noted by Schoors himself in his treatment of the frequency of the use of מה as an indefinite pronoun (*Preacher Sought Words 1*, 59–60).

72. Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 89. Cf. Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 153, which points out the differences in semantic range between Qohelet's usage, late biblical Hebrew use of the same phrase, and the use of יחדיו, the supposed early biblical Hebrew equivalent to Qohelet's כאחד.

73. שבע construed with מן (Qoh 6:3; Prov 14:14) and בהל in the sense of "hasten" (Qoh 5:1; 7:9; Prov 28:22). Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 152. Cf. Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 250.

74. Use of plural for dual in שפתות in Qoh 10:12 and Song 4:3, 11; 5:13. Note also Psalm 29 רקד "skip about" (Qoh 3:4; Ps 29:6). On the probable early date of Psalm 29, see John Day, "How Many Pre-exilic Psalms Are There?" in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 136. Cf. Schoors, Preacher Sought Words, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth*, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 42 (vol. 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 417.

75. See Muraoka, "Review of Schoors," 131 and Clemens, "Review of Schoors," 151–52, both of which cite, in particular, James Barr, "Spelling in the Hebrew Bible," *JSS* 33 (1988): 122–31. For the opposing opinion and excellent review of earlier literature, cf. Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 22–33.

76. Fredericks, *Qohelet's Language*, 93–94; Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 85–94. Cf. Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 98–99.

77. See Muraoka, "Review of Schoors"; Clemens, "Review of Schoors," 153; and Rezetko, "Dating Biblical Hebrew," 225–26. Again, for an opposing approach to this feature in Qohelet (and citations of earlier literature), see Schoors, *Preacher Sought Words 1*, 47–48.

78. Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 70–71.

or dialectal Hebrew and/or partly as a result of the unusually fluid transmission of more marginal and idiosyncratic books like Qohelet. After all, Qohelet of all teachers is identified in the first subscription of the book as one who taught "the people" (Qoh 12:9). Moreover, this colloquial character would explain Qohelet's use of simplified syntactic constructions typical of colloquial dialects, such as his use of simple tenses in place of the converted imperfect and his negation of the infinitive in the canon formula through a phrase beginning with אין (Qoh 3:14).[79] Though these and several other features of Qohelet are best known from the later Mishnaic Hebrew dialect, they may actually reflect a much earlier spoken Hebrew, of which Mishnaic Hebrew—the language of originally oral deliberations of the rabbis—is a later outgrowth.[80]

Interim Conclusion on Qohelet

In sum, these reflections on the dating of Qohelet are more unclear than the case of the Song of Songs. The unambivalent dependence on a demonstrably early non-biblical tradition (OB Gilgamesh) could be explained through different models, the intertextual relationships are less extensive and less clear, and there are no historical references in Qohelet (aside from its potentially pseudepigraphic superscription) that clearly connect it to the early pre-exilic period. Furthermore, the linguistic evidence, if anything, more strongly suggests a late-Persian-/Hellenistic-period date than in the case of Song of Songs, in so far as such linguistic evidence is usable.

Though I believe some dating indicators for Qohelet are less decisive than some others would judge them to be, I still think an early pre-exilic dating of a broader proto-Qohelet composition to the early pre-exilic period is an open question. Given the mix of indicators, it is certainly possible that Qohelet is a Hellenistic-period pseudepigraphic wisdom text, but is also possible that some form of it dates further back to the early pre-exilic period. It should be noted that a decision for an early pre-exilic dating for Qohelet would then pose the problem of how competing "Solomonic" traditions (Proverbs and Qohelet) emerged and were transmitted for centuries, with only one (Proverbs) exercising much effect on subsequent literature.

Thus, Qohelet stands as a good example of how one must be careful in applying the profiles developed in the second part of this book. On the one hand, it conforms with the already discussed development of wisdom in Hellenistic-period texts, a development well documented from Ben Sira through Qumran wisdom and the Wisdom of Solomon. On the other hand, Qohelet as a Hellenistic-period text would diverge from the Torah/Prophets focus otherwise broadly attested in texts from that period, aside, perhaps, from very limited possible appropriation in

79. On these usages in particular, see Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 149. For broader reflections on Qohelet and colloquial Hebrew, see Bendavid, *Language*, 77–80 (which dates Qohelet's language late); Fredericks, *Qohelet's Language*; and Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 151–73.

80. For a review of scholarship on Mishnaic Hebrew and colloquial dialects, see Rendsburg, *Diglossia*, 1–33 and Ian M. Young, *Diversity*, 79–81.

Qoh 5:1b [ET 5:2b] and Qoh 5:3–5 [ET 5:4–6] of materials in Deut 4:39 and 23:22–24 [ET 23:21–23].

■ CONCLUSION

This chapter shows us coming up against the limits of a search for early pre-exilic material in the Hebrew Bible. Whether or not Song of Songs and Qohelet date in some form to an early period, their present recensions bear potential linguistic and other (e.g., probable Second Temple priestly additions in Qoh 12:13–14 and elsewhere) marks of the Hellenistic period. The question addressed here was whether one could reconstruct behind these recensions some form of each book that might date earlier, whether the association with Solomon in each case was merely pseudepigraphic or might indicate something more (as in the case of some psalms and the book of Proverbs).

The decision reached here is that a better case for such earlier origins can be made for some form of Song of Songs than it can be made for Qohelet. Not only does Song of Songs contain more historical references that might place it in the early pre-exilic South and then early North, but a broader and (in my judgment) better case can be made for the dependence of other pre-exilic texts (e.g., Hosea, Isaiah, even Proverbs) on Song of Songs than can be made in the case of Qohelet. Qohelet's potential link to a very early Mesopotamian tradition about Gilgamesh (the Siduri speech) is striking, but need not be decisive. Instead, I conclude that some portion of the love songs now embedded in the Song of Songs probably long pre-date the Hellenistic period, while the substratum of Qohelet is (yet) more difficult to date. Its earliest literary level could be quite early, but it also could well be part of a broader phenomenon of Hellenistic-period wisdom well attested at Qumran and elsewhere. Though it lacks the Torah focus otherwise characteristic of many Hellenistic-period texts, it nevertheless links with the spectrum of major textual options surveyed in Part Two of this book.

16 Other Biblical Texts Potentially from the Early Monarchal Period

The last few chapters have shown that it is not easy to identify biblical texts that may have come from the early monarchy. The labels in the Bible itself are not consistently reliable. Manuscript and other evidence suggests that even the best candidates to be such early texts have been changed over centuries of oral-written transmission. And the kinds of criteria that must be used to fill out the picture—such as comparison with non-biblical materials and analysis of potential relationships of genetic dependence—each have their own problems.

This chapter moves to several portions of the Hebrew Bible that might contain early monarchal texts, whether from Judah or Israel. The major difference from the last few chapters is that the texts under study here are not entire biblical books (or psalms), nor are they explicitly associated with David or Solomon. Instead, each is a hypothesized text that has been identified as potentially early on the basis of indicators embedded in the final form(s) of the Bible. That said, the shape and existence of these hypothesized texts are not pure speculation. Rather, the basic contours of most have been agreed on by most biblical scholars for decades, if not centuries. They include examples such as the non-Priestly Primeval History and Covenant Code. Though there is ongoing disagreement about the precise contents of these hypothesized texts, the identification of their basic existence stands as one of the relatively assured results of contemporary biblical scholarship.

What has not been clear, particularly in the last few decades, is where these texts fit in the broader sweep of the development of the Hebrew Bible. Early in biblical scholarship, some were placed relatively late in the development of the Hebrew Bible. Starting in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a balance of scholars placed these texts relatively early in Judah and Israel's history. Then, starting in the mid-1970s, many proposed a late dating for all or some of these texts. The following sections of this chapter will consider each of these hypothesized texts in turn, considering them in light of the criteria used in this book for identifying potential early monarchal texts.

AN EARLY PRIMEVAL HISTORY

Identifying the Contours of an Early Primeval History

Already in 1711 a German pastor, H. Witter, distinguished between two strands at the outset of the Genesis primeval history, one containing the Gen 1:1–2:3 creation account and the other consisting of the story of creation, crime, and punishment in Gen 2:4–3:24.[1] His work did not find followers, but a physician working in the

1. Hennig Bernard Witter, *Jura Israelitarum in Palaaestinam* (Hildesiæ: Sumtibus Ludolphi Schröderi, 1711), 23. For the original discovery of this previously overlooked scholar, see A. Lods, "Un précurseur allemand de Jean Astruc: Henning Bernhard Witter," *ZAW* 43 (1925): 134–35.

court of Louis XIV, Jean Astruc, argued in 1753 that the two strands in Gen 1:1–2:3 and 2:4–3:24 continued through the rest of Genesis.[2]

This basic proposal has proven persuasive for two main reasons. First, this section of Genesis is characterized by major doublets, particularly between creation stories (Gen 1:1–2:3//2:4–25[3:1–24]), genealogies leading from creation to the flood story (Gen 4:1–24//Gen 5:1–32), and multiple parallels across the flood story (e.g., Gen 6:9–22//7:1–5 and 8:20–22//9:1–17). Second, one can sort the different members of each primeval history doublet into two relatively readable source strands that are distinguished by which divine designation they use and other linguistic and thematic elements. One of the source strands uses the designation Elohim for God and includes Gen 1:1–2:3; almost all of 5:1–32; and 6:9–22; 8:20–22 and associated parts of the flood. The other strand uses the divine designation Yhwh frequently and includes Gen 2:4–4:24(25–26); 7:1–5; and 8:20–22 and the other strand of the flood.

Over the last two and one-half centuries (since the mid-eighteenth century), this basic distinction between two strands in Genesis 1–11 (and in the rest of the Pentateuch) has prevailed over other proposals and stands as one of the assured results of biblical scholarship. The identification of the contours of the sources of the primeval history evolved through Eberhard Schrader's definitive study in 1863,[3] and the two sources were each given lasting designations—P for the source starting in Gen 1:1 and J for the source starting in Gen 2:4b. Otherwise, despite recent challenges, this basic distinction between two sources in Genesis 1–11 has persisted for almost 150 years.[4]

In 1821, another German scholar, Friederich von Pustkuchen, proposed an additional distinction, this time between the non-Priestly/J primeval history and the non-Priestly material that followed in Genesis. He suggested that the non-Priestly primeval history in Gen 2–4; 6:1–8; 7:1–4 . . . 8:20–22; 9:20–26; etc. had once existed independently as a literary composition, before it was combined with the stories about Abraham and other ancestors that now follow

2. Jean Astruc, *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genése* (Paris: Chez Fricx, 1999 [1753 original]). For a discussion of the significance of Astruc, see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kirtischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 3rd expanded ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982 [1956 original]), 95–97.

3. Eberhard Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte* (Zurich, Switzerland: Meyer & Zeller, 1863), 136–55.

4. The only exception is a debate among some in the last decades about the dating and character of the two layers of Genesis 1–11. For example, Blenkinsopp and Ska have argued that the Yahwistic strand of Genesis 1–11 is a later expansion of the Priestly strand (Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible*, AB Reference Library [New York: Doubleday, 1992], 64–67, 78–93; "A Post-exilic Lay Source in Genesis 1–11," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, BZAW 315 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002], 49–61), while Erhard Blum and John Van Seters have maintained the reverse, that the Priestly material of Genesis 1–11 is an expansion of the Yahwistic strand (Erhard Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990], 280–85; John Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* [Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1992], 160–64. These proposals have not found many adherents in the almost two decades since they were originally ventured.

it in Genesis.[5] Like Witter's earlier work, however, von Pustkuchen's work was overlooked. Aside from a few exceptions (e.g., Graf Baudissin 1901; Hempel 1930; Vriezen 1956), most saw this non-Priestly primeval history material as the beginning of a Yahwistic source that continued in the Abraham story and beyond.[6] In particular, many scholars saw the promise of blessing through Abraham given in Gen 12:1–3 as the divine antidote to the repeated human curse seen in the non-Priestly (J) primeval history. Where people sought a great name for themselves in Gen 11:4, God gave Abraham a great name in Gen 12:2. Where people were repeatedly cursed because of their perpetually evil inclination (Gen 8:21), God promised Abraham in Gen 12:3—according to one rendering—that "all clans of the dry ground will be blessed through you."[7]

Though many still see Gen 12:1–3 as the linchpin connecting the ancestral and primeval histories, the consensus on this point has begun to break down. Renewed analysis of Gen 12:1–3 and the rest of the non-Priestly ancestral narratives by Crüsemann, Köckert, Blum, and others has shown that the ancestral stories were written from a quite different point of view from that seen in the J primeval history.[8] In particular, once freed from the usual Christian interpretation of Gen 12:3, it is ever more clear that this passage is not a promise that "all clans of the earth shall be blessed through you" (so Paul in Gal 3:8). Rather, it should be understood as a promise that "all clans of the earth shall bless themselves by [Abraham]." Both this promise and the promise of a great name in 12:2 are an extension to Abraham of older royal blessings wished for in Ps 72:17.[9]

5. Johann Friedrich Pustkuchen, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchung der biblischen Urgeschichte: Nebst Untersuchungen über Alter, Verfasser und Einheit der übrigen Theile des Pentateuch* (Halle: Karl Grunert, 1823). The significance of this work was noted in Markus Witte, *Die biblische Urgeschichte: Redaktions- und theologiegeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Genesis 1,1–11,26*, BZAW 265 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 198, note 216.

6. Wolf Wilhelm Graf von Baudisson, *Einleitung in die Bücher des alten Testaments* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1901), 81, 84; Johannes Hempel, *Die althebräische Literatur und ihr hellenistisch-jüdisches Nachleben*, HWL (Wildpark Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1930), 115–16; Theodoor Christiaan Vriezen, *Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzügen* (Wageningen: H. Veenman, 1956 [1954 original]), 41.

7. A classic statement is Gerhard von Rad, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch*, in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, BWANT 26 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), 72.

8. Frank Crüsemann, "Die Eigenständigkeit der Urgeschichte: Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um den 'Jahwisten,'" in *Die Botschaft und die Boten: FS H. W. Wolff*, ed. Jörg Jeremias and Lothar Perlitt (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 11–29; Matthias Köckert, *Vätergott und Väterverheißungen: eine Auseinandersetzung mit Albrecht Alt und seinen Erben*, FRLANT 142 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988); Erhard Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), 359–61. The lack of cross-references between the primeval history and the material that followed was noted in an article by Clark (W. Malcolm Clark, "The Flood Story and the Structure of the Pre-patriarchal History," *ZAW* 83 (1971): 208–209) and (independently) in a dissertation by Rainer Kessler ("Die Querverweise im Pentateuch: Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der expliziten Querverbindungen innerhalb des vorpriesterlichen Pentateuchs" [Heidelberg: Heidelberg Universität, 1972], 58–59, 340), and then popularized in Rendtorff's better-known work (*Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, BZAW 147 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977], 154–55).

9. The major arguments for this approach were given in Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 349–59 and reviewed more recently in Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 194–95. See also Chapter 9 of this book, pp. 287–88 for more discussion.

There, the psalmist asks God to give the king fame ("an eternal name") and a blessing so extraordinary that all nations will bless themselves by him and declare him happy. In Gen 12:2–3, God similarly promises Abraham a "great name" and gives him a blessing so extraordinary that all clans of the earth will wish on themselves a blessing like the one he enjoys. This understanding of 12:3 better corresponds with the narratives about Abraham that Gen 12:1–3 introduce. After all, Abraham and his progeny do not mediate much blessing to other "clans of the earth" in Genesis. Rather, the Genesis narratives describe God's provision to them of an extraordinary, enviable blessing that others recognize (Gen 21:22; 24:31; 28:14; 30:27; 39:3–5, 21–23; etc.). It was mainly with Paul's placement of the Abrahamic blessing in a Christological context (Gal 3:8) that it came to be understood, particularly in Christian circles, as a conduit of God's blessing to Gentiles.[10] Within the Pentateuch itself, however, Gen 12:2–3 exclusively focuses on the beginning of Yhwh's unfolding election of Israel. It is not a world-historical turn toward blessing on all peoples that would contrast with the primeval curses.

These insights have led to an increasing sense of differences between the non-Priestly primeval history and the ancestral stories that follow it. How one conceives these differences, depends, of course, on how one identifies the contours of the non-P primeval history. This is not a simple task. Though there is agreement on distinguishing between the Priestly and non-Priestly primeval materials, less consensus exists on which texts originally belonged to the non-P primeval history and which were added later. In some cases, there are fairly strong indicators that parts of the non-P primeval history are expansions. For example, the distinction between the "tree of life" and "tree of knowledge" in Gen 2:9b seems secondarily appended to a general notice about Yhwh's planting of the garden orchard (2:9a), and the description of Yhwh's prevention of human access to the tree of life in Gen 3:24 (prepared for in Gen 3:22) duplicates the description of expulsion in Gen 3:22. Though it is certainly possible to interpret the narrative with Gen 2:9b; 3:22, 24 included, these indicators suggest that the Eden story once probably focused on only one tree in the midst of the garden, the tree of knowledge of good and evil.[11] Similarly, for over a century scholars have seen a contrast between the picture of a unified humanity in the Tower of Babel story (Gen 11:1–9) and the explicit focus on the spreading of humanity in the non-P genealogy of nations in Genesis 10 (10:1b, 8–15, 21, 24–30). This has led many to suggest that the Babel story was added by a later author to a non-P primeval history that once ended with

10. As with so many aspects of Paul's thoughts, there are precursors to his interpretation on this point in Early Judaism, in this case in the rendering of Gen 12:1–3 in the LXX and in Sir 44:21. Nevertheless, Paul's argument played a particularly important role in securing a place for this interpretation in Christianity.

11. See Erhard Blum, "Von Gottesunmittelbarkeit zu Gottähnlichkeit: Überlegungen zur theologischen Anthropologie der Paradieserzählung," in *Gottes Nähe im Alten Testament*, ed. Eberhardt Gönke and Kathrin Liess, SBS 202 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2004), 19–26 for an excellent reading of the present form of the narrative. Though he shows that it is possible to make sense of the narrative as it stands, he does not explain the duplication of 3:23/24 or provide a fully satisfactory account of why the woman knows only one, unspecified forbidden tree in the midst of the garden (3:3; cf. his comments on p. 21).

the non-P portions of Genesis 10.[12] It may even be that the same author added the tree of life materials, Tower of Babel story, and the story in Gen 6:1–4 about the sons of God and daughters of humanity, since these texts share a common focus on Yhwh's deliberation (Gen 3:22; 6:3; 11:6–7) about threats to the divine-human boundary.[13]

In other cases, however, arguments for the secondary character of parts of the primeval history are less compelling. For example, Markus Witte has listed several indicators for the secondary character of Gen 9:20–27, including the following: a supposed contrast between the picture of drunk Noah in 9:20–24 and the picture of Noah given in the non-P flood story, the fact that Gen 9:22–23 includes both bad and good actions by different characters versus the continual focus on human misdeeds in the non-P material of Genesis 2–4, and the new focus in Gen 9:20–27 on human recognition of the misdeed and human cursing (versus divine recognition of the misdeed and divine curses in Genesis 2–4).[14] Yet Gen 9:20–27 contains no hint of condemnation or disapproval of Noah for getting drunk on the first batch of wine, and the non-P primeval history materials prior to the story already have a contrast between focus on human misdeeds (e.g., Gen 2–4; 6:5–7) and on at least one human who is favored by God, Noah (Gen 6:8). Other shifts in the story noted by Witte, such as the focus on human cursing, underscore an overall shift in the wake of Yhwh's post-flood self-limitation (Gen 8:20–22) away from direct divine intervention. Though Gen 9:20–27 seems to have undergone some sort of growth within itself that led to a contrast between the description of Ham's supposed misdeed (9:22) and Noah's curse of his grandson, Canaan (Gen 9:25–6), there are no decisive indicators that the story as a whole is a secondary part of the non-P primeval history.[15] The same can be said for the non-P table of nations, likewise identified by Witte as part of the final redaction of Genesis 1–11.[16] It too shows signs of growth within itself (e.g., the list of Canaanite peoples in 10:16–18a), and it contains the kind of geographic-ethnic information that would be especially prone to largely untraceable updating in the process of oral-written transmission.[17]

12. A classic early statement is Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexatuechs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963 [1876 original]), 11. For a broader survey, see Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, BKAT I/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974 [1984 English translation]), 95–96.

13. An important early study putting together two of these three texts is Hartmut Gese, "Der bewachte Lebensbaum und die Heroen: zwei mythologische Ergänzungen zur Urgeschichte der Quelle J," in *Wort und Geschichte: FS Karl Elliger*, ed. Hartmut Gese and Hans Peter Rüger (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1973). The present author suggested putting together the three texts in David M. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 248.

14. Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 185–87 Note also his initial identification of this story as part of the final redaction of Genesis 1–11 on pp. 102–105.

15. The present author is among those who think that a story originally focusing on a misdeed of Ham's was redirected against Canaan at a later point (Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 162-63 and p. 259 of this book). Witte proposes a much more complicated theory (Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 102–103). A particular solution to this problem is not required for this context.

16. Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 105–12 and 184–89.

17. For a discussion of Gen 10:16–18a and its potential links to other revisions in Genesis, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 161–62 and Chapter 9 of this book, p. 259.

Nevertheless, it connects well with the story of Noah and his sons, and it forms a fitting conclusion to the primeval history, offering a segmented genealogy of Noah to balance the linear genealogy of Adam in Gen 4:1–24.

In sum, an early form of the non-P primeval history probably comprised some form of the following narratives: the Eden story of creation and expulsion (Gen 2:4b-3:23 [minus 2:9b; 3:22]); the Cain-Abel story and Cainite genealogy (Gen 4:1–24); the non-P flood story (Gen 6:5–8 [minus 6:6abβ]; 7:1–2, 3b-5, 7, 16b, 10, 12, 17, 22–23aα, 23b; 8:2b-3a, 6–13, 20–22); the story of Noah and his sons (Gen *9:20–27) and a genealogical overview of the descendants of Noah's sons (Gen 10:1b, 8–15, 21, 24–30).[18] I say "some form" of this series of texts because it is clear that this non-P primeval history has not been preserved in its most ancient form in Genesis. As one would expect from documented examples of conflation, the combination of this non-P primeval history with P left out some parts of both documents, such as parts of the middle of the non-P flood story and large swathes of the non-P table of nations. Furthermore, the parts of the non-P primeval history that remain in Genesis were preserved through a centuries-long process of oral-written transmission in which harmonization (e.g., to Genesis 1) and updating (e.g., to parts of the table of nations) are typical. In some cases, such as the fairly clear insertion of birds in Gen 7:3a, we can see seams produced by such harmonization or updating. Nevertheless, the study of documented cases of revision in Chapter 3 of this book showed that many cases of alteration are seamless. The most we can do is identify the probable contours of the early primeval history. We cannot produce a full, reliable text of it.

Characteristics of the Early Primeval History

Despite those qualifications, we still can explore with caution the structure and character of the hypothesized primeval history. Its first major unit outlines the gradual unfolding of human culture, moving from the creation of the human family, clothing, and agriculture in Genesis 2–3 to the first cities and occupational divisions in Genesis 4. To be sure, Genesis 3 and 4 describe a continuing pattern of human misdeeds, a pattern that sets the stage for the non-P flood story and is referred to at its conclusion (Gen 8:21). Nevertheless, the divine response to each misdeed is not merely curse, but also provision of the means for ongoing life. The story of the founding of elements of culture continues in the wake of the flood, albeit with different accents. Where Genesis 2–3 narrated the outset of farming, Gen 9:20–26 narrates the beginnings of wine production, including Noah's getting drunk on his first crop and cursing his (grand)son. Where Genesis 4 described the beginnings of cities and major occupations, fragments of a non-P nations table in

18. The preceding overview does not include minor harmonizations to language in Genesis 1 (e.g., Gen 6:6aβb; 7:8–9 and 7:23aβγ or the addition of birds in 7:3a; discussed in Chapter 6 of this book), or other minor additions, such as the probable addition of Gen 4:25–26 to link the preceding material in Genesis 4 to the genealogy in Genesis 5 (on the latter, see Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 61–65 with a citation of earlier literature).

Genesis 10 describe the divisions of the peoples in the wake of the flood. Thus, the pre- and post-flood stories in the non-P primeval history correspond to each other in multiple ways, even as they add their distinctive accents (perhaps building on earlier traditions) in describing the development of human culture amidst a mix of divine curse and provision. In the middle stands the non-P flood story, which concludes by showing Yhwh's final self-limitation of his destructive power and his commitment to the maintenance of the natural order within which future human culture can unfold.[19] The climactic final divine speech of the flood story (and probably the earliest primeval history as well) assures that the sort of agricultural sequence reviewed in the ancient Gezer calendar ("two months of harvest, two months of planting…") will be continued in perpetuity: "As long as the earth endures—planting and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night—will not come to an end" (Gen 8:22).

Thus, this primeval history offers a carefully structured, complex, and multisided narrative background to the human socio-natural order. It is hardly a story of universal sin and punishment requiring the corrective of the Abrahamic blessing. The human movement toward urban civilization involves some curse (e.g., Gen 3:14–15 [snake], 17 [ground]; 4:11 [Cain cursed from the ground]; 9:25 [Canaan]), but it also involves Yhwh's care (Gen 2:7–8, 18–24; 3:21; 4:15), ongoing provision (8:22), and human blessing (9:26–27). There are human misdeeds (e.g., Gen 3:6; 4:8; 9:22), ongoing violence (4:23–24), and a perpetually wrong inclination (8:21). Nevertheless, Yhwh also finds righteousness among humans (Gen 6:8). Though there is some stress on human shortcomings and their consequences, it is balanced by an emphasis on Yhwh's commitment to maintain the natural order despite such shortcomings.

Readings of the non-P primeval history as a mere prologue to what follows miss this balance of perspectives. Much as Christian readings of the Old Testament have distorted the Hebrew Bible in the process of portraying it as a prologue to the New Testament, past readings of the non-P primeval history have missed its subtle mix of emphases in the process of portraying it as a negative story of curse to which the Abrahamic story was an answer. The Hebrew Bible is not a question in search of a New Testament answer, and the non-P primeval history is not a story of failure and curse to which the Abrahamic story offers a story of success and blessing.

To be sure, the non-P primeval history contains a few *possible* anticipations of later ancestral narratives, such as the reference to "calling on Yhwh's name" in Gen 4:26 (see Gen 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25; also Exod 34:5) and the world peoples trying to "make a name for [themselves]" (Gen 11:4; see Gen 12:2). These verses, however, both occur in potentially secondary portions of the non-P primeval history (Gen 4:25–26 and 11:1–9*) and represent relatively minor thematic threads of the non-P primeval history as a whole. Meanwhile, the non-P ancestral history may refer back to the non-P primeval history in texts such as the reference to the

19. This is a summary of the results of numerous synchronic studies by others of the primeval history in Genesis. More details on these studies and their observations are assembled in Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 236–37.

"garden of Yhwh" in Gen 13:10. Nevertheless, this verse's use of different terminology for the garden (גן־יהוה in 13:10; cf. גן־עדן in 2:8, 15; 3:23–24; עדן 2:10; 4:16) is an indicator that Gen 13:10 probably was not written by the author of the non-P primeval history texts.[20] Overall, one can make a good case that some portions of the non-P ancestral story (e.g., Gen 12:2, 8; 13:10) were written to refer back to and/or contrast with elements of the primeval history. In contrast, the central aspects of the non-P primeval history, especially its earliest parts, do not seem designed to anticipate or prepare for the non-P ancestral story.

Dating the Early Primeval History

The non-P primeval history is not the type of text that is particularly easy to date. It bears no attribution that might provide at least a putative starting point for dating—to the time of a prophet or king. The mythic character of most of the narratives does not lend itself well to specific dating. There are no usable historical references. And the language, despite some attempts to list potentially late vocabulary, fits a variety of datings.[21]

With those qualifications, there are some indicators that an early form of the above-discussed primeval history originated in the early monarchy. The first such indicator is the criterion of similarity: particularly, the resemblance of the non-P primeval history in contours and some specifics to the ancient Mesopotamian Atrahasis myth. Both narratives begin with the creation of the first farmers, the creation of humans from a mix of earth and divine substance, and troubles associated with human multiplication. Both contain a narrative involving a worldwide flood and divine rescue of an individual survivor. And both conclude with the survivor offering a sacrifice that makes the god(s) change their mind about future destruction. There are other similarities to Atrahasis, along with substantial differences, as well.[22]

The significance of this parallel for the present discussion is the fact that the Atrahasis epic is an early text that could have been a model for the non-P primeval history. Despite its evident differences from the non-P primeval

20. As pointed out by Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 199, note 216 with a citation of earlier literature.

21. The list of purportedly late wisdom vocabulary given by Blenkinsopp (Blenkinsopp, *Pentateuch*, 65) is expanded on in Eckhart Otto, "Die Paradieserzählung Genesis 2–3: Eine nachpriesterschriftliche Lehrerzählung in ihrem religionsghistorisichen Kontext," in "*Jedes Ding hat seine Zeit*"*: Studien zur israelitischen und altorientalischen Weisheit (FS D. Michel)*, ed. Anja A. Diesel, et al, BZAW 241 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), 174–75 and Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 201–203. Most are based on the principle of similarity that has been attacked persuasively by Hurvitz (see, e.g., Avi Hurvitz, "Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology," *RB* 81 [1974]: 7–10 and, more recently, "Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. André Lemaire and Magne Saebo [Leiden: Brill, [2000]). Many supposedly late items on the lists occur at only one other location and/or in Psalms, Proverbs, and other texts whose date is uncertain.

22. See, in particular, Bernard Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 51–52. For more detailed comparison and citations of earlier literature, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 242–45.

TABLE 16.1

Gilgamesh	Genesis
When the seventh day arrived, I sent forth and set free a dove. The dove went forth, but came back; Since no resting-place for it was visible, she turned round.	8:6 At the end of forty days Noah opened the window of the ark that he had made 8:7 and sent out the raven; and it went to and fro until the waters were dried up from the earth. 8:8 Then he sent out the dove from him, to see if the waters had subsided from the face of the ground; 8:9 but the dove found no place to set its foot, and it returned to him to the ark, for the waters were still on the face of the whole earth. So he put out his hand and took it and brought it into the ark with him.
Then I sent forth and set free a swallow. the swallow went forth, but came back; Since no resting-place for it was visible, she turned round.	8:10 He waited another seven days, and again he sent out the dove from the ark; 8:11 and the dove came back to him in the evening, and there in its beak was a freshly plucked olive leaf; so Noah knew that the waters had subsided from the earth.
Then I sent forth and set free a raven. The raven went forth and, seeing that the waters had diminished, He eats, circles, caws, and turns not around. (ANET 94–5)	8:12 Then he waited another seven days, and sent out the dove; and it did not return to him any more.

history, the Atrahasis epic shows that there was an ancient precedent for the kind of independent primeval history hypothesized in Genesis on other grounds. If the scribes of the early monarchies of Israel were particularly dependent on foreign models in their creation of the nation's early literature, the non-P primeval history would be a good candidate for being one of the texts created on the basis of such models. As in the case of Amenemope and other texts discussed under this heading, the ancient Judean/Israelite scribes did not just translate the foreign model into Hebrew. Instead, the Atrahasis epic seems to have provided a broader, almost generic model for the creation of an Israelite primeval narrative, one that built on ancient Israelite traditions and reflected Israelite theology.

It is difficult to know exactly what form of the Atrahasis epic was a model for the ancient Israelite scribes, and how much they used other Mesopotamian sources as well. For example, as indicated in Table 16.1, the non-P flood story contains a remarkably specific parallel to a scene in the version of the flood story that has been inserted into the standard version of the Gilgamesh epic.

Though these narratives diverge in which bird goes when, and how many birds are sent, they are so specifically parallel that many have supposed some kind of oral and/or written dependence. It is possible that the Atrahasis epic that was influential in Israel—unlike copies extant today—contained a scene much like this. Alternatively, the scribes of ancient Israel may have known some version of the Gilgamesh epic containing this scene. There are some indicators that they may have known other parts of the Gilgamesh epic and other Mesopotamian

texts, such as the Adapa epic.[23] Notably, in all these cases, there is no hint of the kind of inversion or anti-foreign rhetoric typical of later Israelite engagement with foreign tradition. The author(s) of the early primeval history may have adapted ancient Mesopotamian material. Nevertheless, in contrast, say, to the later Deuteronomistic theological *inversion* of the vassal treaty form, the non-P primeval history merely reflects free appropriation and appropriation of generic forms and thematic motifs from more ancient non-Israelite literary works. It is this sort of use of non-Israelite traditions that, I submit, would be particularly typical of early monarchal textuality and less typical of later Israelite textuality, particularly in the seventh century and later.

Another criterion used in these dating discussions is the potential genetic intertextual dependence of a given text, in this case the primeval history, on other texts. Much recent discussion of the non-P primeval history has dated it relatively late because of its dependence on supposedly late wisdom literature. In particular, authors such as Mendenhall, Blenkinsopp, Otto, and Witte have argued that the presence of "wisdom" vocabulary and themes in the primeval history proves its lateness. These arguments now need to be reassessed in light of the above analysis of the primeval history and discussions in this book of the dating of biblical wisdom writings.

Certainly, the non-P primeval history links in multiple and specific ways to biblical wisdom, though Witte and others oversimplify when they characterize the Yahwistic strand of Genesis 2–11 as a "wisdom primeval history."[24] In the Eden story, the humans eat from a "tree of knowledge of good and evil," whose fruit is good for "gaining insight," and have their "eyes opened"—all expressions current in Israelite and/or non-biblical wisdom literature. On a broader level, both Proverbs 1–9 and Genesis 2–3 feature prominent primal female figures connected with wisdom: semi-divine wisdom in Proverbs 8 and Eve eating of the tree of knowledge in Genesis 3. Yet the garden of Eden treats the human striving for wisdom, and the prominent primal female figure involved in that striving, quite differently from the material in Proverbs 1–9 and elsewhere. Proverbs depicts the search for wisdom as producing long life, riches, and honor. In contrast, Genesis 2–3 depicts the human striving for wisdom as contradicting Yhwh's imperative

23. For some additional proposals, see William W. Hallo, "The Concept of Canonicity in Cuneiform and Biblical Literature: A Comparative Appraisal," in *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective*, ed. K. L. Younger, W. W. Hallo, and B. F. Batto (Lewiston, NY: Mellon, 1991), 53–58 and Van Seters, *Prologue to History*, 165–69.

24. Witte, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, 205. In this characterization, he is building on a longer tradition of finding wisdom motifs in Genesis 2–3, including Luis Alonso-Schökel, "Motivos Sapienciales y de Alianza en Gn 2–3," *Bib* 43 (1962): 295–316 and George Mendenhall, "The Shady Side of Wisdom: The Date and Purpose of Genesis 3," in *Light Unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers*, ed. Howard N. Bream, Ralph D. Heim, and Carey A. Moore (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 319–34, along with brief observations in W. Malcolm Clark, "A Legal Background to the Yahwist's Use of 'Good and Evil' in Genesis 2–3," *JBL* 88 (1969): 276–77. The different take offered here on wisdom links in the Eden story was presented by the present author already in "The Politics of Textual Subversion: A Diachronic Perspective on the Garden of Eden Story," *JBL* 112 (1993): 588–90.

and ultimately producing suffering. Where semi-divine wisdom in Proverbs 1–9 gives her students riches, honor, and long life, Eve initiates a chain of events that lead to shame, hard labor, and expulsion from the garden. This does not mean, however, that the primeval history is anti-wisdom (or anti-woman). Rather, the human gaining of "knowledge of good and evil" is depicted as part of a broader, bittersweet process of human maturing toward civilization—gaining clothes (Gen 3:7, 21), beginning reproduction and farming (Gen 3:16–19), and other aspects of civilized life (e.g., Gen 4:20–22; 9:20). The end product of divine-human interaction in Genesis 2–4, 6–8* is a divinely protected post-flood order without prominent divine intervention (Gen 9:20–27; non-P fragments of Genesis 10). In this sense, the non-P primeval history describes the narrative background to a cosmic order akin to that presupposed in the collections of Proverbs. Yet the non-P primeval history also offers a more nuanced endorsement of wisdom than that seen in Proverbs: It is part of human maturation, but also the source of much human toil and alienation.

All this suggests that the non-P primeval history is written in relationship to and engagement with the sort of instructional material found first and foremost in Proverbs, but also elsewhere. Where past scholars have judged engagement with the ideas and themes of Proverbs to be a sign of lateness, one could also—depending on one's dating of Proverbs (particularly Proverbs 1–9)—see it as an indicator of earliness. If much of the material in Proverbs is among Judah's earliest instructional literature, then the non-P primeval history, this Israelite "Atrahasis," might be seen as a meditation on some of the pluses and minuses of the rise (in the early monarchy) of this sort of oral-written wisdom. Like the material in Proverbs, the non-P primeval history freely adapts ancient non-biblical models, this time Mesopotamian ones. Yet as I have argued, its verdict on wisdom is mixed. Both wisdom and broader urban culture are aspects of human civilization that arise out of human shortcomings, even as they now constitute an important part of the divinely supported socio-natural order.

Past analyses have argued that the non-P primeval history shows dependence on other late materials, but the evidence is slight. In the mid-twentieth century, Vriezen saw signs of dependence of the non-P primeval history on the prophets, particularly in its focus on the downfall of the whole world and its supposed emphasis, in the Cain and Abel story, on the preferability of ethics over sacrifice.[25] As we have seen, however, the non-P primeval history is not focused on the downfall of the whole world. Moreover, the claim that this history manifests a preference of ethics over sacrifice is based on a misreading of the Cain and Abel story, where one sacrifice is preferred over another (not ethics over sacrifice). In his argument for the post-Priestly character of the non-P primeval history, Joseph Blenkinsopp proposed several other dependencies of the non-P primeval history on late texts, many of which were further developed by Eckhart Otto. For example, both have argued that the use of the expression ויניחהו to describe Yhwh's placement of the first human in the garden (Gen 2:15) is reminiscent of the Deuteronomistic use of the same root to describe Yhwh's placement of Israel in

25. Vriezen, *Theologie*, 41.

the land (Deut 12:9–11 [also מנוחה]; 25:19; 1 Kgs 8:56 [מנוחה]). Furthermore, they have maintained that the expulsion that follows the human disobedience of the divine command in Eden parallels the consequence for disobedience in the Deuteronomistic history: exile.[26] Nevertheless, the common use of a single root (נוח)—also used frequently throughout the rest of the Bible—is hardly a sufficient basis for positing a specific textual relationship.[27] Moreover, the garden of Eden story lacks the specific vocabulary used throughout the Deuteronomistic history to express the connection between disobedience and expulsion from the land. Indeed, the failure of Genesis 2–3 to connect more specifically to otherwise parallel patterns in the Deuteronomistic history (e.g., disobedience-expulsion from the land) could be taken as an indicator that it was *not* written in a time when such Deuteronomistic texts were in circulation. Blenkinsopp and Otto propose other links to the Deuteronomistic history as well, such as the idea that the "seductive" serpent symbolizes illicit religious cults or the role of the first woman in eating of the tree parallels the reported role of Solomon's wives in tempting him toward idolatry (1 Kgs 11:1–8).[28] Here again, the Genesis 2–3 narrative itself does not provide any specific indicators of connections to these texts. It shares none of the specific vocabulary used in 1 Kgs 11:1–8 for critique of foreign cults and idolatry. In these ways and others, Blenkinsopp and Otto provide avenues for possible interpretation of Genesis 2–3 (and the rest of the non-P primeval history) if one has decided on other grounds that it post-dates Deuteronomistic texts. Nevertheless, the parallels that they propose are insufficiently grounded in the specifics of the primeval history text to provide a means for dating it.[29]

These initial reflections highlight the *dissimilarity* of the non-P primeval history to the themes and language of much of the rest of the Hebrew Bible. Even at parallel points where one might expect similar vocabulary, such as the description of disobedience and expulsion from the garden (//land), the non-P primeval history lacks specific reflections of later Deuteronomistic and prophetic themes. Overall, its primeval, etiological, myth-like narratives are quite different from materials elsewhere in the Bible. Aside from the parallel Priestly strand of material scattered in Genesis 1–9, such narratives do not occur elsewhere in Hebrew Scriptures. Instead, aside from the book of Job, the focus of the rest of the Hebrew Bible is on Israelite characters and others related to them. This anomalous character of the primeval history may also be an indicator of an unusually early date.

26. Blenkinsopp, *Pentateuch*, 66; Otto, "Paradieserzählung," 179–83.

27. For more, see Blum, "Paradieserzählung," 14.

28. Blenkinsopp, *Pentateuch*, 66; Otto, "Paradieserzählung," 178.

29. Otto ("Paradieserzählung," 183–84) argues that Genesis 2–3 provides the "how" of animal and human creation to explicate the brief statement seen previously in the Priestly description, Gen 1:24–27. This kind of synchronic reading has been offered in more detail previously (see especially Miguel Gutiérrez, "L'homme crée à l'image de Dieu' dans l'ensemble littéraire et canonique Genèse, chapitres 1–11," PhD diss. [Strasbourg: Université Strasbourg, 1993]). Nevertheless, as pointed out by Witte (*Biblische Urgeschichte*, 166), the fit that now exists between Genesis 1 and 2–3 reflects the compositional art of the redactor and is not an index of relative dating, particularly given the incongruities that also flow from the combination of the chapters. Note also additional critiques in Blum, "Paradieserzählung," 15–16.

Two other indicators warrant attention in this discussion of dating: the striking lack of mention of the primeval history in early datable, non-Pentateuchal texts and the focus of the non-P primeval history on a single deity, Yhwh. Though both indicators could point toward a late dating for the primeval history, there are other ways to interpret them as well.

The first datum is the lack of reference to the non-P primeval history in datable biblical texts until a set of relatively peripheral references to the garden of Eden in texts dating from the exile and later (Ezek 28:13; 31:9, 16, 18; 36:35; Isa 51:3; Joel 2:3; possibly also Isa 54:9 on Noah). Eckhart Otto in particular has taken this silence of datable early biblical traditions about the Eden story to be an indicator of its late, post-Priestly date.[30] This lack of focus, however, could be explained by the fact that biblical texts datable to the earlier periods of Israel's history lack the cosmic perspective of the non-P primeval history. Prophets such as Amos, Isaiah, etc. did not have much occasion to refer to Eden or other narratives in the cosmically focused non-P primeval history. Moreover, it is also possible that the non-P primeval history may have circulated in relatively limited circles through the late pre-exile. Its links to temple motifs in the Eden story and the focus on sacrifice in the Cain and Abel and flood stories suggest that the "non-P" primeval history may have originated in Priestly circles.[31] Thus, the sudden appearance in the exile of potential references to the non-P primeval history need not be interpreted as an indicator of late composition of the writing itself. Instead, it is an indicator (among others) that the exile was a time when priestly figures—such as Ezekiel—and priestly writings—such as the Priestly instructions—began to gain wider exposure.

The other feature to be considered here is the distinctive presentation of the divine world in the non-P primeval history. In striking contrast to its Mesopotamian precursors, the biblical primeval history focuses on only one deity. It even goes so far as to have that one deity, Yhwh, both send the flood and provide a means for one family to escape it, a set of roles that are divided clearly in the Mesopotamian flood narratives. Some would see this focus on one deity as close to the monotheistic tone of Second Isaiah and the Priestly writings (e.g. Genesis 1), both texts originating from the sixth century or later. Yet the non-P primeval history contrasts with such writings in its apparent lack of critique (cf. Second Isaiah) or relative downplaying (cf. Genesis 1) of polytheistic rhetoric.[32] Furthermore, its particularly anthropomorphic depiction of Yhwh contrasts with trends in later biblical literature (cf. P, e.g.) to emphasize Yhwh's transcendent character.[33]

Indeed, on closer inspection, the non-P primeval history hardly seems to have a monotheistic emphasis. To be sure, it would not have been preserved unless its picture could be interpreted in accordance with monotheistic themes that emerged in later biblical tradition.[34] Nevertheless, its non-polemical focus on Yhwh alone

30. Otto, "Paradieserzählung," 174.

31. For more discussion and references, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 246–47.

32. Mark S. Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 170–71, 179–94.

33. Smith, *Origins of Biblical Monotheism*, 176.

34. Note the broader reflections along these lines in Smith, *Origins of Biblical Monotheism*, 155.

probably reflects other forces at work in the early monarchal period. For example, Jeffrey Tigay has documented a focus on Yhwh in the names featured on the earliest ostraca and other inscriptions in ancient Israel, written texts documenting interactions among the upper-level members of the early monarchy.[35] Though he may be over-interpreting this phenomenon as an index of what was happening in Israelite religion more generally, the focus on Yhwh in these names may reflect an emergent focus on Yhwh as the national god amidst the very elites for whom a literary text such as the non-P primeval history would have been intended. Furthermore, Simon Parker has noted that texts such as the Mesha and Bar Hadad inscriptions feature a strong focus on a single national deity (Chemosh and Hadad, respectively) though they were written in polytheistic contexts.[36] He highlights generic constraints that would have encouraged or discouraged a focus on multiple deities, a single deity, or no deity at all.[37] Most importantly, his observations point to a focus on a national deity in nearby monarchal contexts, a trend that likewise could have led an early monarchal Judean or Israelite author to focus on the national deity, Yhwh, in a genre—primeval narrative—that previously featured multiple deities. In sum, a non-polemical focus on a single, anthropomorphically depicted deity is not an indicator of an early date, but it is not a decisive indicator of a late date either.

Overall, multiple indicators point to an early monarchal dating for some form of the non-P primeval history (whether one extending through to the flood narrative, or slightly beyond to encompass Gen 9:20–27 and parts of Genesis 10*). It draws broadly on foreign precursors, particularly the Atrahasis primeval history, without partaking of the anti-foreign polemic typical of such borrowing in seventh-century and later biblical texts. It appears to be in dialogue with texts such as Proverbs, which have been identified earlier in this book as good candidates for having been written—in some form—in the early monarchal period. Even in places where its overall patterns in the Primeval History might suggest an affinity with later literature—for example, the placement in the garden and expulsion for disobedience//settlement in the land and exile—it does not have specific parallels to the wording of Deuteronomy or Samuel-Kings or suggest knowledge of those later texts. Indeed, the non-P primeval history is dissimilar in many ways from later Hebrew literature, and this may have contributed to the lack of early references to it in other biblical texts. We do start to see references to it in the sixth century, in writings associated with priests (especially Ezekiel), a phenomenon that conforms with other indicators that this history may have originated and circulated in earlier priestly contexts. In this sense, the designation "non-P" is not only vague, but also misleading. Instead, one might term the earliest strand of Genesis 1–10 as an early, priestly, Yahwistic primeval history, with the other strand now understood as a (generally) later Priestly writing.

35. Jeffrey Tigay, *You Shall Have No Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

36. Simon Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1997), 137–39.

37. Note observations in Smith, *Origins of Biblical Monotheism*, 163 on the convergence of national god and royal authority.

■ THE COVENANT CODE

Another writing with similar claims to early origins—at least in some form—is the set of laws in Exodus that is now known as the "Covenant Code" based on the reference back to it as ספר הברית ("the book of the covenant") in Exod 24:7. This distinctive corpus of laws begins in Exod 20:22 and concludes in Exod 23:33, though many scholars believe the direct instructions in Exod 23:20–33 to be written either later or earlier than the rest of the corpus. Furthermore, many see the largely casuistic laws (משפטים) separately introduced in Exod 21:1 and continuing to 22:19 as a complex with its own history. Overall, however, this legal complex is now integrated into its broader context by references to it in Exod 24:3, 7; it has a distinctive character; and it seems to interrupt the narrative strand moving from the Ten Commandments and their aftermath in Exod 20:1–21 to the events in Exod 24:1 and following.

Whatever its relationship to its broader narrative context, the Covenant Code has long been recognized as among the earliest legal corpora in the Pentateuch. Its altar law in Exod 20:24–26 provides for the making of multiple altars and thus does not reflect clear knowledge of the cultic centralization law at the outset of the Deuteronomic code (Deuteronomy 12), a law seemingly presupposed in the Priestly legislation. Similarly, most scholars judge its law for festivals (Exod 23:14–17) to predate its Deuteronomic (Deuteronomy 16) and Priestly (Leviticus 23; Numbers 28–29) counterparts. Indeed, in multiple ways the Deuteronomic legal code seems to modify and temper regulations found in the Covenant Code, dealing with unforeseen circumstances, adding provisions for the poor and Levites, and providing for cultic centralization.

These considerations would suggest a date prior to the seventh century, but there are other indicators of a yet earlier date. To begin with, the Covenant Code as a whole, particularly the laws/משפטים in Exod 21:1–22:19, shows remarkable parallels to older Mesopotamian laws, particularly the Code of Hammurabi. Indeed, David Wright's recent work on the composition of the Covenant Code has shown multiple and specific parallels in order between the Covenant Code and Code of Hammurabi, with many of the variations in order in the Covenant Code explainable by the specific compositional dynamics of that corpus. He argues persuasively that these parallels in order are too specific to be explained by a model of general influence of older legal tradition on the Covenant Code. Instead, he maintains that the author(s) of the Covenant Code modeled much of their writing on the Code of Hammurabi, particularly portions of it (e.g., laws 117, 119) that were relevant to their concern about debt slavery and justice. As in the other cases of biblical appropriation of non-biblical models, the Israelite authors took great freedom in their adaptation of their foreign precursor document, and there are signs—for example, in the participial laws in 21:12–17—that they drew on prior Israelite traditions as well. Still, the Covenant Code stands as another biblical example of creative authorial adaptation of a prominent non-biblical precursor text.[38]

38. David Wright, *Inventing God's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (New York: Oxford, 2009). Here, I do not follow Wright in his extension of this

Wright proposes that such modeling on a Mesopotamian precursor is more likely to have taken place during the late pre-exilic period, when there was a developed monarchy and contacts with the Neo-Assyrian imperial power are well documented.[39] Nevertheless, the reflection of the monarchy is quite slight in the Covenant Code, consisting at most of a brief exhortation not to curse a "leader" (נשיא) among your people (Exod 22:27 [ET 22:26]; cf. 1 Kgs 11:34). This tangential reflection of emergent political centralization better fits the still peripheral character of the monarchy in the tenth and ninth centuries than the more developed monarchy and urban situation of the late eighth to seventh centuries. Moreover, I am more optimistic than Wright about the possibility of oral-written transmission of Mesopotamian traditions such as Hammurabi from the Levantine Bronze Age city-states where they are attested in an Iron II context such as Jerusalem.[40] We have documentation for the circulation of Mesopotamian school texts in the area of Israel up to around 1200, and even a small tablet of Hammurabi-like laws found in Bronze Age Hazor.[41] There is good reason to suppose that some form of such traditions—whether in cuneiform or in translation—probably survived in pre-Israelite urban contexts, such as Jerusalem, before being used as models for an emergent Judean monarchy developing its own literary curriculum. Furthermore, as in the case of the non-P primeval history and other potential early adaptations of non-biblical precursors, the Covenant Code adaptation of parts of the Code of Hammurabi lacks the polemical tone typical of late pre-exilic adaptations of non-biblical texts, such as the Deuteronomic inversion of the Mesopotamian vassal treaty form or the Moses birth story transformation of the Sargon birth story. Given that we do not have copies of Mesopotamian *literary* texts in Judah-Israel or nearby at *any* point in the Iron Age, the lack of copies of cuneiform documents in the earlier Iron Age is hardly a decisive criterion.

Overall, the particular character of the adaptation of the Code of Hammurabi in Exod 22:22–23:33 (especially 21:1–22:19), along with its relative lack of

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theory (originally focused almost exclusively on the Covenant Code in his "The Laws of Hammurabi as a Source for the Covenant Collection [Exodus 20:23–23:19]," *Maarav* 10 [2003]: 11–87) to include the idea of a Hammurabi- (and possibly Sargon Legend-) inspired broader "Covenant Code Narrative" that may have included Moses's birth story (//Sargon Legend) along with a series of texts describing Israel's exodus (e.g., Exod 3:1, 9–15, 21–22; 13:6; 19:2b-3a, 9a, 16–17*, 19; 20:18–20*; 24:3–8*) that would provide an anchor point for back-references to the exodus in the Covenant Code. The initial ground for this theory, that back-references in the Covenant Code require a prelude in the same narrative that narrate the exodus and other events, does not hold. Even if these general back-references are original to their contexts in the Covenant Code (an open question), they only presuppose knowledge on the audience's part of some narrative of the exodus, whether connected to the Covenant Code or not. Furthermore, the sorts of linguistic and other parallels to the Hammurabi code that Wright proposes for texts such as Exod 3:15 do not equal, in my judgment, the much more powerful array of arguments from similarity in organization and topic that Wright gathers for the Covenant Code itself.

39. Wright, *Inventing Law*, 91–120.

40. Cf. Wright, *Inventing Law*, 92–96.

41. As of the completion of this manuscript, the announcements of which I am aware are exclusively in newspapers. See, for example, Asaf Shtull-Trauring, "'Hammurabi-like' Cuneiform Discovered at Tel Hazor," *Ha-Aretz*, http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/hammurabi-like-cuneiform-discovered-at-tel-hazor-1.304266.

reflection of the monarchy in its laws (cf. Deut 17:14–20), points more toward an adaptation of the Code of Hammurabi (or a pre-Israelite, local version of it) early in the development of the monarchy, when the need for such models was greatest, rather than toward the end of the Judean monarchy's history. The closest analogues to such adaptation, Hittite adaptations of Mesopotamian legal traditions, followed the spread of Mesopotamian literature in the Bronze Age, not the influence of Mesopotamia through later Iron Age Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. Similarly, the Israelite adaptation of the Code of Hammurabi in Exod 20:22–23:33 probably took place in the wake of the spread of Mesopotamian learning documented throughout the Bronze Age Levant, as evident at Ugarit, Megiddo, Hazor, Emar, and many other sites.

Otherwise, we have little data to help us date the Covenant Code as a whole. Some have seen reflections of its provisions in early Israelite prophecy, for example, Exod 22:25 [ET 22:26] in Amos 2:8.[42] If it is true that texts such as Amos 2:8 originate in some form from an eighth-century prophet and are dependent on regulations in Exod 20:22–23:33, such genetic intertextual references would support an early monarchal dating of the Covenant Code. In addition, some have seen reflections of Deuteronomistic theology in elements such as Exod 22:20b, 23; 23:29b and much of 23:20–33, but most agree that these elements are secondary to the Covenant Code and not relevant to the dating of its earliest form.

In sum, the Covenant Code is another candidate to be an early monarchal adaptation of a pre-Israelite literary model. To be sure, the pointers to its early dating are not as plentiful as for texts discussed prior to this point. Still, it predates Deuteronomy at the very least. It may well predate the eighth-century prophets. And the relative lack of reflection of the monarchy in its laws and its non-polemical adaptation of the code of Hammurabi stand as additional indicators pointing to a tenth- or ninth-century dating of an early form of the corpus, whether the laws in Exod 21:1–22:19 or some form of the broader code.

■ TEXTS THAT MAY ORIGINATE FROM THE EARLY NORTHERN MONARCHY

Though some texts discussed so far (e.g. Song of Songs) show signs of having been transmitted and modified in the North, the focus in this section will be on texts that probably originated in that context. Few would argue that a text featuring Solomon, for example, *originated* in the North. Nevertheless, it is likely that the monarchies of the North were the site for the creation of a significant number of written texts. Not only would there have been motivation to create at least some countertexts to the royal theology of the Jerusalem monarchy, but the ninth-century monarchy of the Omrides seems to have been a more formidable cultural and military power than the earlier Davidic monarchy in Jerusalem.

We have only indirect access, of course, to any such Northern, Israelite texts, since the Hebrew Bible is, in the final analysis, a Judean corpus. Any Northern

42. See, for example, Marvin Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets,* Vol. 1, *Hosea-Jonah*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 215–16.

texts preserved in it were transmitted and preserved, at one time or another, in Judean contexts. Nevertheless, there are three types of indicators that can help in the identification of early Northern documents. The first is a preponderance of references in a given biblical text to Northern place-names and/or figures primarily associated with the North. The second is evidence in a biblical text of the Judean adaptation of a precursor text with Northern elements. And the third type of indicator is reference to a potential Northern text in the book of Hosea. Though such references also could be insertions by later Judean scribes, they may show a profile that reflects the contours of the Northern literary corpus of Hosea's time. Used with care, such references can converge with the first two types of indicators to build a persuasive case for the Northern origins of a given text.

A prime example of such convergence is the pre-Priestly Jacob story in Genesis. It focuses repeatedly on places that were prominent in the early Northern monarchy, particularly Bethel (Gen 28:10–22; 35:6-8; the site of a royal sanctuary), Shechem (Gen 33:18–35:4*; purported site of the rebellion and of an early capital); and Penuel (Gen 32:23–33 [ET 32:22–32]; another early capital). Where royal traditions of the Davidic dynasty claimed that Yhwh dwelt in Zion and appointed the Davidic kings there (e.g., Ps 9:12 [ET 9:11]; 135:21), Jacob quotes God as saying, "I am the god [who is in] Bethel" (Gen 31:13).[43] Another prominent Jacob story narrative (Gen 32:23–33 [ET 32:22–32]) describes his renaming as "Israel," a name primarily associated with Northern highland groups and used as the primary designation of the Northern monarchy. Moreover, the Jacob story features a particular focus on Joseph (besides Benjamin in Gen 35:18), the only son of Jacob's to be named explicitly after the birth narratives of Gen 29:31–30:24 (Gen 33:2, 7). This is significant because the Northern kingdom often was called the "house of Joseph" much like the Southern kingdom was called the "house of Judah."[44]

Furthermore, certain parts of the Jacob story narrative appear to be secondary adaptations of it to Southern interests. The best candidates for this are a series of additions to the Jacob story that prepare for the proclamation later in Genesis of the disqualification of Jacob's older sons—Reuben, Simeon, and Levi—from being his heirs and the resulting promotion of Judah to eternal rule (Gen 49:3–12). Reuben's act of disqualification—sleeping with his father's concubines—is reported in an appendix to the Jacob story (Gen 35:21–22*; see 49:3–4). Simeon and Levi's act of disqualification—violently liberating Dinah from Shechem (see 49:5–7)—is

43. For this rendering, see Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 186–90.

44. For a summary of this and other data, see Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 93–96, 175–90. In addition, see Marvin Sweeney, "Puns, Politics and Perushim in the Jacob Cycle: A Case Study in Teaching the English Hebrew Bible," *Shofar* 9 (1991): 106–17 and Zeev Weisman, *From Jacob to Israel [Hebrew]* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986) partially summarized (in English) in Zeev Weisman, "The Interrelationship between J and E in Jacob's Narrative," *ZAW* 104 (1992): 177–97. Note also that recent work by Esther Hamori ("Echoes of Gilgamesh in the Jacob Story," *JBL* [accepted for publication, no specific publication data available]) has found possible indicators that at least one part of the Jacob story, the account of his God-wrestling at Penuel (Gen 32:23–33 [ET 32:22–32]), echoes the scene of Gilgamesh and Enkidu's fight in the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh epic. This would be an "argument from similarity" for the early origins of the Jacob story, since it represents a noninversive use of extra-biblical tradition that probably was most typical of pre-Neo-Assyrian Judean texts.

prepared for by the secondary insertion of Dinah's birth report (without the naming tradition typical of other children) into the narrative about the birth of Jacob's sons (Gen 30:21) and the insertion of the extended story about her liberation in Gen 34:1–31 between the story of Jacob's settlement in Shechem (Gen 33:18–20) and God's order for him to leave there for Bethel (Gen 35:1). In these ways, a story featuring a predominant focus on Northern tribal groups, revolving around a figure (Jacob) renamed "Israel," and taking place at important loci in the Northern monarchy of "Israel" appears to have been adapted through secondary insertions (Gen 30:21; 34:1–31; 35:21–22*) to predict, ultimately, the destiny of the *Southern* clan of Judah, the clan of the Davidic monarchy, to rule (Gen 49:3–12).[45] In other words, not only contemporary scholars, but also apparently ancient Judean scribes, saw an apparent focus on the North in the early Jacob story and attempted to correct it. Interestingly, these scribes seem to have followed a pattern of gradual disqualification of older sons that is also found in the succession narrative of David (2 Samuel 9–20). Indeed, this is only one of several connections between the succession narrative in Samuel and this series of apparent Judean modifications of the Jacob and Joseph stories.[46]

One final bit of converging data is the apparent reference to multiple parts of the Jacob story in the prophecy of Hosea, the only Northern prophet whose words are preserved in the Hebrew Bible. In Hos 12:4a [ET 12:3a], he accuses "Jacob" of having tried to prevail over his brother in the womb, a probable reference to the narration of Jacob and Esau's struggling in the womb at the outset of the Jacob story (Gen 25:22, 26). Hos 12:4b-5a [ET 12:3b-4a] accuses him of struggling with God, playing on the naming tradition in Gen 32:23–33 [ET 32:22–32] in describing his wrestling with the verb שׂרה//ישׂראל. Hos 12:5b [ET 12:4b] appears to refer to the repeated theme, throughout the Jacob story, of God's appearance to him at Bethel (Gen 28:10–22; 31:13; 35:1–8). Finally, Hos 12:13 [ET 12:12] refers to Jacob fleeing to Aram and serving for a wife there, a reference that apparently presupposes not only the description of Jacob's sojourn there (Gen 29:1–30), but also the idea that he fled there from something, described in Genesis as his theft of Esau's birthright (Gen 27:1–45). Overall, this one chapter of Hosea seems to presuppose the outset (Gen 25:22, 26; indirectly 27:1–45), middle (Gen 28:10–22; 29:1–28; 31:13), and conclusion (32:23–33 [ET 32:22–32]) of the Genesis Jacob story. Yet it does so without providing a comprehensive enough account of Jacob that one would suppose Hosea 12 to be the precursor to the Genesis material. Some have supposed a common ancient tradition behind both texts, but the parallels are specific and broad enough that a dependence of these portions of Hosea 12 on the Genesis Jacob story is more likely.[47] Of course, there remains a chance that these parts of

45. This largely summarizes observations in Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 209–30.

46. This model, in my judgment, accounts for many of the parallels between this portion of the Jacob-Joseph story and the Succession Narrative adduced by Richard Friedman as evidence for source divisions ("The Recession of Biblical Source Criticism," in *The Future of Biblical Studies: Hebrew Scriptures*, ed. Richard E. Friedman and Hugh G. M. Williamson [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987], 86–87).

47. Cf. William Whitt, "The Jacob Traditions and Their Relation to Genesis," *ZAW* 103 (1991): 18–43; Dwight Daniels, *Hosea and Salvation History: The Early Traditions of Israel in the Prophecy of Hosea*, BZAW 191 (Berlin: de GruyterNew York, 1990), 33–41. For a recent critique of these attempts

Hosea 12 were written by a later, perhaps Judean, author and cannot be taken as a reflection of the materials known in the eighth-century North. Nevertheless, there are not decisive indicators of late composition in these portions of the chapter, and the approximate character of their link to Genesis Jacob traditions militates against the idea that it was created specifically to echo those traditions.

Thus the Jacob story, minus the Priestly materials (Gen 26:34–35; 27:46–28:9; 35:9–15), several additions preparing for Judah's promotion to the head of Jacob's children (Gen 30:21; 34:1–31; 35:21–22a), and also a digression about Isaac (Gen 26:1–33), shows multiple signs of early Northern origins.[48] It features Northern figures and prominent places in the early Northern monarchy. It appears to have been adapted from this Northern focus so that it leads to a proclamation of the destiny of Southern kings to rule. And it is reflected in multiple ways in Hosea 12, a chapter associated with the only Northern prophet whose words were preserved in the Hebrew Bible. If there was any text in the Bible to be identified as potentially Northern and early, the Jacob story would be one of the best candidates.

The non-Priestly Joseph story in Genesis is a less strong candidate for such Northern origins, though several internal signs point to the probability that it, along with the attached Jacob story, was part of an early Northern corpus. Though it does not feature many specific place-names at all (aside from Shechem in Gen 37:12), the story as a whole focuses on Joseph, the ancestor of the two central tribes of the North, Ephraim and Manasseh. Furthermore, unlike the Jacob story, the Joseph story focuses on the gradual teaching of the brothers to recognize Joseph's destiny to rule over and provide for them, starting with his dreams of domination in Gen 37:5–7, 9 and concluding with his actual power over them in Egypt (Genesis 42–50). Even Judah, the ancestor of the Davidic dynasty to the South, comes to recognize and submit to Joseph's power over him (Gen 44:16–34) before Joseph breaks down and reveals his identity to them and promises to provide for them and their father (Gen 45:1–13).[49] This theme of dominance is even continued in later portions of the Joseph story, reprising the scene of fatherly blessing from the Jacob story (Gen 48:1–2, 8–14, 17–20//27:1–45), but this time with Jacob knowingly giving the younger brother, Ephraim, the greater blessing (48:17–20). It so happens that Jeroboam, the founding king of the Northern dynasty, is reported to have been an Ephraimite (1 Kgs 11:26), the only Northern king for whom such a tribal affiliation is known. With the inclusion of this blessing scene reminiscent of the Jacob story, the Joseph story predicts not only the future monarchy of the North in the form of the Joseph tribes, but also more specifically

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to argue against a link between Hosea 12 and Genesis 25–35, see Esther Hamori, "*When Gods Were Men*": *The Embodied God in Biblical and Near Eastern Literature*, BZAW 384 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 100–101.

48. Gen 26:1–33 is a likely part of the proto-Genesis composition discussed earlier in Chapter 10 of this book. For discussion, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 205.

49. This approach to the Joseph story is more fully argued in Frank Crüsemann, *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum: die antiköniglichen Texte des Alten Testaments und der Kampt um den frühen israelitischen Staat*, WMANT 49 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 143–55 and expanded in Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 277–80.

the rule of Ephraim in the form of Jeroboam.[50] Yet, perhaps because of ambivalence about monarchy in the North (and/or the narrative frame of the story), the Joseph story never explicitly identifies Joseph as a "king." Thus, it hardly qualifies as a Northern equivalent of a Judean royal psalm.[51] Nevertheless, its point was clear enough that a Judean tradent apparently saw its political implications and modified it, through additions discussed above, to focus ultimately on Judah (e.g. Genesis 38) and the ultimate destiny of *his* descendents to rule forever (Gen 30:21; 34:1–31; 35:21–22*; 49:3–12).

In sum, both the Jacob and Joseph stories show signs of early Northern origins. To be sure, the stories probably were not originally connected to each other. Not only are they quite differently constructed, but also the narration of Joseph's second dream (Gen 37:9–10) seems to presuppose that Joseph's mother and father are still alive, although the Jacob story had already reported the death of Rachel (Gen 35:19).[52] That said, the two compositions appear to have been joined early on. This probably started with the above-discussed insertion of an early form of the above-discussed blessing scene (Gen 48:1–2, 8–14, 17–20), a scene that inserts into the conclusion of the Joseph story (Gen 47:31; 50:1–11, 14) a parallel to the outset of the Jacob story (Gen 27:1–45). Subsequently, this combined Jacob-Joseph story was further modified in the South, through the above-discussed series of additions leading up to and including the prediction of Judah's destiny to rule (Gen 30:21; 34:1–31; 35:21–22a; 49:3–12). Notably, this series of additions has a claim to be relatively old as well, since its prediction of *eternal* rule by Judah does not show awareness of the later end of the Davidic monarchy.[53] In sum, though initially separate, the Joseph story appears to have been associated with the Jacob story at an early point, both in the North (with the Ephraim-focused addition of an early form of Genesis 48*) and South (with the pre-exilic additions throughout Genesis 30–49). As a result, the internal indicators of Northern origins for the Joseph story combine with the somewhat stronger indicators of the same for the Jacob story, to suggest that both compositions originated in the early Northern monarchy, perhaps already at the outset of that monarchy as literary legitimations of the kingdom started by Jeroboam, the Ephraimite.

As we move forward from Genesis, it becomes progressively more difficult to identify potential early Northern texts embedded in the Judean Hebrew Bible

50. Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 250–54 and Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 253–56.

51. In my judgment, Schmid overinterprets the lack of explicit focus on monarchy as a sure sign that the Joseph story is not dealing with issues of (semi-monarchal) authority structures in the North (see "Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, BZAW 315 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002], 109). Furthermore, in so far as Israelites could reckon with the possibility of sojourning in Egypt at a wide variety of times in their history, one hardly needs to posit (according to Schmid, p. 111) that the Joseph story, with its diaspora context, must post-date at least the destruction of the North in 722.

52. Donald B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)*, VT Suppl., Vol. 20 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 247–48; Kessler, "Querverweise," 146, 178; Walter Dietrich, *Die Josephserzählung als Novelle und Geschichtsschreibung: zugleich ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchfrage*, Biblisch-theologische Studien 14 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1989), 45–46.

53. Again, see Carr, *Reading the Fractures*, 249–53.

corpus. One prominent example is the story of the exodus under Moses, another tradition repeatedly referred to in the book of Hosea (Hos 2:17 [ET 2:15]; 11:1; 12:10 [ET 12:9]; 14 [ET 12:13]; 13:4). In this case, Hosea's references are too vague to be identified with the exodus story found in the Bible, and the language of several of the references shows signs of later origins. Nevertheless, the mention in Hosea 12 of "by a prophet Yhwh brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet he was protected" (Hos 12:14 [ET 12:13]) is dissimilar enough from other biblical formulations yet close enough to the mention of Moses to suggest that its author was the early Northern prophet and that prophet knew a tradition at least vaguely approaching that of the Moses-centered exodus story now in Exodus.

Meanwhile, the book of Exodus itself shows signs of early Northern origins. For example, Albertz, Van Seters, and others have identified a series of striking parallels between the story of Moses's liberation of Israel from Egypt in the book of Exodus and the story of Jeroboam's leading of Israel to freedom from the Southern monarchy in 1 Kings:[54]

Moses out of royal milieu (Exod 2:5–10)	Jeroboam a royal official (1 Kgs 11:28)
comes to solidarity with people (2:11–12)	starts rebellion (cf. 12:4)
fearing fatal reprisal, flees (2:13–15)	flees on penalty of death (11:40)
death of one who sought them (4:19)	death of one who sought him (11:43)
return to country people (4:20)	return to country people (12:2–3a)
negotiates with successor for relief from forced labor (5:1–5)	negotiates with successor for lightening of forced lab. (12:4–5)
forced labor is increased (5:6–14)	forced labor is increased (12:6–14)
leads "exodus" (Exodus 7–14*)	Israel leaves domination of Judah (12:16)

These parallels with the history of the early Northern kingdom even extend later in the Moses story with the often observed links between Aaron's making of the golden calf in Exod 32:1–6 and Jeroboam's founding of two royal sanctuaries with golden calves in 1 Kgs 12:26–30, and even a striking parallel between the names of Aaron's oldest two children, Nadab and Abihu (Exod 24:1, 9; also in P-Exod 6:23; Lev 10:1–3), and the names given in Kings for Jeroboam's two sons, Nadab and Abijah (1 Kgs 14:1, 20).[55] These connections are numerous and substantial

54. Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit*, Vol. 1, *von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Königszeit*, Grundrisse zum Alten Testament 8/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 215; John Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 72; James Nohrnberg, *Like Unto Moses: The Constituting of a Literary Interruption*, Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 282–96.

55. In addition, Edward Greenstein observes in "The Bible and Deconstruction," *Prooftexts* 9 (1989): 62 that the names Nadab and Abijah may be conflated in reverse order in another story of destruction by contact with holiness (2 Sam 6:1–8) when the ark is taken from the house of *Abinadab* before Uzzah is killed by touching it. As Greenstein (following on Plaskow) notes, Jewish tradition recognizes these resonances between Leviticus 10 and 2 Samuel 6 by making the latter the *haftorah* reading for the former.

enough (even with the present anti-Northern slant of 1 Kgs 12:26–30 and Exod 32:1–6) to suggest that some sort of Northern exodus composition may lie behind the non-Priestly strand of Exodus. This composition would have drawn on more ancient Israelite traditions of the exodus to celebrate Jeroboam's founding of the Northern kingdom. It did so by depicting Moses's liberation of the Israelites from Egypt in ways that made him anticipate Jeroboam's freeing of the Israelites from Southern domination. Thus, for those who accepted this new version of the exodus story, Jeroboam, the first king of the Northern monarchy, was a contemporary Moses figure. This hypothetical early Moses story would be another example of the unique legitimation of the Northern monarchy, parallel to that of the Jacob and Joseph stories.

If these hypothesized compositions were authored in the early North, they appear to have offered a different strategy for promoting the early monarchy than those seen in probable early Southern royal psalms. Especially the Jacob story, but also the Jeroboam-like Moses story, is linked with more ancient Israelite tribal traditions about Jacob-Israel and Moses. Both the Jacob and Joseph stories *lack* explicit links to the monarchy and do *not* parallel the sorts of royal legitimation traditions seen in Egypt and Mesopotamia. These features would be consistent with the picture of Jeroboam's cult founding that is given in 1 Kgs 12:26–30. Though this report is given from the perspective of much later Judean scribes, it preserves the idea that Jeroboam's early sanctuaries featured golden calves, a very ancient symbol of divinity in the early Israelite highlands. In this way and others, it appears that Jeroboam hearkened back to Israel's earliest roots in countering domination from Jerusalem. Israel is reported to have given the ancient cry "to your tents oh Israel" when rebelling against Davidic rule (1 Kgs 12:16), and Jeroboam is criticized in 1 Kings for offering Israel sanctuaries outside Jerusalem that featured some of Israel's most ancient cultic symbols. An ancient Jacob story featuring Yhwh as "the God [who is in] Bethel" (Gen 31:13) would be another example of a counter-Jerusalemite cultural move that draws on Israel's ancient traditions, as would a composition that made Jeroboam look like a second Moses.

A major problem for the hypothesis of a Jeroboam-era Moses story, however, is the fact that it is difficult to identify its contours. Despite the above-mentioned parallels to Jeroboam in parts of Exodus and the plausibility that these parts of Exodus are based on an early Northern tradition, the exodus-Moses story now in Exodus is not easily datable to the early pre-exilic period. For example, it features themes, such as the previously mentioned motif of Yhwh defending Yhwh's honor in the (P and non-P) plague narratives, which fit a later exilic, rather than early pre-exilic profile. Perhaps it is possible to use back-references in Deuteronomy and/or other strategies to uncover an earlier form of the Moses story that lacked such characteristics, but I would not judge that this task has been carried out successfully so far.[56] If an early Northern Moses story once existed and was the basis

56. This includes my foray into sourcelike criticism of the Moses story in Chapter 4 of this book (see pp. 118–24) and the unusually nuanced and thoughtful discussion of the Moses story in Jan Christian Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung: Untersuchungen zur Endredaktion des Pentateuch*, FRLANT 186 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000). One of the most evocative

for these (Judean) portions of the book of Exodus, it has been so thoroughly and seamlessly modified that we have little chance of reconstructing its exact contents. This is particularly obvious for the golden calf tradition connected to Aaron and Jeroboam, where the portrayal in the present text (in both Exod 32:1–6 and 1 Kgs 12:26–30) is thoroughly shaped by later Judean preoccupations.[57]

Similar problems plague the effort to identify other early Northern traditions elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. The book of Deuteronomy, for example, features a prominent covenant-making ceremony at the Northern mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (Deut 27:1–13). It is highly unlikely that Judean scribes, particularly later ones, would have created such a scene. In addition, as discussed in Chapter 10, the most clearly Neo-Assyrian portions of Deuteronomy, Deuteronomy 13 and 28, are likely secondary insertions into their (older) context. These indicators, along with long acknowledged resonances between the message of Hosea and that of Deuteronomy, suggest that the Neo-Assyrian scribes who added this material to Deuteronomy had access to an older, Northern form of the book, perhaps a Torah of God introduced by a superscription like that only preserved now in the LXX of Deut 6:4.[58] Nevertheless, even if such an early Northern form of Deuteronomy once existed, it almost certainly has been so seamlessly modified, that it cannot be identified in a methodologically controlled and repeatable way.

Judges is another book with good claim to contain some early Northern tradition(s), once again difficult to distinguish from its later revision. The first part of the book features a series of tribal legends that center on Northern, especially Ephraimite, figures and places (Deborah and Barak [Judges 4–5], Gideon [Judges 6–8], Abimelech [Judges 9], and Tola [Judg 10:1–2]) before moving to stories about

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recent proposals about the relationship of the two documents has been that of William Johnstone, who has suggested using back-references in Deuteronomy to reconstruct a version of the Tetrateuch before it was radically revised by P. See especially his synthesis in "The Use of Reminiscences in Deuteronomy in Recovering the Two Main Literary Phases in the Production of the Pentateuch," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, BZAW 315 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 247–73.

57. Special conditions may have led to the masking of an early Northern exodus story in the book of Exodus in contrast, say, to the preservation of signs of an early Northern Jacob story in Genesis. The discussion of documented cases of textual growth in Chapter 3 suggested that it often is easier to distinguish traditions with a separate, usually written, prehistory, than it is to distinguish an early literary core from later extensions and transformations of it. In the case of Jacob, the mention of him in early pre-exilic prophets, such as Isaiah, indicates that he was revered in the South as well as North, and so Judean authors modifying a Northern Jacob story could draw on originally independent traditions associated with him such as the story of Dinah or some form of the blessing now found in Genesis 49. There is less evidence, however, for early Judean interest in the figure of Moses, and it is more difficult to identify separate Judean traditions about him in Exodus. Therefore, Judean author-redactors revising a Northern Moses story are more likely to have extended and transformed that story in relatively seamless ways, rather than adding more distinctive and identifiable Southern traditions.

58. For the discussion of Neo-Assyrian resonances, see Chapter 10, pp. 307–10. For the superscription, see Chapter 4, p. 147, note 110. For resonances with Hosea as an indicator of Northern origins for Deuteronomy, see Harold Lewis Ginsberg, *The Israelian Heritage of Judaism*, Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 24 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1982), 19–24.

Jair and especially Jephthah in the Gilead (Judg 10:3–12:7). Some of these stories, such as the Song of Deborah in Judges 5, feature unusually archaic language and may preserve ancient Northern traditions relatively intact. Given these indicators and parallels to appropriation of Northern material elsewhere in the (Judean) Hebrew Bible, a good case can be made for the presence of several blocks of Northern material in Judges (e.g., a "savior book" embedded in Judges 3–9* and "judges collection" present in 10–16*). Nevertheless, it is not easy to identify the contours of such originally Northern traditions with precision, since they have been reframed and revised in light of Judean and later semi-Deuteronomistic concerns.[59]

Similar issues attend attempts to unearth coherent blocks of Northern material in other parts of the historical books. The book of Joshua starts its conquest narrative in the Northern hill country (Joshua 5–9) before moving to a much briefer survey of conquests in Judah (10:17–39), and it even concludes with the previously discussed post-D covenant ceremony set at the central Northern site of Shechem (Joshua 24).[60] Nevertheless, this material is so thoroughly infused with Deuteronomistic ideology and language that it is difficult to know which parts originated in the earlier North and which are the product of later Judean revision. Some have attempted to reconstruct a history of the Northern kings standing behind the extensive narration of the North in 1 Kings 12–2 Kings 17, but these proposals have suffered even more from the same problem: thorough infusion of such supposedly Northern material with Deuteronomistic themes typical of later Judean textuality.

To be sure, one might suppose that such Deuteronomistic language and ideology originated in the North, before being passed on to the South and further developed there. Thus, the hypothetical early Northern forms of Deuteronomy, Judges, and perhaps parts of Joshua and Kings might have been shaped by such (D) emphases before being adapted by later Judean scribes. Nevertheless, even if this hypothesis of northern Deuteronomism were true, it would highlight all the more the difficulty of separating hypothetical Northern Deuteronomic precursor texts from their later, Southern Deuteronomic successors. The most we can suppose is *the existence* of some possible early Northern precursors to parts of Deuteronomy, Judges, and possibly Joshua and Kings. Attempting to further specify the *contents* and *perspective* of such precursors goes beyond what can be achieved with methodological control.

The same could be said for the attempt to use back-references in Hosea and Deuteronomy to identify yet more material in the Pentateuch that might date back to the ninth-century North. In particular, Deuteronomy features fairly specific references to wilderness traditions, some that are so parallel to narratives

59. For recent attempts to untangle the early history of the formation of Judges (and the first chapters of 1 Samuel), see Phillipe Guillaume, *Waiting for Josiah: The Judges*, JSOTSup 385 (London: T&T Clark, 2004) and Sara Milstein, "Revision Through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature," PhD diss. (New York: New York University, 2010).

60. One might conclude that Hosea knows some form of a tradition of disobedience during the conquest, for example, Joshua 7, based on the reference in Hos 2:17 [ET 2:15; see, e.g., Daniels, *Hosea and History*, 99–100], but the reference is too unspecific to know to what tradition the author of this passage (if indeed Hosea) was referring.

in the Tetrateuch that they appear genetically related. Debate rages over how to determine the direction of dependence, with there being evidence in some cases that Deuteronomy is dependent on its Tetrateuchal precursor and in others that the parallel material in the Tetrateuch was produced to harmonize the Tetrateuch with back-references in Deuteronomy.[61] A chief problem for any global attempt to use Deuteronomy as an index of pre-D traditions, however, is that Deuteronomy is a multi-layered, selective, and highly theological recasting of previous stories. As a result, the Deuteronomistic back-references may well not provide accurate indications of the shape and ordering of the material they review. All the same, Deuteronomi(sti)c back-references still suggest the *existence* of early Israelite wilderness traditions, perhaps even a composition featuring wilderness stories, and these back-references can be used to identify potential wilderness texts that might show other signs of early origins.

The Balaam story in Numbers 22–24* (minus the donkey episode) is one good candidate to be an early pre-exilic Northern tradition that is partially identifiable as such because of back-references to it in Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 23:5–6) and related texts (e.g., Josh 13:22). Not only is it featured in those reviews, but it also shares features with potential early royal traditions discussed previously in this book. The introduction to the latter two of Balaam's biblical oracles, נאם בלעם (נאם with a human name/epithet; Num 24:3–4, 15–16), resembles the introduction to the last words of David in 2 Sam 23:1 (note also Prov 30:1), and both the biblical Balaam (Num 24:4, 16) and David (2 Sam 23:2) claim similar privileged access to divine intent. In addition, the last two Balaam oracles in Num 24:3–9 and 15–19 proclaim future kingship in Jacob/Israel and use explicit royal imagery (king, scepter) featured in royal oracles (Num 24:7, 17). Furthermore, the Numbers 22–24 story has affinities with the early-eighth-century Deir Alla inscription found in the Transjordan. Like Numbers 22–24, the Deir Alla inscription depicts a Balaam associated with El (Deir Alla 1:2; Num 23:8, 19, 22; 24:3–4, 8, 15–16) and the Shaddai (Deir Alla 1:5; Num 24:16), who has the gods visit him at night (Deir Alla 1:1; Num 22:9, 20) and arises the next morning to report (Deir Alla 1:3; Num 22:13, 21 [note also Judg 19:27; 2 Sam 24:11]) what the god(s)/Shaddai are about to "do" (פעל; Deir Alla 1:5; Num 23:23). In sum, if there is early monarchal material somewhere in the Tetrateuchal wilderness traditions, the Balaam story of Numbers 22–24*[62] would be a prime place to look for such material. Moreover, a Northern

61. Compare, for example, Martin Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist: Untersuchungen zu den Berührungspunkten beider Literaturwerke*, ATANT 67 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981); Van Seters, *Life of Moses*; and the more mixed model in Blum, *Studien*.

62. Authors widely agree on the distinctive character of the donkey episode in Num 22:22–35 (see especially Alexander Rofé, who otherwise argues for the unity of the Balaam story; Alexander Rofé, "*The Book of Balaam*'" *[Numbers 22:2–24:25]: A Study in Methods of Criticism and the History of Biblical Literature and Religion*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 1 [Jerusalem: Simor, 1979], 19–24). As before with royal psalms, however, there is significant debate about whether the royal elements that appear toward the end of the complex are pre-exilic monarchal or post-exilic eschatological. For the latter view, see the relatively recent essay by Markus Witte, "Der Segen Bileams—eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Problemanzeige zum 'Jahwisten' in Num 22–24," in *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid, and Markus Witte, BZAW 315 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 198–203.

origin for this story and/or enclosed oracles might be indicated by the resolute focus in the oracles (and surrounding story) on Jacob/Israel and the mention of motifs, such as the exodus (done here by El in Num 23:22; 24:8) and "tents of Israel" (Num 24:5; 2 Sam 20:1, 22; 1 Kgs 12:16) that are particularly associated with Northern contexts.

Finally, some have found traces of Northern documents elsewhere in the Bible, often on the basis of language or place-names. For example, multiple scholars have supposed that some of the biblical psalms originated in the North before being adapted into the Judean corpus. The most comprehensive recent effort to do this has been that of Gary Rendsburg, who argues for Northern associations for virtually all of the biblical wisdom literature and many psalms. In some cases, such as the Song of Songs, he and others have found Northern isoglosses in the biblical text. This phenomenon (insofar as it is truly present) would correspond to the theory—advanced in the previous chapter—that the Song of Songs was shaped by transmission in the North of Israel. This does not mean, however, that the Song of Songs—with its prominent links to Solomon—was originally authored in the North. Instead, just as Papyrus Amherst 63 12, 11–19 reflects the probable Northern adaptation of an apparent Southern royal psalm, Northern elements in the Song of Songs probably reflect its transmission and adaptation in the North. The two kingdoms apparently shared a common script. They almost certainly shared literary traditions as well.

Ultimately, many of the authors and revisers of these texts may not have made a sharp distinction between North and South, for the biblical texts that stress this distinction most clearly (e.g., Kings and Chronicles) tend to be dated toward the late pre-exilic and still later periods. Many texts with a plausible claim for an earlier dating feature a concept of "Israel" that predates and sometimes spans the boundaries of the Judean and Israelite monarchies. Though the Davidides temporarily ruled over "Israel" and never gave up connections to Israelite tradition and claims on Israelite territory, there is substantial evidence that "Israel" per se was a broader nonstate entity quite different from the counterpart to "Judah" depicted in some biblical materials.[63] Moreover, in so far as hypotheses about Northern documents advanced in this section are on target, a broader pan-Israelite identity, including Judah, may be reflected in the focus on Judah and Simeon even in the earliest layers of the Jacob and Joseph stories or the potentially Northern depiction of a twelve-tribe covenant ceremony in Deut 27:1–13. Ultimately, of course, the Northern kingdom was destroyed and Judah became the sole repository for what were once common "Israelite" traditions. But we should be cautious about overapplying a distinction between North-South kingdoms on Hebrew biblical texts.

In sum, place-names and figures can provide an initial guide to texts potentially from the early North, but a more important index of specifically *Northern* origins would be evidence in biblical texts for Northern political claims. In so far as the Jacob story features a Bethel-centered, anti-Zion polemic in the claim about Yhwh being "the god [who is in] Bethel" (Gen 31:13), the Joseph story revolves around an

63. Again, on this I am dependent on Daniel Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

argument for the royal domination of the Joseph tribes—especially Ephraim—over others, and the Moses story reflects a possible early effort to portray Jeroboam as a second Moses, these portions of the Hebrew Bible have the best claim to have originated and circulated in the context of the early Northern monarchies. In some other cases, such as the Song of Songs, we have evidence both within the text and from the book of Hosea for early Northern knowledge and revision of a text that probably originated in the South. In still other cases, such as potential precursors to parts of the Deuteronomistic history, the occasional prominence of Northern figures and places may point to Northern origins for parts of Deuteronomy, Joshua, etc. Nevertheless, these features also may just be reflections of an early concept of "Israel" that encompassed the peoples of both kingdoms, before that concept was increasingly superseded by later constructions that more strongly distinguished Northern "Israel" from the Judean "Israel" that survived the exile.

STILL OTHER EARLY MONARCHAL TEXTS?

If nothing else, this overview has shown some of the difficulty of the task of identifying texts from the tenth and ninth centuries amidst later literary contexts. The dynamics of revision—documented earlier—are so subtle and the process of revision so long, that we rarely have the tools we wish we had to reconstruct comprehensively the early literature of ancient Judah and Israel. As many have observed, barring an unforeseen archaeological find, such a task is inherently impossible, since many early works—some referred to in the Bible itself (e.g. 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:19, 29; 15:7, 31; 16:5; etc.)—have been lost. Some may have been superseded by the documents that draw on them, while others may have been judged unworthy by scribes with distinctively later theological preoccupations. In some cases, such as the early primeval history, its exclusive focus on the national God, Yhwh, may have allowed it to survive into later periods. Likewise, the presence of Judah as a significant character in the earliest layers of the (Northern) Jacob and Joseph stories probably facilitated their ongoing transmission (and adaptation) in Judean contexts. Yet there certainly must have been other texts that had objectionable elements or lacked features important to later scribes. We have faint echoes of such texts like the hymnic fragment from Kuntillet Ajrud, but sadly lack much else.

This means that the ultimate picture of Judah and Israel's earliest literature is skewed. We can never achieve a full overview of the sorts of texts that circulated in the tenth and ninth centuries. Instead, we are limited to a reconstruction, characterized by different levels of plausibility, of those texts in the present Hebrew Bible that show indicators of early monarchal origins. This does not just exclude texts that were not included in any form in the Hebrew Bible. It also excludes any early monarchal texts in the Hebrew Bible that lack the sorts of indicators that would enable us to identify them as such. For example, there may be many individual psalms or portions of the Pentateuch that date back to the first centuries of literary activity in Judah and Israel. The argument being made here, however, is that many such texts lack a critical mass of indicators that would enable our dating of them to an early period. What we can know—or plausibly suppose—is thus irrevocably different from what probably once was true.

These sorts of qualifications provide a good entry to a brief discussion of several texts that previous scholarship has identified as potential early monarchal texts, texts that were mentioned at the outset of this third section of the book: the ark narrative, succession narrative, and Yahwistic and Elohistic Pentateuchal source documents. Recent research on the former two hypothesized compositions, the ark narrative and succession narrative, has thrown into some question how much they can be separated from their Deuteronomistic contexts.[64] Furthermore, these texts lack the sorts of ancient Near Eastern analogues that have helped here in the identification of several other potential early monarchal texts. In terms of genetic intertextuality, there is some evidence of dependence on the succession narrative in the pre-exilic Judean layer of modifications of the Jacob-Joseph story, with parallels between the misdeeds of Judah and his sons and the later misdeeds of David's offspring. This could point to an earlier origin of much of the material of 2 Samuel, indicating the existence in the early monarchy of some sort of composition (whose more precise contours are unclear) chronicling the succession to David.[65]

Though the discussion in Chapter 4 undermined the hypothesis of early pre-exilic Yahwistic and Elohistic Pentateuchal sources, much of what precedes has raised the possibility that texts once assigned to those sources might have pre-exilic origins. It has been maintained here that the bulk of the non-P, "Yahwistic" primeval history through Genesis 8 (or even 10) *is* a good candidate to be an early monarchal text. Moreover, many texts once identified with the former Yahwist and Elohist sources are included in the Jacob and Joseph stories that were identified here as probable early Northern texts. So also, I have proposed that portions of the non-P Moses story probably originate from the early Northern kingdom, and the early origins of much of this material may explain why the potential echoes of Neo-Assyrian material in that story occur mainly toward its outset in the story of Moses's birth and rescue (Exodus 2). A revised form of these materials then seems to be presupposed in the late pre-exilic or exilic reviews of Tetrateuchal traditions found in Deuteronomy 1–3, 9–10, and elsewhere. But it is difficult to identify exact contours.

Finally, a word should be said about the potential early origins of the materials surrounding Abraham, particularly the complex of non-P traditions regarding him apparently used as source materials in the (probably exilic) proto-Genesis composition. More has not been said prior to this point about these materials primarily because we have so little data to go on in dating them. To be sure, if one judges any of the references in Deuteronomy to Abraham to be pre-exilic (e.g.,

64. See Serge Frolov, "The Succession Narrative: A 'Document' or a Phantom?" *JBL* 121 (2002): 81–104 (with a citation of some precursors on p. 82). Much depends in Frolov's analysis on the extent to which his synchronic reading negates diachronic frameworks.

65. For detailed engagement with literature advocating a late dating of the succession narrative as an anti-Davidic/Solomonic tract, see Erhard Blum, "Ein Anfang der Geschichtschreibung?" in *Die sogennante Thronfolgegeschichte Davids: neue Einsichten und Anfragen*, ed. Albert de Pury and Thomas Römer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 21–29. Note also John Barton, "Dating the Succession Narrative," in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, ed. John Day (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 98–104.

Deut 1:8; 6:10; etc.), then apparently he is a known figure by that point. Furthermore, Ezekiel's disputation speech in Ezek 33:24–29 rails against those who claim that "Abraham was alone when he inherited/acquired the land" (אחד היה אברהם ויירש את־הארץ), a text that could indicate prior knowledge of a long-standing tradition regarding Abraham's taking possession of the land (long-standing enough to be cited). Yet neither of these references, even if early, closely matches existing traditions about Abraham now in Genesis 12–25 (cf. Hosea 12 and Jacob). Meanwhile, Genesis 12–25 contains a mix of traditions about Abraham—such as the Abraham-Lot cycle embedded in Genesis 12–13* and 18–19,* the Hagar story behind Genesis 16*, and a parallel set of traditions about him behind Genesis 20–21 (note also apparently related, parallel traditions about Isaac behind Genesis 26*)—that have been so thoroughly adapted into the broader composition and oriented toward the theme of promise dominating the proto-Genesis composition that their original contours are difficult to reconstruct. They do seem to indicate the particularly Southern associations of Abraham as a character (cf. Jacob and Joseph), and some of these traditions definitely could be among the early pre-exilic elements of the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, the indicators used so far in this work (e.g. similarity to non-biblical models, dissimilarity from later biblical materials) do not provide much of a basis for such an early dating. Overall, the complex of Abraham traditions constitutes a prime instance where texts in the Hebrew Bible of demonstrable theological significance are relatively difficult to place on a chronological continuum in this sort of history.

■ CONCLUSION

Perhaps the main conclusion of this overview of potentially early texts embedded in the Hebrew Bible is that some of them—particularly those with the best claim for specifically Northern origins (e.g., the Jacob-Joseph Story, an early form of the Moses Story)—do not fit the mold of Judean/Israelite texts modeled on precursors from outside the Hebrew Bible. Rather than featuring widespread parallels to extra-biblical literature, these potentially early Northern compositions seem to draw on older, specifically Israelite ancestral, exodus, and conquest/judges traditions, mirroring on a literary level the kind of archaism that is depicted (and polemicized against) in the account of Jeroboam's establishment of calf cults at Bethel and Dan. Furthermore, I have suggested that these probable Northern compositions may represent literary incarnations of prior oral tradition intended, to some extent, as a Northern, indigenous counterweight to a smaller corpus of Judean literary texts composed during and supportive of the monarchy of the house of David. Ambivalence about that monarchy and the institution of monarchy more generally could explain the absence of direct endorsement of kingship in these texts, even in compositions (e.g., the early Joseph story) focusing on the dynamics of authority and domination among "brothers."

At the same time, just as there is epigraphic evidence for a common literary tradition in the North and South, so also have we seen evidence that the literary boundaries between North and South were porous. It is probable that some early Southern compositions, such as the royal psalm reflected in Papyrus Amherst 63

12,11–19//Psalm 20 or an early form of the Song of Songs, circulated and were adapted in Northern Israel. Indeed, the possible echo in the non-P Jacob story of traditions reflecting the domination of Edom by the house of David (Gen 25:21–34; 27:1–45) may indicate the adoption within this probable Northern composition of prior traditions originating from the tenth-century South, before this Jacob composition (in the meantime attached to the Joseph story) was adapted later by Southern scribes.[66]

The socio-historical background to this process of adaptation is not clear. On the one hand, the back-references in Hosea and Deuteronomy on the one side and Micah and Isaiah on the other would suggest that, at least during the late eighth century, there was a division between the sorts of traditions that could be presupposed as well known in the North and South. On the other hand, by the late seventh century and onward (e.g., Jeremiah, Samuel-Kings), we see ever clearer reflections of Southern adaptation of traditions whose original home probably was the North. In the past, this mix of Northern and Southern traditions from the seventh century onward was explained with the idea of documents being brought South by refugees from the Northern kingdom that had been destroyed by the Assyrians. Yet it is hard to see how such documents merely appearing in Judah of the late eighth century would come to constitute the foundational center of the Judean literary corpus a couple of centuries later (the core of the "Torah"). It is in this area that ongoing research into trans-state structures of community and identity may be helpful in clarifying the broader contexts in which such documents were transmitted and considered authoritative.

Be that as it may, the data, uncertain as they are, point to a growing focus over time in Judah on some of those traditions (the Jacob-Joseph story, Moses Story, Deuteronomy) with the most claim to have early Northern origins. Meanwhile, many of the texts with the most claim of early Judean origins (e.g., the non-P Primeval History, Proverbs, Song of Songs) came to play a more peripheral role. As many have observed, the non-P Primeval history is not clearly echoed in other biblical texts. After apparently being used in Proverbs, the Song of Songs is reflected primarily in texts with potential Northern origins, such as Hosea and Deuteronomy (though note also Isaiah), but is not traceable in later texts. Even Proverbs, though apparently quoted in Isa 59:7 (Prov 1:16), is most clearly reflected in Deuteronomy and (to a lesser extent) potential eighth-century Isaiah material, not as much in later texts. The royal psalms appear to have played the most important role in later literature, serving both as visions of a possible restored monarchy and as sources for images of authority that could be reapplied to other figures (e.g., Abraham, Cyrus, the servant of exilic Isaiah material). Nevertheless, the bulk of these early Judean texts ended up not in the Torah, nor even in the "prophets" category that was more narrowly defined in the rabbinic period, but in the "writings" portion of the Tanach. It was the apparent Northern "Israelite" traditions surrounding Jacob-Joseph and Moses that came to provide the substructure for the all-important Pentateuch.

66. Blum, *Vätergeschichte*, 190–94.

17 Toward a New Picture of Early Monarchal Texts in the Hebrew Bible

The preceding chapters have developed a picture of early monarchal textuality in the Hebrew Bible that contrasts sharply with that of the late-twentieth-century consensus that has started to crumble in the last decades. That consensus focused first on major postulated cross-Pentateuchal source documents: "J" from the tenth-century South and "E" from the ninth- (or eighth-) century North. It also featured dating of large swathes of 1–2 Samuel to the time of David and Solomon, such as the postulated ark (including 1 Sam 4:1–7:1; possibly 2 Samuel 6*) and succession narratives (2 Samuel 9–20; 1 Kings 1–2). These documents were then supplemented by some materials from what is now the "writings" portion of the Jewish Tanach—particularly potentially early psalms (such as royal psalms) and parts of the book of Proverbs.

The picture advocated here diverges in detail and emphasis from that consensus. In place of the past cross-Pentateuchal Yahwistic source strand, I have suggested that only the Yahwistic primeval history in parts of Genesis 2–9 (10?) can be placed plausibly in an early monarchal Judean context. In place of the past cross-Pentateuchal Northern E strand, I have suggested that the non-Priestly portions of Genesis 25–50 and parts of Exodus and Numbers may preserve portions of originally separate, Northern narratives about Jacob, Joseph, and Moses, each of which shows signs of later editing in the South. Moreover, I have argued that the hypothesized Covenant Code standing behind Exod 20:22–23:33 may have originated in the early monarchal period. Nevertheless, this Covenant Code and Jacob, Joseph, and Moses Stories are quite different in scope and contents from any of the older postulated Pentateuchal source documents. Whatever early monarchal materials are preserved in the Pentateuch, they more likely took the form of these smaller-scope compositions—for example, Primeval History, Jacob Story, Covenant Code—than of the overarching source documents hypothesized in earlier generations of scholarship.

With previous scholars, I have suggested the possibility of Northern materials standing behind the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges. Again, however, it is difficult to confirm this possibility. Parts of Deuteronomy may originate from early Northern contexts, but the present form of the book is so seamlessly modified through long oral-written transmission in Judean (Southern) contexts that it is impossible to reconstruct the contours of such a Northern core. Certain parts of Judges (e.g. the Song of Deborah, possibly some sort of book focusing on Northern savior figures) and Joshua have good claim for originating in Northern contexts as well. Nevertheless, if such Northern precursor compositions once existed, their beginnings, endings, and many intervening details have been lost. The books of

Samuel may well preserve some early Judean traditions, particularly the narrative of the succession of David (reflected in the pre-exilic modification of the Jacob-Joseph Story). Yet again, these older hypotheses are less certain than before, since such potential early documents again seem to have been subjected to extensive, largely unreconstructible modification in the process of centuries of later oral-written transmission.

Such issues of oral-written transmission plague any attempt to reconstruct Judah and Israel's earliest traditions, yet I have suggested that another part of the Hebrew Bible may preserve more such early traditions than many have supposed: what is now defined as the "writings" of the Hebrew Bible. This third part of the Tanach not only contains some potential early monarchal royal psalms, but also potential early monarchal material associated with Solomon, especially the collections in Proverbs along with an early form of the Song of Songs and possibly even a form of Qohelet. To be sure, any such texts associated with David and Solomon would have been modified through years of oral-written transmission just like any other text from the early monarchies. Nevertheless, such books show some internal signs of originating from Judah and Israel's earliest history, and in many cases we have evidence that eighth- and seventh-century pre-exilic texts, for example, Hosea, Isaiah, and Deuteronomy, may be genetically dependent on such precursors.

These global reflections on early monarchal texts can add specificity to earlier qualifications about the difficulty of using the Hebrew Bible to determine which texts were in circulation in the early monarchy. As suggested in the second portion of this book, during the exilic and post-exilic periods, there appears to have been a shift toward scribal focus on the Torah on the one hand and on "Prophets" on the other. An initial manifestation of this was the increasing revision and expansion of traditions about Israel's formation through land-entry along with references in exilic and later literature to such traditions. Later, in the Second Temple period, these traditions about Israel's pre-land period reached authoritative forms, and reverence for the Torah was reflected in increasingly precise preservation of its redactions. Meanwhile, it appears that non-Torah/prophetic compositions, such as many psalms and especially "Solomonic" literature, seem to have become increasingly peripheral in exilic and later Judean contexts. This more marginal status may have had divergent effects on their transmission. On the one hand, compositions such as Song of Songs may have been more subject to linguistic and other updating than portions of the Torah that were solidified (especially in what became the proto-MT version) in the late Persian/early Hellenistic period. On the other hand, their relatively marginal status may have made these compositions less of a focus for potential larger-scale Hasmonean-period literary revisions of the sort discussed in Chapter 5.

In so far as these reflections about the preservation and modification of potential early pre-exilic blocks of material are correct, we can suppose that several books now in the "writings" portion of the Hebrew canon—for example, much of Proverbs and certain royal psalms—provide us with the clearest overall view of the contours of early monarchal literature, despite the fact that they were subject to

continuing small-scale revisions in oral-written transmission. Meanwhile, it is more difficult to identify such early monarchal texts in the Pentateuch and historical books, not only because they focus on pre-state traditions, but also because later Jewish scribes seem to have played a particularly active role in developing and modifying such traditions. The books of the Primary History extending through 2 Kings probably preserve early monarchal traditions, but the contours and character of such traditions often are more difficult to specify.

In sum, the shifting dynamics of textual preservation and revision decisively affect our present picture of early monarchal literature. Certain texts are lost forever, some of which are referred to (and perhaps preserved in fragments) in existing biblical books (e.g., identifiable parts of the "book of Yashar"; Josh 10:13b; 2 Sam 1:18; [note also LXX 3 Kgdms 8:53a]) and probably others that failed the test of religious orthodoxy or usability in later periods.[1] Other texts, such as those now embedded in the Pentateuch, are only partially identifiable—with the Primeval History and Jacob-Joseph traditions more reconstructible (perhaps because less central) and early Moses-exodus traditions largely lost behind the haze of centuries of focus on development of the Mosaic Torah. Still other texts, such as the collections in Proverbs and perhaps parts of the Song of Songs, may have escaped such global revision, though their more fluid preservation in terms of micro-revision (at least in the later Second Temple period) may have resulted in more numerous small-scale revisions.

In any case, this is as far back as I believe we can go, and perhaps we cannot even go this far. The more I study concrete examples of transmission history, the more I wonder about the extent to which we can say much that is specific about the shape of biblical traditions that so long predate our manuscript witnesses. At the same time, numerous elements surveyed in the previous chapters suggest to me that large blocks of biblical material long predate the identifiable extensions, coordinations, and other sorts of revisions characteristic of the Neo-Assyrian through Hasmonean periods. Yes, it is true that the Hebrew Bible is in large part a Persian- into Hellenistic-period recension, yet I see those periods as times primarily of coordination, reframing, and extension of earlier Torah and prophetic material (the latter broadly construed), rather than the creation of the bulk of the Hebrew Bible (but cf. Haggai, proto-Zechariah, P and H, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Rebuilding-Ezra materials). Yes, I agree with others that the exile was a crucial time in the overall Judean swerve toward focus on pre-monarchic origins and a collection and reframing of those origins. Yet here again, I am not inclined to see the fragmented scribal subcommunities of the Judean diaspora as responsible for the wholesale creation of most biblical books (though cf. Lamentations, Isaiah 40–55, Ezekiel, and the exilic extension of Samuel-Kings). The Neo-Assyrian period is important, too, particularly as the origin-point for literary prophecy and the introduction and Neo-Assyrian reformulation of Deuteronomy (e.g., Deuteronomy 13 and 28), which would serve as a crucial

1. On the book of Yashar, see William Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 53–54.

orientation point (however diverse in its impact) for much further scribal productivity. Yet all that said, I remain convinced that, looming behind the various layers of Neo-Assyrian- through Hasmonean-period revisions and compositions, there stands a substantial mass of earlier pre-exilic material embedded in the Hebrew Bible, produced amidst the distinctly different scribal groups of South and North. Whether and how much we can identify specific portions of this mass of material remains a very open question. *That* it is there seems ever clearer on this side of this investigation.

AFTERWORD

At the outset, I discussed recent tendencies in scholarship to date the bulk of biblical traditions to a particular period, whether the Hellenistic, Persian, or Neo-Assyrian period. The balance of this book has argued that—in light of the significant fluidity characteristic of the transmission of oral-written literary traditions—we can use profiles developed from each period to discern some of the different sorts of material contributed to the Hebrew Bible at different times. Not only did different periods feature different concerns, but I have argued that different levels of literary revision were generally characteristic of different periods. To be sure, one could rightly object that there are some things that cross two or more periods, whether elements (e.g. focus on Yhwh, Jerusalem, an "Israel" of some sort), whole text types (e.g. pro-royal poetry), or types of revision (e.g. expansion, assimilation, new composition). Not everything has a distinct place and time.[1] Nevertheless, I suggest there are some elements more characteristic of certain periods than of others, and identifying these elements can be helpful in reconstructing the formation of the Hebrew Bible.

Some colleagues exposed to oral or written forms of this work have objected that my points about fluidity of textual transmission may hold for the Second Temple period, but that we need to assume a higher degree of preservation of texts for earlier periods in order to achieve the kind of precision we need for scientific analysis. This seems, in my judgment, to put the cart before the horse. Rather, we need to determine whether or not biblical traditions were transmitted with precision in order to determine if we can reconstruct their prehistory with exactitude. I have argued that not only Second Temple manuscripts, but also other evidence—for example, the parallels between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles or the various examples of intertextual relationships explored in Chapters 15 and 16—show that fluidity was characteristic of scribal use and the reproduction of texts at every stage to which we have access. So we must scale back expectations and adjust our methods to see what can reconstruct, with or without precision, of the undocumented prehistory of the Hebrew Bible.

In the end, I believe that attention to documented forms of revision and the use of profiles can give us some insight into how the Hebrew Bible developed over the whole stretch extending from the tenth to the second centuries BCE. Thus, contrary to some recent trends in scholarship, I believe it possible to develop not only profiles for the Hellenistic and Persian periods, but even a couple of profiles of early monarchal texts: pro-royal and wisdom texts imitative of foreign models on

1. On this point, the essay by Benjamin Sommer, "Dating Texts and the Perils of Pseudo-Historicism: Some Remarks on a Depressingly Pervasive Fallacy in Biblical Studies," forthcoming in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas Dozeman, Baruch Schwartz, and Konrad Schmid, FAT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 85–108.

the one hand, textualized versions of older Israelite exodus-ancestor-judge-conquest traditions on the other. Rather than positing the co-existence of many trends—such as contemporary Priestly and Deuteronomistic tradition-streams in the Second Temple period—I have proposed placing much such material in particular periods when certain tradents had the keys to the tradition. Finally, I have countered some recent proposals to see the growth of the Hebrew Bible as a whole through the lens of a particular strategic development—for example, the triumph of literacy over institutional forms of power or the move toward vernacular voicing of texts from and to the people—with arguments that such developments are but particular points in a much longer and variegated history of the formation of the Hebrew Bible before us.

In the final analysis, my claims for my application of such an approach in this book are modest. It is meant to be synthetic and suggestive. My claims for the methodology are stronger. My hope is that the engagement of a broader community of scholars in this approach will lead to progress. We will not gain clarity or exactitude on any stage of the process, even the latest ones. But we can learn more about what we can and cannot know, including a more accurate picture of the *sorts* of biblical material produced in different periods. I look forward to that conversation.

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SELECTIVE INDEX OF SCRIPTURE CITATIONS

The following aims to list discussions or specific citations of portions of Scripture, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. It does not aim for comprehensive coverage of every location where a given passage appears in a list of citations.

HEBREW BIBLE
Genesis
1:1-2:3 108, 211–12 n. 16, 216, 294, 295, 295 n. 88, 296, 340, 341–2, 456–7, 461
1:24 199
1:26 199
1:28 199
1:30 199
1:31 450 n. 59
2:1-3 297
2:4-8:22 456–69, 484
2:4-4:24 137, 216, 457–59
2:4-3:24 425, 428, 456–7, 461, 465–6, 467
2:4 137, 216–17
2:9 425, 459
2:19 199
2:20 199
3:20 450
3:22 425, 459
3:23 459 n. 11
3:24 425, 459, 459 n. 11
4:1-24 461
4:1-16 293
4:25-26 462
4:26 462
5 294, 295, 341–2
5:1-2 294, 295 n. 88
5:1 216
6:1-4 460
6:3 138, 460
6:5-9:17 108–9
6:5-8:22 461
6:11 293
6:13 293
6:7 199
7:3 199, 461
7:8-9 199
8:21 458
8:22 462
9:3-4 300
9:12-17 300
9:20-27 461
9:25-26 259, 272, 278, 286–7, 460
10:1 459–60, 461
10:8-15 459–60, 461
10:15 259
10:16-18 259, 272, 278, 286–7, 460
10:21 459–60, 461
10:24-30 459–60, 461
11:1-9 245–6, 313, 317, 349, 350, 459–60, 462
11:6-7 460
11:10-26 294
11:4 287, 458, 462
11:28-30 279, 279 n. 60
12-13 485
12:1-3 116 n. 37, 286–7, 341, 458–9
12:1-2 277
12:2 287, 462–3
12:3 394
12:7 286
12:8 462–3
12:10-20 124–5
13:10 462–3
13:14-17 286
14 133, 137, 137 n. 83, 258 n. 11, 278–9
15:1-21 109, 257–9, 257–8 n. 11, 261, 274 n. 47, 275, 276, 278, 286
15:7 279
15:18 394
16 485
17:1-22 109, 297
17:9-14 300
18-19 485
18:1-16 109
18:17-19 258–9
18:19 281
20-21 110, 485

20:1-18 124–5
22:15-18 257–9, 257–8 n. 11, 261
22:17 278
23 96
24 280–1
24:7 257
25:21-35:20 473–5, 485
25:21-34 486
26:1-33 475, 475 n. 48, 485
25:22 474
25:26 474
26:2-3 116 n. 37, 286
26:2 277
26:3-5 257–9, 257–8 n. 11, 261, 286
26:3-4 278
26:7-11 124–5
26:34-35 109, 475
27:1-45 109, 474, 475, 476, 486
27:46-28:8 109, 475
28:10-22 108, 108 n. 14, 124, 140 n. 97, 473, 474
28:13-16 286
28:20-22 293
28:21 259, 259 n. 13
29:1-30 116, 116 n. 33, 474
29:31-30:24 115, 115 n. 32, 474
30:2 108
30:6 108
30:25-43 116, 116 n. 34
30:21 115 n. 32, 474, 475, 476
31:4-16 107, 110
31:13 277, 473, 474, 478, 482
31:33 107
32:4-22[ET 32:3-21] 116, 116 n. 35
32:10-13 [ET 32:9-12] 259, 259 n. 13
32:23-33 [ET 32:22-32] 473, 474
32:29-30[ET 32:28-29] 109
32:29[ET 32:28] 108 n. 14
32:31 [ET 32:30] 108 n. 14
33:1-17 116, 116 n. 35
33:2-3 108 n. 14
33:2 473
33:7 473
33:18-35:4 473
33:19 137
33:18-20 474
34 96 n. 113, 473–4, 475, 476
35:1-7 137, 474
35:1-5 278
35:1 108 n. 14, 474
35:6-8 472
35:7 108 n. 14
35:9-15 108, 140 n. 97, 294, 475
35:14-15 293
35:18 472
35:19 476
35:21-22 473–4, 475, 476
36 294
36:8-9 134–35, 135 n. 76
37-50 116, 116 n. 36, 195, 475–6
37:3 107
37:5-7 475
37:9-10 476
37:9 475
37:12 475
37:28 116, 116 n. 36
38 476
41:45 195
41:50 195
42-50 475
42:35 116, 116 n. 36
43:12 116, 116 n. 36
45:1-13 475
46:1-5 110, 116, 116 n. 37
46:2-4 277, 277 n. 54
46:27 93
47:31 476
48 116, 116 n. 38
48:1-2 475, 476
48:8-14 475, 476
48:15-16 286
48:17-20 475, 476
48:21-2 138, 286
49:1-28 116, 116 n. 38
49:3-12 473–4, 476
50:1-11 476
50:14 476
50:24-26 137–8, 276, 279
50:24-5 257–9, 257–8 n. 11, 261, 275
50:24 271, 278
50:25 274
50:26 274, 275, 275 n. 49

Exodus
1:1-6 276
1:5-6 138
1:5 93
1:6 276, 276 n. 51, 282 n. 63
1:7 135, 276
1:8-12 277, 289

1:8-9 275–6
1:8 138, 282
1:9-12 276
1:15-21 276, 277, 289
2 289, 313–14, 317, 340, 350, 484
2:16-22 118
2:23-25 293
2:23 118
3:1-4:18 118–19, 123, 140–143, 269–70, 276
3:1-4:17 144
3:13-15 293
3:16-17 271
3:16 142 n. 103
3:18 142 n. 103
3:21-22 269–70
4 139
4:6 141 n. 102
4:1-17 142 n. 103
4:1-16 271
4:19-20 118
4:24-26 118
4:27-31 271
5:2 142 n. 103
6:2-12 293
6:2-8 140
6:2-3 293
6:9 140
6:12-13 140, 143
6:23 477
6:30-7:2 143
6:30 63
7:1 140, 141
7:7 138
7:8-13 140
7:14-24 140, 141
7:14 63
10:21 63
11:1-3 269–70, 271
12:1-14 295, 297
12:6 300
12:8-9 198
12:21-24 267
12:25-27 267, 281
13:3-10 267, 267 n. 31, 281
13:11-16 267, 267 n. 31, 281
13:19 138, 274, 275, 279
14:13 271
14:23 278
14:31 271
15 133
15:22 113
16 297
17:8-16 111 n. 24
18-24 118–24
18 118–21, 123
18:6 63
18:8 110–11 n. 23
18:13-27 267–8, 268 n. 33
19:9 271
20:2-17 430
20:5 430
20:8-11 212
20:19 64
20:22-23:33 470–2
20:24-26 470
21:1-22:19 470–2
21:12-17 470
21:37 64
22:7 64
22:25 [ET 22:26] 472
22:27 [ET 22:26] 471
23:20-22 111 n. 23
22:30 300
23:14-17 470
23:20-33 470, 472
24:1 477
24:3 470
24:7 470
24:9 477
25-31 104–105, 104 n. 25, 169–70, 199
26:10 63
28 212
30:1-10 104, 104–5 n. 6, 221, 297
30:11-16 297
30:17-21 104, 104–5 n. 6, 297
31:12-17 300, 302
32-34 118–24
32:1-6 142, 477–8, 479
32:7-8 260–61 n. 16
32:7 94, 103–4, 260
32:9 103–4, 103 n. 4, 261 n. 17
32:10-14 260–62, 260–61 n. 17, 266, 280
32:30-35 260
32:34 262 n. 20
33:1-34:28 262–5
33 280
33:1-3 266
33:12-16 266

33:2 262 n. 20, 284, 284 n. 65
33:4 262 n. 20
34:5-27 266, 280
34:6-9 266
34:11-26 121–2, 122 n. 50, 264 n. 22, 266–7
34:12-16 280–1
35-40 104–105, 104 n. 25, 169–70, 199
35:16-19 104
35:23 104
36:25-28 221 n. 35
38:18-26 169–70
39:1-31 212

Leviticus
1-7 294, 295, 295 n. 88, 296, 341–2
5:4 450
10:1-3 477, 477 n. 55
11-15 295
11:3-20 294
11:20 50–51
11:21 50–51
11:22 50–51
11:31 54 n. 47
11:32 51
11:39-41 294
11:39-40 300
13 264 n. 22
14 296
15:19-27 51–2
16 340, 343 n. 3
17-26 299–303
17:3-7 300
17:15-16 300
18:24-30 223
19:4 264 n. 22
19:28 51
19:30 302
22:24 53–4
22:28 53–4
22:32 139
23 264 n. 22, 470
23:3 302
23:5-6 213
23:10 133
23:23-43 302
25 302
25:2 133
25:3-7 302
23:8-55 302
26 301, 301 n. 101
26:1 53–4
26:2 302
26:34-35 302
26:36 211
26:39 301 n. 101
28-29 470

Numbers
6:24-26 223
11:11-12 267–8, 267 n. 32, 268 n. 33, 269
11:14-17 267–8
11:14-15 267, 267 n. 32, 268 n. 33, 269
11:24-30 267–8, 268 n. 33, 269
12 111 n. 23, 269
12:6-8 273
12:8 271
12:10 141 n. 102
13:17-14:45 122, 265–6
13:32 297
13:33 133
14:11-21 265–6, 280
14:31 103, 133
14:36-37 297
16 111 n. 23
16:24 93, 133
16:27 93, 133
19:14-22 51–2
19:19 51
19:22 54 n. 47
19:35-36 417
20:1-13 139
20:1 113
20:14-21 110–11 n. 23, 122, 122–3 n. 51
20:22-29 139
21 111 n. 23
21:21-32 111 n. 23, 260
21:21-25 122, 122 n. 51
21:31-32 122, 122 n. 51
21:33-35 111 n. 23, 260
22-24 481–2
22:1 113
22:22-35 481 n. 62
25:1-5 269 n. 35
25:1 113
27:12-14 137, 138
27:15-23 138–9
32 111 n. 23, 122–23
32:2 93,133
32:4 93, 133
32:8-15 137, 137 n. 82

Deuteronomy
1-3 256, 256 n. 10, 484
1 119–20, 122–23
1:6-8 290
1:8 257–9
1:9-18 267–8
1:10 258
1:17 420
1:35 257–9
1:28 93, 133
1:37-8 266, 272
1:39 103, 133
1:19-46 103, 122, 265
2:2-7 123 n. 51
2:26-37 122, 260
3:1-7 260
3:12-20 122–3, 123 n. 51
3:27 259
4-5 119–20
4:1 147 n. 110
4:2 7, 65, 449–50
4:3 269 n. 35
4:21 257–9
4:23 420
4:31 420
4:39 451, 454–5
4:45 147 n. 110
5:6-21 420, 430
5:6-10 321
5:9 427, 430
5:12-15 212
6:4-6 321
6:4 147 n. 110, 479
6:5 437
6:5-9 437 n. 14
6:6-9 418–19, 429, 431, 437
6:6-8 426, 430
6:20-25 267, 281
7 290
7:1-6 280–1, 369
7:1 259 n. 12
7:3-4 223
7:3 212
7:7 431
7:25 53
8:5 417–18
9-10 119–20, 256, 484
9:8-21 261–2, 265
9:12 94
9:13 103–4
9:23-24 266
9:25-29 261–2, 265, 266
9:28 266 n. 30
10:1-4 262–4, 265
10:20 450
10:22 93, 258
11:18-21 281, 418–19, 429, 431
11:29-30 166
12 470
12:15-16 300
12:20-25 300
12:21 55
13:1-18 307–8, 309, 316, 317, 340, 349, 350, 479
13:1 65, 417, 449–50
13:6 54
13:18 258
14:1-2 51
14:3-21 294
14:3 50–51
14:18 50–51
14:21 50–51, 300
15:13-15 269–70
16 470
16:1-8 198
16:18-20 52–3
16:20 416, 429
16:21-17:1 53–4
17:5 48
17:9-12 54
17:10-11 55
17:14-20 343, 399–400, 471–2
18:1-4 49
18:20-22 55
19:14 415–16, 426–7, 427 n. 69, 429, 430
19:15-21 49
20:1-8 54
20:7 259 n. 12
20:17 55
21:13 49
22:6-8 55
22:6 53–4
22:25 54
22:28-23:1 53
23:4-9 369
23:16 417
23:22-24 [ET 23:21-23] 420, 450–1, 454–5
24:8-9 269
25:13-16 416–17, 426–7, 429
25:13-14 417 n. 38

27:1-26 309, 321
27:1-13 479, 482
27:4-7 166, 167–8, 345
27:12-13 168
27:13 168
28:1-68 [ET 28:1-69] 309, 316, 317, 340, 349, 350, 479
28:27-35 307
28:62 258
28:69 [ET 29:1] 309
29:7 123 n. 52
29:19 437
30:1-10 242
30:1-5 212
30:11-14 420
31:2 259
31:7-8 272
31:9-13 272
31:14-15 271–2, 273
31:16-22 271, 271 n. 43
31:23 271–2, 273
31:24-28 272
32:48-52 137, 138
32:52 133
34 224 n. 42
34:1 138
34:5-6 113
34:7-9 138
34:10-12 271, 273
34:10 223

Joshua
1-12 310
1:2 259
1:6 273
1:7-9 224, 273, 274 n. 48
1:11 259
2:1 113
5-9 480
7 480 n. 60
8:30-35 166, 168 n. 21
10:13 489
10:17-39 480
11:4 258
20 171, 172, 172 n. 33
21 77, 77–8 n. 71
21:36-7 97
23 284, 284 n. 66
24 134–6, 216, 273–5, 274 n. 47, 278, 281, 480
24:2-13 284
24:2-4 287
24:2-3 279
24:6 278
24:14-15 279
24:19-20 280
24:26 275
24:29-30 216, 296
24:29 274
24:31 274–5, 282, 284
24:32 274, 275
24:33 216–17, 296

Judges
1:1-3:11 171, 171 n. 30, 282, 284, 345
1:1-36 282
2:1-5 282, 284
2:6-10 282, 284 n. 66
2:7 274–5
2:8-10 138
2:10 276 n. 51, 282
3-9 480
3:12-14 171, 284
4:1-12:7 479–80
6:7-10 171
6:11-24 96 n. 113
9 399
10-16 480
13 96 n. 113
19-21 284

1 Samuel
1-3 284
3 110, 116–17 n. 39
8:16 59
11 284
15:22 450, 451
16-18 171, 177
17:12-31 171
17:55-18:6 171
24:1-23 [ET 23:29-24:22] 431
31:9 60

2 Samuel
1:18 489
2:6 59
2:7 59
2:10 61
5:1-2 60
5:1 76

5:4-5 76
5:6 76
5:8 76
5:9 369, 374
5:11 369, 374
5:13 76
5:17 60
5:19 60
6:1-11 368
6:1-8 477 n. 55
6:2 60
6:6 60
6:8 60
6:9 59
6:12 60
7 76
7:1-16 392, 397, 400
7:2 369
7:11-16 241, 242
7:14-15 398
7:26 61, 75
8:1-14 367–8
8:2 382
8:7 61–2
8:12 382
8:16-18 368, 373–4
8:17 368, 408
10:9 61, 75
11-12 73–4
13 96 n. 113
14:19 59
15:1-6 371
15:11-18 362
15:37 369
16:16 369
19:12-44 [ET 19:11-43] 374
20:23-26 368, 373–4
20:25 375
20:24 374
22 62, 398
23:1-7 397, 399
23:1 481
23:2 481
23:5 400
23:8-39 60
23:9-11 76
24 95–6, 144
24:1-9 368, 374
24:16 61
24:21-24 96

1 Kings
1:3-4 441
1:11-14 369
1:32-40 369
3-11 449
3:1 369–70
3:2-15 76–7 n. 69, 371, 378
3:11-14 424
3:14 449–50
3:16-28 371, 378
4:1-6 369, 373–4
4:3 368, 408
4:6 369
4:7-19 369, 374
4:9 375
5-9 362
5:5 [ET 4:25] 371
5:7-8 [ET 4:27-28] 369
5:9-14 [ET 4:29-34] 371, 378
5:10-11 [ET 4:30-31] 408
5:12-14 [ET 4:32-34] 447
5:12-13 [ET 4:32-33] 410
5:21 [ET 5:7] 410
5:27-32 [ET 5:13-18] 374
5:27 [ET 5:13] 368 n. 37
6:1-7:51 374
6:20 221 n. 35
7:48 221 n. 35
8:29 58 n. 6
8:46-53 241–2
8:46 450
9:11-14 372
9:15-19 374
9:15 362, 363, 366, 374
9:3-9 242
9:24 362, 369–70
10:1-13 369
10:1-10 378, 410, 447
10:10 58 n. 6
10:26-9 96
10:27 371–2
11:1-8 369, 370, 372, 467
11:14-22 371
11:23-25 371
11:26 475
11:34 471
12:16 478
12:26-30 477–8, 479
14:1 477
14:20 477

14:21 168
16:16-28 372
16:29-22:50 372
16:31 373
17:13 224
21:8-14 381
22:4 373
22:45 [ET 22:44] 373

2 Kings
1:1 382
3:4-27 382
3:4 373
3:7 373
8:18 373
8:26 373
9:27-28 373 n. 47
10:1-7 381
11:1-3 373 n. 47
16:2 324
18-20 188, 243–4 n. 31
18-19 312
18:2 324
20:1 324
20:7 96 n. 113
21:11-16 241
21:13 241
22 245
22:6-35 126
22:15-20 243–4, 324
23:21-2 198
23:25-28 242
23:25 437
23:26-7 241, 243
23:32 243
23:37 243
24:3 241
24:8-16 239
24:9 243, 244
24:17-25:17 239
24:18-25:30 188
24:19 243
25:1-21 241
25:22-26 241
25:27-30 204, 227, 239, 241, 244

Isaiah
1-39 188
1-35 318
1:2-20 327
1:9-10 328
1:21-26 326–7
1:29-31 210, 323
2:1-4 323, 327
2:12-19 326–8, 333
2:20-22 327
3:1-15 326–7
3:9 328
3:16-17 326–7
3:18-23 327
3:24 326–7
4:1-6 327
5:1-7 327, 437–8, 439
5:8-24 326–8
5:21 406, 424, 429
5:25-29 326–7
5:25 339
5:30 327
6-8 324
7:1 326
7:4 326
7:17 326
7:20 324
7:18-25 326
8:1-4 326
8:5-10 326
8:16-18 325, 334
8:19-20 326
8:21-2 248, 326
8:23-9:6 [ET 9:1-7] 324–5, 327, 335
9:7-20 [ET 9:8-21] 326–7, 339
10:1-4 326–8, 339
10:5-15 326–7, 335–6, 340
10:16-19 324, 327
10:20-32 327
10:33-11:9 326–7
11:1-5 188
12 323
13-14 187
13 247, 323
14:1-4a 323
14:3-23 245–6, 247
14:4 328
14:5 323–4, 335
14:6-20 328, 335
14:20-21 323, 335
14:22-3 323
14:24-7 324
14:28-32 328
15:1-16:11 328

17:1-3 328
17:4-6 328
17:9 247
18:1-6 328
19:1-15 328
21:1-10 247, 323
22:5-11 248
22:15-22 369
24-27 187–8, 191, 323
28-32 333
28:1-4 328
28:5-6 329
28:7-10 329
28:14-15 329
28:17 328
29:1-4 328
29:9-10 329
29:11-12 329
29:15-16 328
29:17-24 329
29:22 288
30:1-5 328
30:8-11 325
30:8 334
30:19-26 329
30:27-33 324, 329
31:1-3 328
31:6-7 329
31:7 329
31:8-9 324, 329
32:1-8 329, 429 n. 70
32:1-5 324
32:1 424, 429, 429 n. 70
32:9-14 329
32:15-20 329
33 323
34-66 350
34 247–8, 323
35 223
36-39 243–4 n. 31, 323
36:11 96
38:21 96 n. 113
40-66 318, 323
40-55 210, 237–9, 340
40:5 290
41:8 288
44:25 406
44:28-45:2 341
45:1-7 206, 210
47 234
49:7 394
49:14 234
49:15-26 234
49:23 394
51:1-3 252
51:1-2 288
51:3 288
51:9-10 234
51:17-23 234
54:6-8 234, 430
55:1-2 425
55:3-4 341
56-59 210, 212
56:11 425
58:1-7 231–2
59:7 415, 426, 429, 430, 486
60-62 210, 235
60:6 394
60:14 394
62:4-5 430
63:7-64:11 [ET 63:7-64:12] 229–234, 349
63:10-14 242
63:16 288
65-66 188 n. 26, 210, 212
65:1 110, 116–17 n. 39
65:2 422
65:11 425

Jeremiah
1:1 429
1:4-10 143
2-6 320
2-3 319, 321
2 319
3:1-5 423, 429, 429 n. 71, 430
3:6-18 320
3:22 320–21
4:4 247
5:18-19 320
6:2-5 438
7 421, 421 n. 53
8:8-9 406
8:8 424
9:23 406, 424
9:24 247
13:20-27 321
14:7 247
14:21 247
16:21 247
18:18 405–6, 407

20:7 421–2, 427
21:11-22:30 320
22:24-30 239, 246
23:5-6 173
23:9-22 320
25:11-12 185, 247
25:27-31 188 n. 26
26-45 189
26-29 320
26:2 65
26:18 329
28 239
28:4 241
29 246
29:10 185, 247
31:31-34 247
31:7-14 247
32-45 320
33:14-36 173, 177, 247, 318, 345
33:26 288
37:7-9 243 n. 31
40:7-41:18 241
44:29-30 247
45:1-5 320
45:4-5 188 n. 26
52:31-34 227

Ezekiel
7:26 406
8:12 233
9:9 233
11:3 233
11:19-20 242
12:22 233
12:26-28 174
16 235–6, 430
17:17 243 n. 31
18 235, 241
18:2 233
20 236
21:10 190
23 235–6, 241, 430
24:23 301 n. 101
25:12-17 247–8
27:10 206 n. 6
29:6-7 243 n. 31
30:5 206 n. 6
32:25-26 174
33:10 233
33:21-37:28 235–7
33:24-29 252, 288
33:24 287 n. 73
33:27-29 235, 485
34 235, 301 n. 101
35 236
36-40 174–5
36:3-6 235
36:7 235, 236
36:13-15 235
36:19 235
36:20-23 236
36:23-28 174
37:1-14 167 n. 19, 186 n. 20
37:11 233
37:24-28 235
38-48 174–5, 186–7, 191
38-39 186, 186 n. 19, 318
38:5 206 n. 6
39:7 236
39:25 236
44:31 50–51
45:18-25 236

Hosea
1 320
2:1-2 [ET 1:10-11] 320
2:4-17 [ET 2:2-15] 320
2:4-22 [ET 2:2-20] 430, 435
2:4-17 [ET 2:2-15] 321
2:4-15 [ET 2:2-13] 435
2:4-9 [ET 2:2-7] 435–6
2:7 [ET 2:5] 436
2:17 [ET 2:15] 477, 480 n. 60
2:18-25 [ET 2:16-23] 320
2:18 [ET 2:16] 434–5
6 319
6:7 335
8:1 320, 322, 335
12 339, 474, 485
12:4-5 [ET 12:3-4] 474
12:13 [ET 12:12] 474
12:14 [ET 12:13] 477
12:2 335
14 321
14:5-9 435, 436
14:2-10 320–21

Joel
4:1-3 188 n. 26
4:9-18 188 n. 26

Amos
1-2 328, 332
1:1 331
1:9-12 322, 331
2:4-5 322, 331
2:6-8 333
2:8 322, 472
2:9-12 322, 331
2:13-16 333
2:13 322
3:1-6 332
3:1 322, 331
3:7 331
3:8-5:24 332
4:6-12 327–8, 331, 336, 339
4:13 330
5:13 330
5:18-20 328, 333
5:25-27 249, 331
6:1-14 332
6:1-8 327
7:1-9 332
7:7-8 328
7:10-17 320, 331, 334
7:16 330
8:1-3 332
8:4-8 332
8:9-14 320, 331
9:1-4 332
9:7-10 332
9:11-15 249, 320, 331

Micah
1:2-9 330
2:3 330
2:4-5 330
2:6-7 330
2:12-13 249, 330
2:12 249 n. 48
3:12 329
4-7 318, 329, 350
4:1-4 248
4:4 249
4:6-14 247
4:6 249
5:1-14 248–9
7:20 288

Nahum
2-3 318

Habbakuk
1:2-4 249
1:12-17 249
2:1 249
2:8-13 249
2:15-17 249
2:18-19 249

Zephaniah
1 333
1:4-6 333
1:2-6 188 n. 26
2:4-15 333
3:1-8 333
3:8 188 n. 26
3:9-10 333
3:11-20 249, 333

Haggai
1:1-2:19 206
2:20-23 209

Zechariah
1-8 209, 212, 319
1:4-6 223
3:8 209
4:1-10 206
4:14 209
6:9-14 209–10, 212
7:1-7 210
7:1-3 231–2
7:7-12 223
7:12 223
8:19 210, 231–2
9-14 209
9:1-15 187–8, 191
9:9-10 394

Malachi
1:1 159
2:11-14 423–4
3:22 [ET 4:4] 224

Psalms
1-2 190
1:1-6 224
1:1 403
2 240, 314–15, 316, 317, 387–8, 399
2:1-3 387–8, 399
2:7-9 314, 387–8

2:7 390
2:9 314–15
2:1-3 315
8 398
9:12 [ET 9:11] 473
10:1 403
18 62, 315, 316, 317, 398, 399
18:33-44 [ET 18:32-43] 399
20 395–7, 398, 401, 482, 485–6
21 389–90
21:4 [ET 21:3] 392
21:6 [ET 21:5] 390
21:13 [ET 21:12] 390
41:14 [ET 41:13] 240–41
44 229–234
45 390–1
45:2 [ET 45:1] 391
45:9 [ET 45:8] 390–1
45:11-16 [ET 45:10-15] 390 n. 17
45:13 [ET 45:12] 391
72 240, 393–4, 394 n. 26, 399, 402
72:1 371, 400
72:8 188
72:8-11 393–4, 393 n. 24
72:15 393–4, 393 n. 24
72:17 288, 393–5, 393 n. 24, 458–9
72:18-19 240–41
72:20 342
74 229–234
79 229–234
79:2-3 159
89 229–234, 240–41, 249, 341, 342, 349, 391–3, 397, 398–9
89:2-4 [ET 89:1-3] 241
89:6-18 [ET 89:5-17] 391
89:20-38 [ET 89:19-37] 241, 391–3, 398–9, 400, 401
89:29-38 [ET 89:28-37] 244
89:31-32 [ET 89:30-31] 398
89:53 240–41
105:6-23 288
105:14 61
106:48 240
107 210–211
107:1-3 211
107:40 211
107:42 211
110 388–9
110:1 388
110:3 390
110:4 388
110:7 389
127 394 n. 29
127:1 371
132 368, 398
132:12 398
137 227, 229–234, 349
137:7 247–8
144 398, 402
145-50 190

Proverbs
1-9 403, 403 n. 1, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413–14, 431, 438–9, 450, 465–6
1:1 371
1:5-6 405
1:16 415, 426, 430, 486
1:19 425
1:20-33 421–2
1:22 421
1:24-5 422
1:26 421–2, 428
1:28 422
2:16-19 430
2:17 420, 423–4, 429, 430
3:1-4 418–19, 429–30, 431, 437
3:7 424, 429
3:12 417–18
3:15 30, 31
3:16 424, 429
3:18 425
4:20 31
5:1 31
5:2-14 430
5:3 438
5:4-5 450
5:15-19 411
5:19 438–9
5:20 430
6:1-19 26, 412
6:10-11 26–7
6:20-35 420, 427
6:20-22 418–19, 426, 429–30, 431, 437
6:31 438
7:1-3 418–19, 429–30, 431, 437
7:5-27 411, 430, 438–9
7:17 438
7:18 438
8:2-3 420

8:11 30, 31
8:15-16 424, 426, 429
8:35 32, 412
9:1-6 425
10:1 371, 410
11:1 417, 427
12:2 32
12:11 28
12:15 27–8
13:12-13 425, 428
13:14 32, 405
14:27 32
15:4 425
15:12 405
15:16 408
16:2 27–8
18:7 420
18:22 32, 412
19:5 28, 31
19:9 28, 31
19:24 28
20:10 416–17, 417 n. 38, 426, 427, 429
20:16 29–30
20:23 417, 427
20:25 420
21:2 27–8
21:9 30
21:19 30
21:21 416, 429
21:28 28
22:3 302
22:17-24:34 408, 409
22:17-23:11 391, 426
22:17 405
22:28 415–16, 426–7, 429, 430
24:23 405, 420
25-30 317–18
25-29 411
25:1 317–18, 350, 371, 403, 406, 407, 410
25:24 30
26:2 424
26:4-5 32–3
26:12 426, 429
26:15 28
27:12 30
27:13 29–30
28:19 28
24:33-34 26
28:21 420
30-31 411
30:1 408, 481
30:6 65, 417, 449–50
30:10 417
31:1 408

Job
3-31 210, 212
3:3-13 211–12 n. 16
12:21 211
12:24 211
13:25 211
22:19 211
38:1-42:6 210, 212

Song of Songs
1:1 371, 438, 448
1:5-6 438
1:7 437
1:13-14 438
1:14 441–2
2:7 438
2:16 434–5
3:1-4 437
3:5 438
3:6-11 441
3:6-8 433
4:1-9 440, 440 n. 24
4:4-7 433
4:4 441, 442
4:8-6:10 433
4:11 438
4:13-14 438
4:13 442–3
5:1-8:14 433
5:1 435, 436, 438
6:4 440–1, 442
6:31 438
7:1 [ET 6:13] 441, 442
7:11 [ET 7:10] 434–5
8:2 438–9
8:5 436
8:6 434–5, 437
8:11-12 437–8

Ruth
4:18-22 222

Lamentations
1 229–234, 235–6
1:21-22 233

2 229–234
2:9 233
3 232, n. 9
3:45-46 231
4 229–234
4:20 240, 241
5 229–234
5:7-8 241
5:7 233
5:20 233

Eccleasiastes/Qohelet
1:1-2:26 371
1:2 189
1:12-2:23 448
2:3-10 449
2:24-6 448–9
3:1 450 n. 59
3:14 454
3:20 450
4:1 451
4:6 448
4:17 [ET 5:1] 450, 451
5:1 [ET 5:2] 451, 454–5
5:3-5 [ET 5:4-6] 450–1, 454–5
5:3 [ET 5:4] 450
5:18-19 [ET 5:19-20] 448–9
7:20 450
7:26 450
8:2-4 452
8:15 448–9
9:7-10 448–9
9:17 405
10:20 452
11:7-10 448–9
11:9 189, 191
12:8 189
12:9 453–4
12:11 405
12:13-14 189, 191, 455

Esther
10:1-3 175

Daniel
1 183
2-6 182, 195
7-12 179, 183, 185, 191, 206
7 185
9 185, 185 n. 17
8 185
10-12 185

Ezra
1:1-3 196, 205
3:1-6:18 206
4:6-24 79–80, 196
4:7-6:18 208
5:1 209
6:14 209
6:19 214
7 205–6
7:14 217
7:25-26 217
8:14-15 214
9:6-15 223
9:9 208, 208 n. 9
10:6 208
12:22-3 208

Nehemiah
1:1-7:72 78
1:1-7:4 207, 208–9, 212
1-6 168
1:8-9 212, 214
8:13-10:40 78
9 206
9:36 209
10:29-31 214
11-13 78
11:3-19 196–7 n. 45
11:25-35 168
12:27-40 207, 208–9, 212
13:1-2 214
13:4-31 207, 208–9, 212
13:15-22 212
13:23-27 212
13:25 214

1 Chronicles
3:17-24 196
3:17-24 239
5:1 206
6 197
6:14 206
6:39-66 77, 77–8 n. 71
6:63-4 97
9:27 371–2

10:4 74
10:9 60
10:15 74
11 75
11:1-2 60
11:5-6 76
11:8 369
11:13-14 76
13:1-14 368
13:6 60
13:9 60
13:11 60
13:12 59
13:14 60
14:1 369
14:3 74
14:8 60
14:10 60
16:21 61
17:1 369
17:24 61, 75
18:1-14 367–8
18:15-17 368, 373–4
18:16 408
19:10 61, 75
20:1-3 73–4
21:1-5 368
21:16 61
21:22-25 96
22:2-29:30 197
27:25-34 368
29:7 196

2 Chronicles
1:1-13 76–7 n. 69, 371
1:14-17 97
6:20 58 n. 6
8:9 363
8:11 369–70
9:2-17 196–7 n. 45
9:1-12 369
9:1-9 371, 410
9:9 58 n. 6
11:11-41a 60
14:3 76
17:1-18:1 197
17 76
18:5-34 126
19:1-20:30 197
29:3-30:27 197
31:1-21 197–8
35 97
35:4 198
35:12 198
36:22-23 196, 205

APOCRYPHA, PSEUDEPIGRAPHA and NEW TESTAMENT (alphabetical order)

1 Enoch
6-11 185
17-36 185
72-82 185
83-90 185
83-84 185
85-90 185
89:72-3 169-

1 Esdras
1 207
2:12-25 [ET 2:16-30] 79–80
3:1-5:6 78, 79, 80, 168–9, 175, 195, 207
5:47-7:9 206

1 Maccabees
1:56-7 158
2:51-60 156, 285
4:44-46 159
7:16-17 159
7:47 157
7:49 157
9:27 159
14:4-15 156
14:25-49 155
14:41 159

2 Maccabees
1:18-36 168
2:13-14 158, 158 n. 5, 168
7:8 163
15:30 157
15:36 157

4 Maccabees
18:10-19 159

Ben Sira/Sirach
Prologue 161–2

3:21-24 192
18:4-7 192
24 193
34:1-7 192
39:1-4 193
39:1 193
44-49 154, 158, 163, 184, 192
44:21 459 n. 10
49:13 81, 168

Galatians
3:8 458–9, 459 n. 10

Judith
10:11-13:10 157
13:12-16:20 157
14:1 157
16:20 157

SUBJECT INDEX

This index targets significant topics covered in the book along with a sampling of those loci where I specifically engage (in particular disagreeing with) prior scholars' work, including my own.

4Q158 64
4QCant[a] 433
4QCant[b] 128, 131, 432, 433
4QDeut[n] 64
4QInstruction 185, 189–90
4QMMT 161–2
4QMysteries 185, 189–90
4QNum[b] 64
4QPaleoExod[m] 63–4
4QPs[x] 391–3
4QSam[a] 62–3
4QRP 38, 63–64, 94, 145, 198
11QPs[a] 159

abbreviation 14–15, 14 n. 4, 25, 37, 42–3, 46, 70, 71, 72–73, 73–4, 77, 88
  assimilatory 46–7, 67, 100
  in oral tradition 14–15, 24–5
  See also partial preservation
Abraham materials, dating of 484–5
Adapa Epic 465
Aejmelaeus, Anneli 104–5, 104 n. 5
Ahiqar 206
Albertz, Rainer 248
Amenemope 391, 408
Anzu Epic 66–67
Amarna 289
Amenemope, Instruction of 391, 408, 408 n. 12, 410, 416, 417 n. 41, 426, 427 n. 69, 434, 464
Anastasi, Instruction of 391
Anzu Epic 57, 66–7, 91
Aqhat Epic 387, 389
Aramaisms 125, 130–131, 345, 350, 394 n. 26, 413, 445–7, 446 n. 53
Ark Narrative 484, 487
Arneth, Martin 394, 394 n. 27
Ashurbanipal Coronation Hymn (SAA 3, 11) 387, 393, 394
Assyrian Royal Inscriptions 72–73
Atrahasis Epic 4–5, 45–6, 57, 67, 91, 463–4, 469
Auld, Graeme 73–77, 77 n. 71
aural variant, definition 17
archaic language, in literary texts 5–6
Amos, formation of 331–2

Baden, Joel 103–4, 110–11 n. 23, 111 n. 24, 114–15 n. 29, 115 n. 30, 120 n. 45, 120–1 n. 48, 121–4, 122–3 n. 51, 123 n. 52, 137 n. 82, 261 n. 71, 358 n. 7
Bar Hadad Inscription 469
Bar Rakib Stela 377
Barth, Hermann 245–6
Bartlett, Frederic 14–16, 18
Beckwith, Roger 158 n. 5
Behistun inscription, copy at Elephantine 206
Ben Sira/Sirach 192–4
Berges, Ulrich 238 n. 21
Blenkinsopp, Joseph 183, 187 n. 24, 208, 208 n. 9, 238 n. 21, 247, 328, 363 n. 21, 466–7
blind motif(s) 122, 141, 142–3, 142 n. 104, 261 n. 17, 264 n. 22, 265 n. 27, 307–8, 316, 349
Blum, Erhard 108 n. 13, 115 n. 32, 116 n. 37, 116 n. 38, 117 n. 40, 120 n. 46, 120 n. 47, 121 n. 48, 137–8, 140 n. 97, 142 n. 103, 215 n. 25, 237 n. 20, 256, 256–7 n. 10, 257 n. 11, 262 n. 20, 264–5, 270 n. 39, 272, 274, 274 n. 48, 275 n. 49, 277 n. 54, 281–2, 281 n. 62, 288, 299 n. 98, 304 n. 1, 319, 326–8, 359 n. 11, 459 n. 11, 473–4, 484 n. 65
Böhler, Dieter 71 n. 51, 79–82, 168–9, 208 n. 9
Boorer, Suzanne 122 n. 50, 260–62 n. 16, 261–2 n. 17, 265 n. 29, 266 n. 30
Brenner, Athalya 443 n. 36
Byblian dedicatory inscriptions 379

Calaway, Jared 213–14, 302–303
Carr, David 74 n. 60, 171 n. 28, 264 n. 22, 277 n. 55, 348–9 n. 5, 437 n. 14, 440 n. 24
canon, fluidity 161–2, 164, 178–9
Chronicles, books of
  beginning of 113,
  dating of 196–7,
  Hasmonean demotion of 201
Collins, John 171 n. 28
(Qumran) Community Rule 64–5, 85–7, 146–7, 147 n. 110
complexity, *See* transmission-historical models, complexity of
conflation, textual 53, 80–2, 105, 112, 117, 124–5, 214 n. 25, 214–216, 220, 299, 303
coordination, of texts 80 n. 77, 90–98, 100–101, 119, 134–137, 145, 166, 173 n. 36, 177–8, 198–9, 257–62, 265–70, 278 n. 58, 350
  in 4QRP and other Second Temple Jewish traditions 94–5
  in expansionist (proto-Samaritan and Samaritan) Pentateuchal traditions 91–92
  in Jeremiah 97–8
  in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles 95–7
  in the LXX 92
  in the MT (usually with the Samaritan) 93–4
  of the Exodus tabernacle account 104–5
  within Mesopotamian epics 90–91
  See also harmonization
copying error, *See* graphic variant
covenant genre 307, 308–9, 308–9 n. 14
Covenant Code 120, 120 n. 47, 470–2, 487
Crane, Ashley 174
creativity, levels of literary 347
Crenshaw, James 404
Cross, Frank Moore 95–6, 223 n. 41
Cyrus cylinder 205, 205 n. 5

Damascus Covenant 64, 285
Daniel, editions of 71, 166, 178, 185, 195, 226–8
dates, in the Pentateuch 171 n. 28
Daniel, book of 71, 166, 192
Davidic monarchy, *See* monarchy, Davidic
Deir Alla 382, 383 n. 77, 481
Deuteronomistic editing/expansion 146, 171–7, 321–3
Deuteronomy-Joshua Composition 290–91
(Ur-)Deuteronomy 113
Diatessaron 109, 299
dissimilarity to later biblical traditions, as dating indicator 400, 401
divine name, variation 61, 61 n. 15, 63 n. 24, 106–108, 106 n. 10
Dobbs-Allsopp 442–7, 444 n. 41, 444–5 n. 43, 445–6 n. 50
Dûr-Sharukkîn cylinder inscription 305, 305 n. 4

effort after meaning 14–15, 18, 22–23
Elephantine papyri 206–7, 208, 212–13, 217
elite emulation 377–8
E/Elohist Source 108, 110
end of prophecy 159
Enoch 182, 184–5
enthronement texts 386–95
epigraphy, evidence for literary textuality 304 n. 1, 356 n. 2, 375–7, 381–4, 383 n. 75
epitome(s) 72
Erra Epic 65, 101, 417 n. 40
Esarhaddon Succession Treaty (EST) 305, 307–9, 312–13, 349
1 Esdras, book of 71
Eshel, Esther 95, 177 n. 46
Eshel, Hanan 95, 177 n. 46
Eskhult, Mats 130–1
Esther, book of 71, 192,
  editions of 170, 175, 195, 226–8
Etana Epic 57–8, 66, 67–70, 88, 91
Ezekiel, editions of 174–5, 186–7, 188, 191
Ezra, book of 192
Ezra memoir 226
Ezra-Rebuilding Narrative 80–2, 168–9, 172, 176, 207–8, 213, 214, 318
Etana Epic 67–70
expansion, textual *See* trend toward expansion
Ezra, book of 71
expansion, of text 43–6, 52–3, 55

Fishbane, Michael 65, 211–12 n. 16, 294 n. 85, 369 n. 42, 414, 418–19
Fleming, Daniel 360–61, 482
Flint, Peter 166 n. 17, 433
forced migration, studies of 228–9, 252–5, 349
See also trauma, communal

Fox, Michael 26 n. 36, 27 n. 38, 31, 31 nn. 44–47, 170, 175 n. 41, 403 n. 1, 411, 411 n. 18, 412 n. 24, 413, 413 nn. 28–31, 414 n. 31, 421, 422 nn. 57 and 58, 425, 425 n. 65, 434, 434 n. 8, 438, 438 nn. 17 and 18, 441, 441 n. 28, 446 n. 53, 452
Frei, Peter 217–20
Friedman, Richard 3 n. 1, 358 n. 7, 474 n. 46
Frymer-Kensky, Tikva 431

Garnet, Paul 87 n. 90
Genesis Apocryphon 72
Gerstenberger, Erhard 222 n. 39, 394 n. 26
Gertz, Jan 140 n. 96, 141–3, 143 n. 106, 261 n. 16, 275, 275 n. 49, 276 n. 50, 277 n. 54, 278 n. 56
Gesundheit, Shimon 264 n. 22
Gezer Calendar 376, 384, 462
Gilgamesh epic 40–48, 71, 72, 464
genre, and memory 16
Gosse, Bernard 173 n. 34
governmental authorization, Persian 205–6, 217–220
graphic variant, definition 13, 17
Greenstein, Edward 24, 210 n. 13, 230 n. 8, 233 n. 11, 477 n. 55
great divide 5
Guillaume, Phillipe 216 n. 26, 310–11

Hammurabi, Code of 66, 470–2
Hamori, Esther 473 n. 44
Hardmeier, Christoph 243 n. 31, 325–6 n. 77
harmonization 29–31, 34, 43, 44, 45–6, 46 n. 28, 46–7, 66, 67, 68, 70, 73, 90–98, 100, 103–4, 116, 116 n. 36, 119, 124, 133–7, 166, 167 n. 18, 168 n. 21, 170, 173–4, 173 nn. 34 and 36, 175, 176, 177–8, 198–9, 200, 257–67, 269 n. 35, 278, 278 n. 58, 282 n. 63, 299–301, 326, 342, 344, 347–9, 391–2, 399, 461, 461 n. 18
  See also coordination and abbreviation, assimilatory
Haran, Menahem 121 n. 48, 173 n. 34
Harris, Scott 421–2, 421 n. 53, 422 n. 54
Hasmonean monarchy, history of 154–55
Hasmonean (period) redaction 166–78
Hellenistic crisis 183–84
Hexateuch, non-P/post-D 216, 256–82
  extension of 282–85
  importance of 342–3
  sources of 285–92
hieratic numbering system 380
historiography (biblical), and Neo-Assyrian influence 311–2, 316–17
Hobson, Russell 38 nn. 3 and 7, 106
H/Holiness Code 213–14, 298–303
  as the conflator of P and non-P 299–301
  date of 301–303
Hosea, formation of 248–9, 318–23
Hunter, Ian 16–17
Hurvitz, Avi 130–1, 363 n. 21
hybridity 155, 156–157, 159–60, 165, 194, 304–17, 340

influence on the Bible
  of Egyptian culture in the 10th-9th centuries 368, 369, 377–8, 377 n. 58, 379–80, 385, 387–9, 391, 434
  of Greek culture 158–60, 193–4, 413–14, 449
  of Mesopotamian texts 433–4, 448–9
  of Neo-Assyrian culture 304–17, 335, 393–4
  of Neo-Babylonian 250–51, 340
  of Phoenician culture in the 10th-9th centuries 356 n. 2, 378–80, 384, 391
intertextual dependence, *See* textual influence
inversion in the Bible of non-Biblical traditions 317, 464–5
Isaiah, formation of 323–9
  relation to Amos tradition 327–9
Isaiah memoir 325
Israel, definitions of 472

Jacob-Joseph Story 473–6, 487
Jacob Story 473–5, 487
Japhet, Sara 77–8 n. 71, 196–7 n. 45
Jeremiah, editions of 170, 172–4, 173 n. 34, 188, 191
Jones, Barry 176 n. 44
Joosten, Jan 129, 183
Joseph Story 475–6, 487
Josephus 81, 160
Jubilees 185
Judah, relation to Israel 472, *See also* monarchy, united
Judges, book of 244–5, 282–5
Judith, the book of 157

Kaiser, Otto 188–9
Kaufman, Stephen 50 n. 42
Keteph Hinnon amulets 223, 379
ketib-qere variants and harmonization 29–30, 96–7
Koch, Klaus 213–14, 387 n. 1, 388, 389 n. 9, 394 n. 26, 396
Knohl, Israel 295 n. 88
Knoppers, Gary 74 n. 59, 363 n. 19, 367 n. 32
Knudsen, John 253
Kratz, Reinhard 112–14, 212–13, 256 n. 10, 359 n. 10
KTU 1.41 39 n. 9, 66
KTU 1.87 39 n. 9, 66
Kuntillet Ajrud inscriptions 379, 483

Lachish 3 129
lamentation literature 229–234
Lange, Armin 160, 189–90
Leiman, Shnaver 158 n. 5
Lemaire, André 312 n. 39, 367 n. 32
Levinson, Bernard 49 n. 39, 64 n. 29, 264 n. 22, 308 n. 11, 450–1, 450 n. 60
Levitical emphases, in late texts 49, 197, 214, 238
lexical variant, *See* memory variant
linguistic dating, of biblical texts 125–32, 297, 297–8 n. 94, 413, 413 n. 28, 432, 442–7, 452–4
Lipschitz, Oded 182 n. 10, 204 n. 4, 222 n. 40
literacy 128–9
literary Hebrew 128–9, 182–3
long duration literature 34–5
Lord, Albert 16–18
love lyrics, of Nabu and Tashmetu 315–16
Lust, Johan 174–5
Lyons, Michael 301–302 n. 101

1 Maccabees 156
2 Maccabees 156–7
Machinist, Peter 250–1, 311–12, 317 n. 54, 325, 335–6, 335 n. 99, 383
Maier, Christl 418–19, 419 n. 45
Maier, Johann 160
McCarter, P. Kyle 95–6
McKenzie, Steve 58 n. 6, 75, 76 n. 66, 77, 97, 243 n. 30
memory, psychological studies of 14–16, 24–25
memory and (textual) parallels 18–19
memory and textuality 4–6, 7,
  limits of memorization 16, 16 nn. 6, 7
memory variant(s) 41–2, 50–51, 53–5, 57–65, 75, 77, 92, 98–100, 102, 104, 126, 145, 391, 397, 416, 438
  definition 17–18
  in Ancient Near Eastern texts, 22–24, 58 n. 3
  in Greek literature 18–19
  in medieval European literature, 19–22
  in New Testament texts 24–25
  in Proverbs 25–34
Merikare, Instruction of 417
Mesha inscription 366, 367 n. 32, 373, 379, 381, 382, 383 n. 77, 469
Metso, Sariana 82–8
methodological modesty 4–9, 40, 102–5, 145–8, 488–9
Micah, formation of 329–31
  relation to Amos tradition 330
  relation to Hosea tradition 330
  relation to Isaiah tradition 330–31
Middlemas, Jill 232, 232 nn. 9 and 10
Milstein, Sara 43 n. 19, 66 n.35, 68 nn. 44 and 47, 84, 284 n. 67, 317 n. 53
Mishnaic Hebrew 125–6
monarchy
  Davidic 367–9
  Northern 361, 372–3, 374–5
  Solomonic 356–7, 362–6, 369–72, 373–4
  united 356–7, 361, 373–5
monolatry 468–9
Moore, George Foote 109
Morrow, William 308–9, 308–9 n. 14
Mortland, Carol 254
Moses story 118–24, 289–90, 477–8, 487
Murphy, Roland 404
music, and textuality 4–5, 15

Nehemiah memoir 80–2, 113–14, 168–9, 172, 176, 207, 226, 318
Nelson, Richard 243, 243 n. 29
Neo-Documentarian Approach 111, 111 n. 24, 114–15
Nihan, Christoph 134–6, 138–40, 168 nn. 22 and 23, 176 n. 44, 186 n. 18, 213, 294–5 n. 87, 299–301, 301 n. 101
Noegel, Scott 439 n. 22
Nogalski, James 248
Northern monarchy, *See* monarchy, Northern

oral transmission 16–17, 26, 34, 71
oral variant, *See* aural variant and/or memory variant
oral-written textual dynamics 4–5, 16–17, 19, 20, 23, 34
Otto, Eckhart 363 n. 21, 465–7, 468

Pap(yrus) 967, and Ezekiel 174–5, 174 n. 38, 186
Papyrus Amherst 63 (12, 11–19) 396–7, 396 n. 33, 482, 485–6
Parker, Simon 469
Parry, Milman 13, 16–18
partial preservation 88–90, 99–100, 112–13
periodization, of early Israelite-Judean history 360–1, 365–6
Persianisms 125, 125–6 n. 54, 130, 350
Person, Raymond 13
Peteet, Julie 253
Peterson, David 242 n. 28
Pettit, Peter 164 n. 14
Pisano, Stephen 95–6, 172 n. 31
Polak, Frank 126–7 n. 56
potential continuity/readability 111–17, 284 n. 66
priestly scribal textuality 181–2, 184–5, 190–1, 195–201, 213–17, 222, 343–4
P/Priestly Source 102–3, 108–10, 110 n. 20, 215, 292–8
  date of 295 n. 88, 297–8, 297–8 n. 94, 298 n. 97
  end of 215, 296–7
  relationship to non-P 292–4, 298–9, 303
precision, in transmission–different levels of 35–6, 114, 127–8, 133–4, 488–9
preservation
  partial 56, 88–90, 114, 117, 348
  scribal focus on 99, 102
Prijs, Leo 92
Primeval History 259, 286–7, 456–69, 487
prophets corpus, Second Temple definitions of 159–164
Proto-Genesis Composition 286–89
Proto-Samaritan Pentateuch 63–4, 70, 84, 91, 94–5, 145, 160, 170–1, 178, 198–9
Proverbs, book of 249
proverbs (parallel), and memory variation 25–34
Psalms, editions of 128, 166, 190, 191
  exilic collection of 240–41, 249, 342
  Davidic collection 342
Ptahhotep, Instruction of 8
PTSD and the Bible, *See* trauma, communal
Pury, Albert de 108 n. 13, 298 n. 97
Pustkuchen, Friedrich von 457–8

Qeiyafa Ostracon 376
Qohelet, book of 194

red lettering writing system 380, 382
Rendsburg, Gary 439 n. 22, 482
Renz, Johannes 383–4
Rezetko, Robert 61 n. 15, 126, 132–3 n. 72
Ringren, Helmer 24
Robert, André 414
Rofé, Alexander 171–2, 284 n. 68
Ruth, book of 222

Sabbath, focus 213–14, 301–3, 341, 344
sages, ancient Israelite 404–7
sapiential tradition, *See* wisdom literature, category of
Samuel-Kings, composition 311–12, 343 n. 3
Sanders, James 166 n. 17, 423
Sanders, Seth 317, 336 n. 102, 343 n. 3, 356 n. 2, 358 n. 56, 377 n. 56, 378 n. 59, 383, 492
Satire on Trades (Egyptian) 10
Schenker, Adrian 167–9
Schoors, Anton 452–4, 453 n. 71,
Schorch, Stefan 167 n. 20
Schmid, Konrad 134–6, 141 n. 102, 173 n. 34, 211 n. 15, 211–2 n. 16, 245 n. 33, 256 n. 10, 257–8 n. 11, 274 n. 47, 476 n. 51
Schniedewind, William 305 n. 4, 406, 492
Schwartz, Baruch 114–15, 121–4
scribal training, system of 128–9, 132–3 n. 72, 304, 376–8, 377 n. 56, 383–4
scribal textuality 6
scribal performance 36
Seebass, Horst 268 n. 33
Seitz, Christopher 243 n. 31
Sennacherib, royal inscriptions of 23, 58
similarity, as indicator of early date 399–400, 400–1
Skehan, Patrick 391–2
Smith-Christopher, Daniel 228–9, 236 n. 19
Smith, Mark 468

Snell, Daniel 25–33
Solomonic monarchy, *See* monarchy, Solomonic
Sommer, Benjamin 103 n. 4, 149 n. 114, 159 n. 7, 234 n. 16, 491, 491 n. 1
Song of Songs, book of 250, 315–16, 485–6
source criticism 105–125, 484
standardization (textual and contents), of the Hebrew Bible 153, 166–7, 176–8
Stansell, Gary 330–31
Steck, Odil Hannes 210 n. 12
Stipp, Hermann Josef 61 n. 14, 97–98, 98 n. 117, 101, 173 n. 36, 185 n. 17, 189 n. 29, 222 n. 28
Strawn, Brent 84 n. 86
Succession Narrative 474, 484, 484 n. 65, 487, 488
Sweeney, Marvin 176 n. 44, 189 nn. 28 and 29, 247 nn. 41 and 42, 248 n. 47, 328, 473 n. 44
Synchronistic Chronicle 312
synonymous variant *See* memory variant
Synoptic Gospels 109, 299

Talshir, Zipora 79–82, 79 n. 74
Tel Dan inscription 382–3, 383 n. 77
Tel Zayit Abecedary 375, 384
(11Q)Temple scroll 48–56, 198
Ten Commandments 94–5, 120, 120 n. 46
terminological indicators 105–10, 347
Tertel, Hans Jürgen 45, 58 n.2, 68, 72–3, 91
textual influence 137–44
  direction of influence 140–44
textual production, models of 6
Tigay, Jeffrey 23–4, 37–8, 41–8, 469
Tobit, book of 195, 226–8
Tooman, William 186 n. 19
Torah/Prophets Scriptural corpus 159–164
Torah, privileging of 155, 156, 158, 161, 163–4, 194, 199–200, 202, 211–12, 214, 220, 223–4, 226, 344–5
Tosephta Rosh Hashanah 4.6 162, 162 n. 12, 164 n. 14
Tov, Emanuel 92 n. 97, 94 n. 105, 146, 171 n. 29, 171–2 n. 31, 174, 433
transmission historical models, complexity of 145, 348–50
trauma, communal 228–9, 236–7, 238, 248, 250–51, 255, 341–2
trend toward expansion 65–88, 99
Tukulti-Ninurta Epic 312, 314
twelve, book of the, editions of 176, 176 n. 44, 188–9, 189 n. 28, 191

Uehlinger, Christoph 245–6, 313
Ugaritic literature 380, *See also* KTU 1.41 and KTU 1.87

Vanderhooft, David 204–5, 204 n. 1, 225–6 n. 2, 242 n. 28
van der Toorn, Karel 147 n. 110
Van Seters, John 310
Veux, Roland de 221 n. 35
versions, as evidence of memory variation 30–31

Wadi Daliyeh Papyri 206–7
Wagenaar, Jan 236 n. 18
Watts, James 173 n. 34
Weinfeld, Moshe 308–9 n. 13, 415–21, 424 n. 62, 450–1
Wellhausen, Julius 148, 217, 256 n. 10, 337–8
Wevers, John 93 n. 101, 93 n. 102, 93 n. 103, 103 n. 4, 147 n. 110
Willey, Tricia 233–4
Williamson, Hugh 74 n. 59, 75, 208 n. 9, 209 n. 10
Wills, Lawrence 49–50
Wilson, Andrew 49–50
Wilson, Robert 214 n. 22, 238 n. 21
wisdom literature, category of 404–7, 428–30, 465–6
Wisdom of Solomon 194, 195
Witte, Marcus 460
Witter, Hennig 456–7
Wright, Benjamin 192
Wright, David 470–2, 470–1 n. 38
Wright, Jacob 80–81 n. 77, 209, 209 n. 11
writing-supported textual transmission, marks of 16–17

Yoder, Christine Roy 413 n. 28
Young, Ian 126, 128–9, 132–3 n. 72, 442–5, 452, 452–4

Zakowitch, Yair 96, 96 n. 113, 437–8
Zahn, Molly 64 n. 29, 90 n. 93, 267 n. 31, 450–1, 450 n. 60
Zewi, Tamar 58–9
Zenger, Erich 390 n. 17, 393 n. 24
Zephaniah, formation of 189 n. 28, 332–4